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A STUDY OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN A SUBCULTURE:  
NEGRO CHILDREN'S KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES  
TOWARD THE POLICE, LAW AND FREEDOM

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## CHAPTER I

## THE PROBLEM

This study is an investigation of the status of elementary children's knowledge of and attitudes toward the police, law and freedom in order to ascertain to what extent children, over an age range of several years, have acquired a commitment to or have been socialized to accept the legal aspects of the political system and to accept their roles as subjects. It deals with the children of a subculture: an urban Negro group.

Importance of the Study

There are three major developments in elementary education and in political science at the present time which suggest the need for this study.

Revision movement in social studies

Today there are over forty projects underway at various universities designed to revise the social studies programs from kindergarten through high school. (1) In general, these projects are concerned with the selection of the main concepts and ideas of a particular social science, or with the structure of knowledge in a field and are largely under the direction of scholars in the various disciplines.

This almost exclusive concern with the intellectual aims of education has not gone unchallenged. The National Council of Social Studies has recently published a pamphlet (2) calling for a broader set of criteria in the selection of content. Authorities in curriculum are questioning the lack of attention to the nature of the society and to the characteristics of learners. Almost no research is reported as accompanying these projects to ascertain their appropriateness for elementary children. Shores (3) has summed up the shortcomings of relying solely upon scholars to choose content:

Hence the crucial matters of how content relates to societal development and how content relates to the objectives in the experience of the learner are not likely to be aided by the subject specialist.

A review of recent research in social studies (4) apart from the revision movement reveals a few studies on concept development and on the extent of children's knowledge prior to formal programs. These give clues as to the possible sequence of a new program if characteristics of modern children are taken into account. But on the whole, there is still a great need to inquire further into the characteristics of groups of children so that our programs will be appropriate for them and also will contribute to the goals we desire for American education.

#### Research in political science

Although political scientists as a group are not promoting new programs for the public schools, they have been developing an important research area, that of political socialization, which

(or have already acquired) toward our political system. For the Negro community finds itself involved in real conflicts with the police and other government authorities in their efforts to gain their legal rights. In the last few years, this conflict has spread geographically beyond the South and has deepened as the Watts incident of August, 1965 clearly showed. Some commentators of the social scene have warned that Watts may have been more of a revolt than a riot. A social studies program for Negro children, and for white children too, should come to grips with this conflict if it is to be effective in educating future citizens. Such a program, at least in part, should be built upon data about the basic attitudes these children now have. No direct evidence of this kind has been found by this investigator.

Further research of children's attitudes and knowledge of our political system seems called for by both developments within education and within the political system itself. Since the Negro child is of special concern to us now, a study confined to this group should be of assistance in devising new programs.

#### Rationale for the Study

This study utilizes theory from political science and social psychology along with the data so far available. In addition, data on social class and the disadvantaged child are used.

### Political theory

In order to design research in this area, the researcher should have some concept or model of the political system in mind. This will enable him to relate his findings to the current theories in political science. Two of these theories seem particularly relevant and helpful to the present study. David Easton (5, 6) divides the political system into three different analytical levels to which people can be "socialized to," and which he has used in the study done with Robert Hess which will be reported in Chapter II. Almond and Verba (7) have a concept of the dual roles of the citizen which also helps a researcher to analyze what aspects of citizenship he is investigating.

This study is concerned with only one part of the political system. This may be described broadly as the legal system. It includes the local policeman or the law enforcement agency with which children would be familiar, the judicial system which administers justice and the concepts of law and freedom which are relevant to law enforcement. In Easton's scheme or model, this aspect of the political system would be at the level of the regiem. In the Almond and Verba concept of citizenship, this aspect would be the "subject role" of the citizen, rather than the participant role.

Easton has proposed three different analytical levels of a political system to which people give support or are "socialized to":

1. At the foundation is the political community. It is the members of a society who seek to solve their problems in

common through shared political structures. The United States is such a community. At this level we can study the phenomena of patriotism and identification with a nation.

2. Next comes the regime which is the informal and formal structures through which decisions are taken and administered. It is also the legal system and codes of behavior which make the actions of political authorities legitimate and which specify what behavior is expected of citizens. Here we can study the extent to which children's concepts of law and freedom are consonant with the established beliefs. Knowledge of and attitudes toward the judicial process and roles will also offer clues as to the extent of children's socialization to the legal system.

3. Most visible is the government or the occupants of those roles through which the day-to-day formulation and administration of binding decisions are undertaken. At this level studies of voting and political parties reveal attitudes.

Most research about our political system has been concerned with party affiliation and voting which is at the governmental level. Easton has suggested that efforts should be made to explore attitudes toward the regime and political community as these are more basic to the survival of the system.

This type of research seems particularly important in a study of the political socialization of the Negro child. For the civil rights movement has brought into question the legitimacy of part of our legal system. J. Edgar Hoover argues that civil disobedience sows contempt for law and order. We cannot, he

says, break a law because we disagree with it. Martin Luther King argues that civil disobedience is one of the few effective weapons the Negro can use to gain his legal rights. As a consequence, the Negroes have found themselves in direct confrontation with the police force in many communities with violence and bloodshed resulting. We may well wonder what effect this has upon the attitudes of Negro children.

Although the police are not elected officials and are not supposed to make policy decisions, it is quite possible that to civil rights demonstrators the police do represent the government as well as the regime. For the police have been accused of going beyond the "letter of the law" when they enforce it; or in fact, making decisions of a policy nature. Thus an inquiry about the police becomes an inquiry about the government and the regime.

Along with the question of the proper use of police power, the more basic problem of the proper balance between authority and freedom is presented to us by the civil rights movement, as well as by the extension of governmental regulation in many areas of our life today. We have a tendency to think of the freedom-authority problem as an either-or proposition rather than an "and-relation." But we do not have the option of no authority in an organized society. Madison (8) stated the problem as well as any American has:

But what is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great

difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.

However, freedom may be viewed from two points: some see freedom as freedom from restraint; others see government as providing the necessary conditions under which men can be free. The first believes a free man is one who is not prevented from doing the things he wants to do. He seeks to remove the barriers to individual action and this often, in our day, means governmental regulation. The other person sees the government not as a necessary evil but as a great achievement of man if it is a government of laws and not of men. They would point to our Constitution as the best example of this establishment of rights for all.

Our Bill of Rights embodies both the idea of "freedom from" and the idea of "freedom to be." We are protected from the tyranny of government when we are assured the due process of law. We are given the right to act by the establishment of the freedom of speech, religion and assembly. These rights are guaranteed to all; but in fact, have been denied to the Negro.

The Negro first sought help through the courts and many important Supreme Court decisions did give impetus toward wiping out segregation and discrimination. However, the Negro has found that at the local governmental levels, he doesn't secure the same justice as white people do. This lack of justice has prompted the adoption of civil disobedience and other means of bringing the issue before the white majority. At this point, we can raise the question as to whether Negro children will see



freedom in terms of being free from oppression, such as police power, or will they see it as gaining the rights to act and to be aided by the courts and the law.

The concept of law is closely tied to this general problem. For the police enforce laws and the courts decide the punishment or lack of it when the law is broken.

Although the Negro child may be influenced by the current strike over civil rights, he may also share in the popular attitudes toward law of the larger American society. He goes to a public school system which is under the control of the white middle class and where the values of this group are, however unsuccessfully the effort may be, presented. The policeman is portrayed in the primary social studies program as a helper and protector. The school patrol helps promote the need to obey laws and is often assisted by the local police.

On the negative side, we find a certain ambivalence in the general American attitude toward law and law enforcement. Myrdal (9) noted this as one of the value conflicts in American society when he said we legislate with enthusiasm but we resist the enforcement of laws. This attitude is kept alive in the popular television Western dramas which portray the cowboy or sheriff taking the law into his own hands when he often becomes the judge, jury and executioner. Violence and lawlessness are made to seem glamorous or as minor outcomes in the pursuit of happiness and freedom.

Actually the citizen in a democracy must play two roles; he is both a participant and a subject. As a participant citizen

he can vote and hold office. But he is also a subject for he must obey laws. It is the belief of Almond and Verba (10), who have used this concept of the citizen's dual roles in their investigations of political attitudes, that Americans have never fully accepted their role as subjects and thus the ambivalence we find toward law enforcement.

Thus any inquiry into the role of the police must be expanded to include the role of the judiciary and judicial process as well as an inquiry into the attitudes toward law and freedom. According to the political theory advanced in this foregoing discussion, the attitudes and knowledge of the children will be one measure of their socialization or acceptance of the political system at the level of the regime and the government and their acceptance of their role as a citizen subject. Because of the long discrimination against the Negro and in view of the present strife, we would expect these children to have negative attitudes.

#### Learning theory

To explain the acquisition of political knowledge and attitudes, the socialization theory is used. Socialization is the process by which someone learns the ways of his society or his social group in order that he can function within it. Socialization includes both the learning and internalizing of patterns, values and feelings. The major agencies through which socialization is achieved are the family, the peer group, the school and mass media. To maintain stability, a society must achieve sufficient consistency in behavior so that one can predict, within

limits, how people will behave, think and feel.

In this study, socialization will be limited to the political culture. So far, research has shown that attitudes toward the political system are acquired early. Children of the white working and middle classes acquire strong positive attitudes toward certain political figures. This insures the stability of the system over generations.

#### Social class

Both psychologists and political scientists have utilized the concept of social class in research. Social class differences have been found in voting studies which indicate that the lower class is generally apathetic. Negroes are considered to be a strong bloc as definite voting patterns appear among them.

Studies of Negro families have shown great instability which would seem to indicate that the socialization process would be retarded. Delinquent gangs are found with greater frequency among the Negro subculture. These gangs reject many of the norms of society.

Recent interest in the "culturally disadvantaged child" has brought forth much investigation by educators seeking answers on how to help these children stay in school longer, a necessary requirement in a highly complex industrial society. It should be noted however that this literature is almost wholly concerned with the metropolitan Negro group. Whether the findings of these studies can be applied to the small city in the more rural areas of our country is an open question.

Another caution which should be kept in mind is that we cannot speak of the Negro people as one large group of lower class people. Within the last few decades, many have joined the middle class and some have become millionaires. It is often said that the civil rights movement is under the control of the middle class Negro; while others, mainly Negroes, have bitterly complained that the middle class Negro has ignored the problems of the rest of his people.

About the only thing we can be sure of is that we will find segregated housing almost everywhere, creating a well-defined Negro community. However, we may find among any group wide variations in education and employment and consequently in class values.

#### Nature of This Study

This study investigated a group of Negro children in Urbana, Illinois in the second, fourth, sixth and eighth grades. An interview technique was used and questions were designed to elicit both evaluative or attitudinal responses and informational data. The questions covered the police, judicial process, roles associated with the courts and the concepts of law and freedom. Positive and negative categories were established for the responses on the police, law and freedom to ascertain attitudes. The other data were treated as informational which supported and extended the study of the attitudes.

Questions to Be Answered by This Study

Research has shown that working class and middle class white children have very positive attitudes toward the government in general in spite of a lack of much factual knowledge. They see such political figures as the president and mayor as benevolent and helpful. These children are being socialized to accept part of the political system. In the foregoing discussion, we have outlined the current conditions, mainly in the Negro culture, which would seem to indicate that Negro attitudes would be less positive.

1. Will urban Negro children deviate from this positive pattern?
2. Will there be a significant difference between attitudes of boys as compared with girls?
3. Will children from families with a father present (stable) have more positive attitudes than those without a father or unstable families?
4. Will there be a significant difference between grade levels in feeling toward the police, law and freedom?
5. How much knowledge have these children acquired about the police, judicial system, law and freedom?

Hypotheses to Be Tested

This study is concerned with the following ten hypotheses:

1. These children will show an increasingly negative attitude toward the police with an increase in age or grade level.

2. They will show an increasingly negative attitude toward the police when each of the three factors measuring this attitude are taken separately.

3. These children will show an increasingly negative attitude toward the law with an increase in age or grade level.

4. These children will show an increasingly negative attitude toward freedom with an increase in age or grade level.

5. Girls will show a more positive attitude toward the police than boys.

6. Girls will show a more positive attitude toward the law.

7. Girls will show a more positive attitude toward freedom.

8. Children from stable families will have a more positive attitude toward the police than children from unstable homes.

9. Children from stable families will have a more positive attitude toward the law than children from unstable homes.

10. Children from stable homes will have a more positive attitude toward freedom than children from unstable families.

These hypotheses were tested statistically with reference to the data which was obtained. The results of these statistical tests provide the bases for part of the conclusions of the study.

In addition, other data were gathered concerning the children's general knowledge and information upon which some of the above attitudes might be based. Information concerning the judicial process and judicial roles was also obtained. These data

give additional insight into the general status of their socialization toward the legal and law enforcement part of the political system.

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## CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This study is an extension of the work already done in the area of political socialization. However, it is confined to a special group of children, the Negro subculture, who have not been studied in previous research. As such it is related to research in social class, the Negro subculture, and to the growing body of literature on the disadvantaged child.

Since political socialization is a relatively new area, before a review of the literature, a definition of the socialization process is presented. Such a definition will establish the frame of reference, outline the important variables which can be used in research and guide the choice of relevant studies from the large body of research on social class, the Negro culture and disadvantaged children.

Definition of the Socialization Process

Socialization is the process by which the child learns the ways of his society so that he can function within it and by which he makes these ways a part of his personality. Socialization controls and restricts when it narrows the behavior which is acceptable in a society, but it can stimulate and cultivate

potentialities in individuals. The political scientists are interested in how this process may explain the stability of political systems over generations.

Socialization is carried out by various agents of society: the family, peer group, the school, some social organizations and mass media. These agents define the world for the child and serve as models for his attitudes.

"The family is by far the most important socializing agency for the young child. It is in the family the child first learns that some people have power or authority over him. Some political scientists have used the psychoanalytical theory that a child's experiences with authority figures in the family explains his attitude toward political authority figures. If he has loved and trusted his parents, he will tend to see other authority figures as good and trustworthy.

Parents transmit only segments of the wider culture depending upon their social position. Through comments or judgments on their neighbors, the school and politics, they interpret the community to the child; but some will fail to do much or any of this. The family also defines the sex roles for children. Certain interests and behavior become attached to each sex. Mothers may transmit the idea that women should not be interested in politics. Whether the teaching is direct or indirect, language is the vehicle and much depends upon the quantity and quality of the communication between parent and child.

In some subcultures the family is weak and the peer group takes over much earlier than in other classes and groups. The influence of the school varies from class to class. For some children the rewards of the school mean little and thus the school is not an effective socializing agent. We have already suggested in Chapter I the possibility that the role of the school in developing political attitudes is not strong.

The process of learning social behavior is not wholly a cognitive one, but is largely dependent upon the emotional attachments the child forms to the agent. He seeks approval and love from this person and so is motivated to behave for approval. Children also learn through imitation and identification with admired ones.

In each social group the child learns to communicate and collaborate with others, if he experiences pleasure and gratification in so doing. He also learns a set of social roles or behavior which is common to all persons who fill a certain position. With age, he assumes a wider range of roles and also learns about potential adult roles.

The above explains how a child is socialized to these groups in which there is a face-to-face relationship. Havinghurst

(1) explains how loyalty to secondary groups is achieved:

In developing loyalties to secondary groups, direct social collaboration and immediate gratification play but minor parts. Instead, other elements such as imitation, identification, and rational thought processes become more important. . . . Rational and abstract learnings become increasingly important in forming loyalties to secondary groups.

If the individual is well-socialized, he will be able to resolve possible conflicts as he joins more and more social groups. Hopefully he will find that his loyalty to the primary groups does not block the formation of wider loyalties such as those to the political system.

#### Studies of Political Socialization

##### Research prior to 1959

The first major compilation of studies in the area of political socialization was Political Socialization by Herbert H. Hyman in 1959. He found no reference to the learning of political behavior in socialization literature. Even in such studies as Dollard's Caste and Class and Davis' Social Class, groups with very striking political patterns, no mention is made of childhood experiences which produce different political attitudes. Hyman (2) concluded that: "Politics is treated as an abrupt event in adult life."

However, Almond (3) had advanced the concept of political culture in 1956 saying that ". . . humans must learn their political behavior early and well and persist in it. Otherwise there would be no regularity--perhaps even chaos." Assuming that political behavior is learned before adulthood, Hyman set as his task a survey and analysis of literature on types of behavior among children and adolescents, which might be considered as "precursive forms" of adult political behavior and which would indicate interest in politics, attitudes, and disposition toward future action.

The following summary will not cite all the many studies included in Hyman's compilation, but rather the general findings are given. Hyman found four major types of studies.

1. Studies which showed evidence of political involvement and political orientation at a single point in time.

Participation or involvement at the preadult level is interpreted as interest in politics by the use of books, listening to news broadcasts and choice of ego-ideal. Boys have shown a greater identification with historical figures, have read more history, and are more apt to listen to news broadcasts than girls. Boys are also better informed than girls on politics. Most of this research was done before 1950.

Voting preferences show political orientation. The Remmers studies, or the Purdue Opinion Polls of adolescents, show that social class differentiations are almost complete at the pre-adult level. As far as the development of an ideology (as opposed to choice of a party) is concerned, Hyman questions that there is much evidence at an early age. However, the Remmers data do show that the South tends to be more intolerant and that there is a moderate but consistent trend toward more liberal attitudes among youth whose mothers have college educations.

2. Studies which show political involvement and political orientations over a period of time or developmental patterns.

The Remmers studies showed that during the 1952 presidential election year there was a steady increase in interest from age thirteen to eighteen. It is noteworthy that by age

thirteen considerable interest had already developed. The development of a point of view had also gone quite far by the first year in high school.

It is difficult to ascertain developmental patterns in the various social classes because of school drop-outs from the lower socio-economic classes. Secondary school studies would not include these children. Centers did a study which contrasted the view of children whose parents were from semi-skilled and unskilled occupations with those from the business and professional group in regard to their orientation toward labor unions. At age sixteen 62% of the lower class children expressed a pro-labor point of view; a year later 75% of them held this view. Among the upper class group, at age sixteen 27% expressed a pro-labor view and a year later, only 14% did.

### 3. Studies concerned with the agencies of socialization.

There are quite a few studies of voting patterns which show a high correlation between the voting of young adults and their parents. There are also studies of adolescents' voting preferences correlated with their parents' actual voting behavior.

Three generalizations from these studies are as follows:

- A. Girls tend to resemble parents attitudinally more than boys.
- B. Some parents transmit no clear directive or are apathetic; others transmit a non-partisan point of view.
- C. Children in this country do not rebel against parents by taking an opposing view in politics

as they do in some European countries.

4. Studies which show influences of the wider social environment.

Changes in voting patterns in national elections cause voting studies to be of questionable value. There are, of course, other forces influencing both parents and children from time to time. The family seldom holds complete power over the child and these influences diminish with time. Probably the most the family does is to predispose some children toward a certain point of view.

Education has been shown to be a factor in studies on attitudes toward communism, conformity and civil liberties. The 1955 Remmers data show that with every age group, the better educated the parents, the more tolerant was the child.

The influence of the peer group becomes more powerful than the family as children grow older. Children who are especially peer-oriented show less interest in politics.

Summary of research prior to 1959. Hyman's study shows the following major trends: 1) children have begun to develop their political interests and orientations below the age of thirteen, although there continues to be a development in the ensuing years; 2) there are sex cleavages at an early age; 3) the family is the single most important agency in political socialization whether it transmits a point of view or no point of view; 4) education and peer groups exert influence also.

Some limitations of the above introductory analysis are: 1) the studies are mainly confined to political party affiliation

or orientation to specific issues; 2) some are from several decades ago and may not apply to modern children; 3) probably the most important limitation is that these studies were, with few exceptions, confined to children above thirteen years of age.

#### Research after 1958

Fred L. Greenstein (4) did the first doctoral dissertation in this area at Yale in 1959: "Children's Political Perspectives: A Study of the Development of Political Awareness and Preferences Among Pre-adolescents." He studied attitudes toward political authority figures of children in New Haven, Connecticut from fourth through eighth grades or from nine to thirteen years of age.

The following findings of his study show the extent of the socialization process:

1. Evaluations and "affective knowledge" precede the factual information on which they might be based. The younger children knew little about the president's job, but they knew his name and ranked him as very important. They identified themselves as Republicans or Democrats, although they could not make meaningful statements about the parties.

2. The children showed a very positive orientation to the roles of the president and mayor. The president and mayor are seen as benevolent, protective and wise.

3. Greenstein speculates that these very positive attitudes may bear out the psychoanalytic hypothesis that the feelings developed toward authority figures in the primary environment are transferred to figures in the secondary environment.



4. Greenstein concludes there appears to be a "powerful psychological mechanism" at work in childhood which insures the stability of the political system. Even though cynicism may develop later, it is not powerful enough to destroy the essentially positive attitudes of childhood.

In a later study Greenstein (5) analyzed his data for sex differences and found that the trend indicated in earlier studies, that girls are less interested and less knowledgeable about politics, was true of his sample also.

Easton and Hess (6, 7) and Easton and Dennis (8) have yet to publish the final report of their extensive study of over 12,000 children from grades two through eight in metropolitan centers in four geographical areas of this country. Their sample is drawn from white working and middle class families. Their findings extend beyond the Greenstein study but do not contradict the major finding that children have strong positive feelings toward the government. Their major findings are:

1. The child's conception of the government develops from a highly "personalized concept" of government as a man or set of men (usually presidents) to a concept of government as an institution such as congress. This shift occurs about fifth grade.

2. The national government is seen first by the child and is personalized by the president. This early identification of the president as the most important political figure is considered to be a vital factor in the socialization process.

3. Children rejected at a fairly high level of agreement (75% or more) that the scope of government was becoming too large. Their responses are characterized by the researchers as "collectivist endorsement rather than individualistic disapproval of government." They concluded that: "This early aura of approval is likely to remain at the base of his acceptance of the government."

In their early work, Easton and Hess found that along with the president, children most often mentioned the policeman as an important political figure. Although they seem to be including questions about the police in their research, a more intensive study of the police and law seemed worthwhile and not repetitious.

Not all political scientists believe the family and early experiences are as important as the above studies seem to indicate. Almond and Verba published a study of five nations (United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Mexico) in 1963 called The Civic Culture. (9) The authors developed and tested their concept of "civic competence" which means how free and competent a person feels in his relations with his government. Although they interviewed adults, they did attempt to find indications of the socialization process in childhood. The following are the most relevant conclusions:

1. People who were free to raise questions or to be critical of family decisions when young were also more likely to see themselves as "competent citizens" of people who could influence the government and would be treated fairly by their government.

2. Those who had been able to or free to question teachers about school procedures also felt more "competent."

Almond and Verba believe that situations in the family are not as analogous to political situations as adult experiences at work and in adult social groups. Yet it is significant that those nations, United States and the United Kingdom, in which there is more freedom in the family and in school, do produce citizens who feel more "competent." While Italians and Mexicans, who indicated a more authoritarian family structure, were more apt to feel they could do little to influence their government.

Among the socializing agents in our society, television is often credited with great influence. A unique opportunity to study the impact of television on children came at the assassination of President Kennedy. Roberta Sigel (10) administered a questionnaire to 1,349 children in metropolitan Detroit, who were in the second through the twelfth grades, about twenty days after the assassination. She summarized some of her findings as follows:

Similarity between adults' and children's responses can be interpreted as a sign of a fairly complete socialization of children into the American political value system. The only difference is that children's regard for due process and human life is less well-developed. The aggressiveness children displayed toward Oswald indicates that socialization into such crucial parts of the American value system as the concept of justice takes place relatively late in a child's life, around adolescence.

Some other findings are relevant to the present study:

1. Negro and white reactions were compared. The Negro children were found to be more upset. They were worried about

how the country would get along. They also showed more hostility toward Oswald. Sheatsley and Feldman (11) found this true of adult Negroes also.

2. Attitudes toward the Oswald-Ruby episode showed that 83% felt that Ruby should be tried in court even though they knew that Ruby was seen shooting Oswald. Those who were glad to see Oswald shot, about 19%, were younger or from the lower classes. Sigel comments on the great similarity between this episode and that of the average television Western drama. It would appear, however, that the "Western" has not affected children's concept of right and wrong, for the children indicated that Ruby must be given his rights to a trial, and they believed that if Oswald had lived, he too should have had a trial.

Summary of research after 1958. The research done since Hyman's pioneer work has been with children under thirteen years of age and the emphasis has shifted from concern with political party identification and general interest to understanding of the government in broader terms. These studies suggest the following possibilities for further research.

1. Since younger children tend to think of the government in terms of political authority figures, this seems one of the most fruitful avenues.

2. Other theories than the psychoanalytical one to explain the positiveness of the attitudes might be considered. One might speculate that the president is able to project a very positive image over television because he speaks to all the people on national issues. Even in a presidential campaign when he assumes

the role of partisan, he is still the president. However, during election years, attitudes might vary more.

3. On the other hand, such figures as the police and the judiciary are seldom seen on television speaking directly to people about common issues. They are met when they reward or punish. The police are seen in television dramas in gunfights with criminals and in civil rights demonstrations using force against citizens. This may not add up to a positive image.

#### Social Class and the Negro Subculture

Although the family is the main agency in the early socialization process, it is important to recognize that families differ in their stability, in patterns of affection and authority, and in the aspirations they have for their children. Such differences have been found to exist between the social classes in American society and have been summarized by Clausen and Williams in Child Psychology (12). Therefore in studying any sub-group, ethnic racial or religious, it is helpful to first place the group within the social class structure of our society to ascertain the general social class characteristics it may share with others, and then second, to look for the unique characteristics it has as a sub-group.

A social class refers to a grouping of people who feel a sense of identification and share interests as a result of membership in a common stratum of society. Social class is not the same as economic class, although economic factors, such as

occupation and income, are among the principal determinants of class. Rather, it is the general behavior and social attitudes of the people which are important.

Centers in his study of The Psychology of Social Classes (13) distinguishes between two ways of establishing social class. The "objectivists" define class operationally according to such criteria as income, occupation and education. The "subjectivists" use psychological identification as a means, or they ask people how they classify themselves. Both groups would assume that there is a common set of attitudes and behavior characterizing the group.

#### Lower-class characteristics

Because there has been so much attention given to the culturally disadvantaged child and to poverty programs in the press as well as in educational circles, we may tend to think of the Negro community solely as a lower class group. In fact, this is the criticism that Negro leaders have levelled against The Negro Family by Daniel P. Moynihan (14); a recent report of the U. S. Department of Labor. They say it fails to clearly differentiate between the various classes of Negroes and tends to picture all Negro families as lower-class. Nevertheless, many Negroes are among the poverty group.

Harrington in The Other America (15) has recently called attention to the common characteristics of the poverty-stricken. He stresses the fact that the poor are not non-white--the Negroes make up only 25% of the total group. There are two main characteristics of the poor according to Harrington: 1) they have low

aspirations; ". . . tend to see life as a fate, an endless cycle;" 2) they are emotionally disturbed; "their lives are a matter of personal chaos--drunkenness, unstable marriages, violence. . .". He calls this the "culture of the poor."

Harrington particularly points to the disability of mental health which afflicts both the white and Negro poor. He cites the study of Hollingshead and Redlich (16) which showed the tremendous difference in incidence of psychiatric illness between the blue collar working class and the unskilled and unemployed group. A similar study by the Cornell University Department of Psychiatry in New York City (17) showed that the lowest class had a mental health risk almost 40% greater than the highest class. The stress factors accounting for breakdown seemed to be the "very stuff of the life of the poor."

Riesman advanced the following analysis of the culturally disadvantaged in his book The Culturally Deprived Child (18): they are traditional, patriarchal, superstitious and religious in their outlook on life. They are strongly opinionated in many areas, especially in beliefs on morality, punishment, diet, education and the role of women. They frequently feel alienated and frustrated in what they can do.

These very characteristics have been interpreted by Lipset in his study Political Man (19) as factors which have produced what he calls "working class authoritarianism." Because such people have little education and seldom participate in political or voluntary organizations of any type, they are unable to take

a complex view of politics. Lipset interprets the research on this group as showing two possibilities; they will either tend to support extremist movements or in "normal" times they will be apathetic and withdraw from the political scene.

From the foregoing, there would seem to be little possibility that many families of the lower class, employed or not, would discuss politics at home. In fact, the disorganization may be so great that many families would be solely occupied with the bare necessities of life. But this in itself is significant in that it may develop a generally negative point of view.

#### Negro subculture

Although the Negro of the lower class shares in the general "culture of the poor," there are some distinctive features to Negro family life which could produce more specific types of negative or positive attitudes in children. The Negro family of this class is most often characterized as matriarchal. Lower class women find jobs much easier than men and thus usually take the position as head of the family. This has been explained as the result of slavery in the Moynihan report (20) and the psychiatric study done by Kardiner and Ovesey (21).

The father-absent family has been studied at some length in both white and Negro families. Numerous studies such as those of Mischel (22), Filler (23), Bach (24), Stolz (25), and McCord, McCord and Thurber (26) indicate that boys become more immature, submissive, dependent and effeminate.



Girls are more favored in such families and thus become less negativistic and more amenable to social controls. According to Deutsch (27) Negro girls have better adjustment, out-perform boys in all subjects, not just language skills, are more popular, more mature and responsible. This evidence points then to a much wider gap in the socialization of Negro boys and girls than we would expect to find in other groups.

A study of the Negro class system in Chicago in the early forties by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton and reported in Black Metropolis (28) showed that there were a number of social classes. However the Negro upper class was more like the upper-middle class of white society. Many positions, such as postman and blue-collar jobs, had much higher status among Negroes. Thus the classes cannot be equated. In an interview with the associate director of the Champaign County Urban League (29), the writer was told that this general picture would prevail in the locale of this study. He said that at one time the domestic and service jobs had high status. Now they occupy lower positions due to more Negroes in white collar jobs, civil service positions at Chanutte Air Base and some non-academic jobs with the University of Illinois. Although the range of classes would be small, there still would be a range and some Negroes might be considered middle class.

Pettigrew (30) says the Negro middle class often finds itself in an ambivalent position as it is pulled toward the Negro community by identity with the race, but it is trying to move into

the white society. These families would be socializing their children to white, middle-class values.

Yet even if the middle class Negro child does enjoy more economic and emotional security as compared to those of the lower class, he shares the same "mark of oppression," his color. For the Negro unlike the other ethnic groups which have come to America has been unable to become less "Negro." Even when he has acquired more education and skills, he has generally found assimilation difficult.

Ausubel (31) has traced the ego development of the Negro child and documents the serious debilitating effect discrimination and segregation has upon these children. The Negro child learns early that he is different and he early rejects his own color in favor of white. It is difficult for such children to build a strong self-concept when they find white people also devalue the Negro. However, Ausubel concludes hopefully, ". . . fortunately time is available for establishing some stable feelings of adequacy within the home before the impact of segregation on ego development becomes catastrophically destructive."

Usually the full awareness of his social devaluation does not impinge upon the Negro until early adolescence. Pettigrew (32) states that it is possible for some families to help their children withstand the adverse effects of discrimination, but many fail to do anything.

Thus children may have to assume a submissive attitude toward the authority of white people. But as social psychologists have discovered, playing a role eventually leads to the adoption

### Age groups

This study covered three levels of childhood; children from about seven years of age, or early childhood; children of ten and twelve or middle childhood; and those of early adolescence, thirteen to fourteen years. There are both negative and positive developmental factors at each level which facilitate and inhibit interviewing. Yarrow (38), who has written the most comprehensive work on interviewing children, points out that interviews can be successful with seven-year-olds because they usually use language almost exclusively to communicate ideas rather than to just express feelings. By middle childhood, children sometimes resist revealing their feelings to adults as they are trying to gain independence; however, they are also most interested in extending their world and are intrigued by new experiences. Yarrow believes that children during early adolescence have as yet not withdrawn so much or become so preoccupied with self that they will not respond well in interviews. Their idealism and intellectual curiosity can be used to motivate cooperation. On the whole, the interview should be a gratifying experience at all ages since it gives each child a feeling of importance as he is given the interviewer's full attention at one time.

It may be, of course, that the Negro child is slightly behind in his general development and the main factor may be the feeling of importance an interview can give him.

### Interviewer

In order to establish good rapport with children, the sex of the interviewer and the race are two factors discussed by Yarrow (39).

More concern is voiced about the effect on boys of the sex of the interviewer than upon girls. Boys during middle childhood often reject girls, and it is thought in adolescence boys would be reluctant to express themselves freely to women. However, women analysts have worked successfully with boys of all ages. Yarrow (40) states that there are ". . . no systematic research findings on the influence of the sex of the interviewer on the responses of boys and girls."

The race of the interviewer is probably a more important factor in this study. A white person might represent a different set of values, particularly in the area under study. One incident is cited by Yarrow (41) showing a change in children's responses; otherwise there are no studies with children indicating the effects of the race factor in interviewing. Auger and Rogers (42) found college students responded differently to a white interviewer than they did to a Negro interviewer.

### Interview questions

Interviews can be highly structured or "free" with a minimum of guidelines. Structure refers to the degree of specificity of content demanded by the questions. Questions can be direct or indirect. Indirect questions disguise the real purpose and also do not identify the person about whom one wishes information.

Yarrow (43) suggests that young children may need some framework of questions because they have limited associational ability and will respond poorly if the interviewer expects the child to construct his own framework. On the other hand, children are quite suggestible. The question must be sufficiently open-ended to permit responses which the adult has not anticipated.

A very structured type of question would be the attitude scale type. According to Yarrow (44) scales are often inappropriate because the researcher may have no evidence the children have ". . . reasonably organized or crystallized attitudes on the issue studied."

The use of the tape recorder has been found to be less distracting to children than having the interviewer write down notes. It also eliminates the necessity of the interviewer interpreting the data.

#### Methods of translating raw data

The researcher must establish his own categories for qualitative data unless previous research provides some pattern. The categories should be set up in accordance with the purpose of the study. In this study the hypotheses are concerned with positive or negative attitudes.

The assignment of the responses to the positive or negative cells is an arbitrary decision by the researcher, but he should have some criteria which is logically related to the content.

The reliability of the researcher's assignment of responses can be checked by having judges independently assign a sample of the responses to the same categories. The raw data are the number of responses in the various cells.

#### Summary of Research and Implications

The major implications of the foregoing research for the present study may be summarized as follows:

1. Children think of the government or political system in terms of authority figures, but with age are able to discuss more abstract terms such as government, congress, etc. Therefore, questions about the police, the judge, lawyer would seem to be meaningful. Older children ought to be able to define terms such as law and freedom.
2. Children have been found to express opinions and give evaluative statements readily when asked about authority figures in spite of a lack of much information. Therefore direct questions should be adequate in assessing attitudes as well as information.
- ✓ 3. Negro children from the lower class are deficient in language skills and therefore an interview technique would seem more suitable than the use of written material.
- ✓ 4. Negro communities do have a range of social classes, however small. Research conclusions on the lower class Negro should not be applied indiscriminately to all Negroes.

5. Attitudes toward the political system are influenced by age, sex and the family. However, the Negro family is often a father-absent family so this factor should be considered in assessing family influence.

6. Little has been done to relate social class and the Negro subculture to the political socialization of children below the age of thirteen.

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## CHAPTER III

## PROCEDURE

The Community

The subjects of this study were selected from the Hays School and Urbana Junior High School in Urbana, Illinois. Urbana and Champaign form a continuous urban area in eastern, central Illinois and are best known as the home of the University of Illinois which is the single largest employer. There is little industry in this area. The twin cities are located on the Illinois Central Railroad on a direct route from Louisiana to Chicago. Urbana is the smaller of the two cities with a 1960 population of 27,294 of which 1,710 is non-white or 6.3%. Champaign has a population of 49,583 with a non-white population of 4,887 or 9.9%.

The Hays School neighborhood is located in the northeast section of Urbana adjacent to the Champaign Negro neighborhood and these form a single community socially. Zoning prevents taverns in the Urbana Negro section and there are only a few businesses. The Champaign portion of this area provides public eating facilities. The area may be classified as a segregated neighborhood as there are only a few Negro families living in other sections of Urbana. Such housing has been secured with difficulty. A trailer court nearby is occupied by white people,

but during the 1965-66 school year there were no more than twelve white children in attendance out of approximately a total of 338 at Hays School.

#### Population characteristics

The primary reason for the presence of Negroes in the Champaign-Urbana area was the availability of jobs as domestics, hotel workers and railroad laborers during the early days of the community. The railroad has ceased to be a large employer, and no similar employment opportunity has attracted Negroes. There have been a number of well-educated Negroes who have come in the last decade to Chanute Air Field at Rantoul, Illinois as civil service employees. Chanute, fourteen miles from Urbana, has also provided opportunities to those already living in Urbana who could qualify.

Bindman (1) in a study of the picketing of the J. C. Penney Company in 1961 examined the population quite intensively. He concluded that the Negro community had become more stable in the last few decades as indicated by an increased length of residence among his sample, an increase in home ownership and a general decrease in absentee fathers and illegitimacy. He also put great stress upon the addition of the better educated Negroes who had come to Chanute and had insisted upon better housing in Champaign and Urbana. He also discovered that the merit employment policy of the University of Illinois had brought about significant changes.

Beal (2) in a study of the labor force locally in 1964 concluded that there was still a large number of southern educated Negroes, at least among the labor force.

Negro employment

Beal's study (3) of the labor force was an effort to ascertain whether the Negro worker was being "underutilized"; that is, whether he had skills but was being denied opportunities. Beal's conclusions based upon a thorough analysis of available data are:

1. Locally the Negro was under-represented in the higher paying positions and over-represented in the lower brackets.
2. About 10% were "underutilized" whether the basis be education or specialized occupational training, especially in the crafts, professions and clerical jobs.
3. They were educationally almost four years behind the white labor force. The younger Negro males had about two years more education than their older brothers, but this probably did not close the gap between them and white workers of the same age. Negro women were better educated than the Negro men.
4. There was an equal number of men and women in the working group.
5. Those who wished to make a change were in clerical or craftsmen jobs; but generally the occupational motivation was not high.

Political action of Negroes

There was evidence of Negro participation in party politics over the years in the local area. Negroes had been appointed or elected to offices such as Justice of the Peace and the School Board in Champaign. However, the major protest action of the past ten years was the picketing of the J. C. Penney store in April, 1961.

The following account of the development of this action is based upon the study done by Bindman (4). The store had advertised for sales people but had not specified in their public advertisement that experience was necessary. When a well qualified Negro woman applied, she was refused employment and others were told they did not have enough experience. Negro ministers, new to the community, had brought with them experience in organization gained mainly in union work and they led the movement. Although it took much effort and seemed about to fail, picket lines were successfully manned and the store eventually hired a few Negroes. The ministers then called on other large employers. Nevertheless, the study revealed that only a small percentage of the total Negro group participated. Those who did participate were of the professional, civil service groups who were already employed in better positions than the sales jobs they were fighting for. Bindman noted that ". . . social protest movements are generated and manned by the more forward-looking people who have developed some stake in their society but still aspire to a better way of life."

Urbana does have its first Negro member of the City Council, Paul Hursey. On March 18, 1966 he brought before the council allegedly flagrant violations of the housing codes which exist in his ward. One contractor was accused of buying condemned houses slated for demolition and moving these into the Hays school boundaries and renting them. Hursey noted that since 1960 twenty-six such houses had been moved into his ward. Numerous complaints had been made, but the city had so far failed to enforce the code. Considering the ample news coverage of the March 18, 1966 (5) meeting and one on April 4, 1966, a change had taken place since the J. C. Penney incident. There was very little reporting of the Penney picketing in local papers. The main source of news of this event was in the letters to the editor.

For the purposes of this study, it was noteworthy that no action of major importance had been taken by the Negroes which had brought them into direct confrontation with the police. There was an incident in a Champaign cafe in the fall of 1965 where a few Negroes resisted arrest and abused the police. A white policeman was seriously injured. Following this incident, a Negro woman organized a drive to raise money for the policeman's family.

This incident prompted the Human Relations Commission of Champaign to investigate the situation (6). Interviews with Negro residents did reveal that many felt they were treated unjustly by the police. The Commission recommended that the police needed a training program on how to deal with this part of the community. Although this was in Champaign, the Urbana and Champaign Negro



neighborhoods are adjacent and may be considered to be one neighborhood socially.

#### Crime

Even though the Negro does not engage in protest marches, he still has many contacts with the police nationally, as the crime rate for Negroes is high. Facts about the local incidence of crime, such as the number of arrests of Negroes and the number of probation cases among Negro children were not available to this investigator. Informants said there was no breakdown of such data by race. Thus the writer had to rely upon the interpretation of local conditions by the Urbana police, school social workers and state public welfare officials. A social worker reported that she did not feel there was a serious situation in regard to delinquency among the children of Hays. She did know of the existence of one juvenile gang of Negro adolescents who were mainly school dropouts. As yet they had committed no serious acts of vandalism but had become a "problem" at the school when night tutoring was done. A low-income white neighborhood, not in the Hays district, was known locally as "criminal hill," which may provide an indication of the probable distribution of crime in Urbana. There seemed to be no similar, derogatory term which has characterized the Hays area.

A police officer interviewed felt that the Hays area was orderly and becoming more stable. He felt that there had been no more crime there than in other neighborhoods, if as much. In

his opinion, the younger married group were becoming more middle class and giving up the lower class mores.

A state welfare worker agreed that there was no "organized" crime in the Hays neighborhood, although at times small scale gambling went on. He noted that there were often a number of his clients, white and Negro, who were arrested for the "crimes of the poor," such as petty thievery and drunkenness.

The picture drawn by James Baldwin (7) and others of the Negro child surrounded by criminals and vice did not seem to fit the Hays area. This is not to say, however, that there were not many factors operating which create a climate for crime and delinquency. The poor are poor wherever they are. Councilman Hursey's testimony on housing indicated that rats ran through houses in Urbana as well as in the slums of Chicago and Harlem.

#### Summary

The picture of this community was somewhat mixed. It was definitely a segregated neighborhood with probably the worst housing of the entire community. Yet recently a new housing addition had been developed, and there were several streets of substantial, well-kept homes. The employment picture had improved somewhat, but poor education deterred the Negro from getting better jobs. The city offered little employment in industry.

Politically, the Negro community had organized to take some action and now had a spokesman in the Urbana City Council. Generally passive, the Negro group had not confronted the police and no open hostility had developed. This passiveness may

substantiate the data reviewed in the last chapter to the effect that the poor are either too disorganized or too preoccupied with day-to-day living to engage in political protest. On the other hand, the Negro middle class in Urbana had developed only a few leaders. New middle class Negro families often had sought to remove themselves from the Hays area.

While there were some forces which would tend to retard the socialization of Hays' children toward the political system and the culture in general and even to create negative attitudes, the more secure and ambitious Hays' child who desired to move into the main stream of society was probably being socialized toward a positive view of our culture.

#### The Subjects

The children for this study were in the second, fourth and sixth grades at Hays School during the 1965-66 school year and those who had attended Hays School and were in the eighth grade at the Urbana Junior High School. Differences in attitudes were not expected to be found at each grade level, as a consequence every other grade from second to eighth was selected.

The Hays' School population represented 189 families of which approximately 20% were receiving Aid to Dependent Children. According to Grossack (8), 20% is the national average for Negro dependent families. In addition, other families were broken by divorce with no father present and were living with relatives. The occupations of the fathers of the rest of the children were analyzed to get a rough approximation of the social class

structure of the sample. These data were obtained from the children's cumulative record files. These files are not always up-to-date in so far as family data are concerned and this limits the accuracy of the data. However, the following chart gives the breakdown of occupations as recorded.

TABLE 1  
DISTRIBUTION OF FATHERS' OCCUPATION  
OF SAMPLE POPULATION

Grades	No Father	Unskilled	Skilled	White- collar Military Profes- sional	Total
2nd	2	6	5	9	22
4th	13	4	8	4	29
6th	10	11	12	1	34
8th	7	5	3	4	19
Total	32	26	28	18	104
Percentages	30.7%	25%	27%	17.3%	

The lower class group would include the father-absent, dependent group and the unskilled laborers. Roughly 55.7% of the children may be classified as lower-class children and more than one-half of the lower class group have no father present in the home.

These children were born from 1951 to 1958. If one takes five years of age as an entering school age, some have been in

school since 1956. This period covers the time of greatest national political activity of the Negro.

The great majority of the children, 86%, were born in the North. Of this group, 72.9% of the sample were born locally and another 13.5% were born in the Midwest. The remainder were born in the deep South except that one child was born in California. The fact that the majority have lived only in the North does not mean that they have not experienced segregation and discrimination. However they had not known as much political strife as many Negro children in the South had witnessed.

#### Instrument

This study was patterned after previous research on political socialization in that a series of open-ended questions were used. It would have been premature to have structured the questions to any degree since previous researchers had not investigated Negro children's attitudes and knowledge and there had been no concentration upon the police and law. One of the main goals of this study was to discover the general frame of reference within which these particular children think about the police and related factors.

On the other hand, because the writer was white and had to rely upon others to do the interviewing, it was necessary to provide a framework of questions so that the data would be standardized.

### Trial test

In developing the instrument approximately eighty-five children from white, lower middle and working classes in the Urbana schools were either asked to write short essays on some of the questions or were interviewed by the writer. These children were from the third, fourth and fifth grades. In this way most all of the questions were informally tested. It was found that the questions did elicit responses which could be categorized into meaningful negative and positive evaluations of the police, law and freedom. On the whole, the children at each grade level responded readily and at some length indicating either factual knowledge or opinions of police work. Some questions were added to the final instrument as a result of this trial testing.

### Content of questions

Two types of data were sought: data of an evaluative or attitudinal nature and data of an informational character. Attitudes about three areas, police, law and freedom, were sought.

Police. Three questions were devised to determine attitudes toward the police. The first sought to determine what children thought of the policeman's general function in our society: "What does a policeman do?" Children were found to choose either words such as help and protect, or arrest and stop, which were interpreted to indicate positive and negative feelings about police functions. Secondly, the children were asked if

the police made mistakes in order to see how his performance was viewed. This was followed by "Why?" or "What kind?" to discover the basis for the opinion. Thirdly, the children were asked a question to see if they thought police work was desirable as an occupation or if they identified with the role. Again, they were asked to explain their answer.

Since the police may seem all-powerful to these children, especially in view of the present civil rights strife, six questions were asked concerning their knowledge of the judicial process and judicial roles. The assumption was that if the child knew that someone besides the police determines the guilt of an arrested person and also decides if he is to be punished, he will have a more balanced picture of police power. Children were questioned on the roles of the judge, lawyer and probation officer and on the function of the trial and jury. This range of questions would indicate a knowledge or awareness of due process of law.

Law. Five questions were given on knowledge and attitude toward the concept of the law. Because school-age children ought to be familiar with the meaning of a rule, they were first asked to give the meaning of a rule and then the meaning of the law. To discover if these children were aware that laws have discriminated against the Negroes and recently have greatly aided Negroes to secure rights, they were asked if they knew a "good" and a "bad" law. In order to determine if they had acquired knowledge about the process of law-making, they were asked, "Who makes the laws?"

Freedom. Since the Negro seeks both rights and freedom, they were asked, "What does it mean to be free?" It was hoped that this phrasing might have more meaning than to ask for a definition of the term, freedom. To determine if they really understood and could apply the concept, further questions were asked about being free in their daily life.

On the following page, a chart is given showing the questions used for analysis of attitudes and those which secured information only. The categories used to determine positive and negative answers are also indicated. A more detailed presentation will be given in the chapter on the analysis of the data.

#### Collection of the Data

Four Negro teachers at Hays School, the second, fourth, and two sixth grade teachers, each agreed to interview the children in his or her room. They prepared their classes by simply telling them that someone at the University of Illinois wanted to know what children of their grade level knew and thought about some questions. They were also told they would be interviewed individually, and that the interview had nothing to do with their school work. It did not seem advisable to discuss the nature of the questions as such discussion would no doubt have influenced the responses.

To accustom the children to the tape recorder, it was used by the teachers in several language arts lessons a week or two before the interviews. Several small rooms used by the speech



ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Attitudes - Evaluative Statements		Knowledge - Informational Statements	
<b>I. Police</b>			
Function: What does the policeman do?	<u>Positive</u> Protective function: helps, protects	<u>Negative</u> Coercive function: stops, arrests	Where do you see him?
Performance: Does the police ever make mistakes?	No	Yes	What kind of mistakes? False arrest, Traffic Violations, Picking up for No Reason
Identification with role: Would you like to be a police man/woman?	Yes	No	Why? Why not?
<b>II. Law</b>			
What is a rule? What is a law?	Guide on what to do.	Prohibitions: what <u>not</u> to do.	What is a good law which helps people? Do you know a bad law? Who makes laws?
<b>III. Freedom</b>			
What does it mean to be free?	Freedom to do what one wants.	Freedom from: jail, inter- ferences, restraints	Do you have freedom at home, after school, in school? Who tells you what you can and can't do? Who punishes you if you don't follow the rules?

(1) The...  
 (2) The...  
 (3) The...  
 (4) The...  
 (5) The...  
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 (7) The...  
 (8) The...  
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 (99) The...  
 (100) The...

ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE (Continued)

Attitudes - Evaluative Statements

Knowledge - Informational Statements

Judicial Process

Where does the police take the arrested person?  
 Who decides how that person will be punished?  
 What is a trial? What is a jury?

Roles Associated with Courts

Who is a judge? Who is a lawyer?  
 Who is a probation officer?

teacher and social worker were available for interviewing so that privacy was insured. The writer supervised the classes while the teachers did the interviewing.

It was possible for each grade to be interviewed in an afternoon with the exception of one sixth grade, but this was finished the following morning. It is possible to state that communication between children was kept at a minimum and so the responses represent the child's own knowledge and feelings for the most part.

For the Junior High School group the interviewing was done by a young Negro woman graduate student whose major was psychology. Again it was possible to have a private room and to do the interviewing in an afternoon and morning session.

After the interviews were taped, the data were then categorized. The categories for the three questions which evaluated the role of the police were assigned a positive or negative value. Positive and negative categories were established for the interpretation of rule and law and for the meaning of freedom.

A sample of the responses to the questions on the function of the police, the interpretation of rule and law, and the meaning of freedom were given to three judges to evaluate. These responses were taken from the second, fourth and sixth grades. The judges assigned the responses to the positive or negative cells according to the criteria selected by the investigator. The reliability of the criteria for determining positive or negative interpretation of the data resulted. These judgements

were analyzed by the procedure used by Millis (9) and are found in Table 2.

The other responses used to establish attitudes toward the police were yes and no, and therefore constituted no problem in evaluation.

#### Statistical Analysis

Past research had indicated that children's political attitudes could be related to age, sex and the influence of the family. The father-absent family was found to be the unique and influential factor in many Negro children's development. Therefore family stability, as measured by the single criterion of the presence of the father, was selected as a means of measuring the relationship of the family to attitudes.

The data on police, law and freedom could not be reduced to categories which would indicate degrees of positiveness or negativeness since the original questions had not been designed to make such fine distinctions. Therefore, for statistical purposes, the number of responses of positive and negative attitudes constituted the raw data. For this type of data, the chi square may be used to test for relationships. Garrett (10) gives the following restrictions on the use of chi square.

1. It can be used only with frequency data.
2. The individual measures must be independent of each other.
3. There must be a basis for the way the data are categorized.

TABLE 2  
 A COMPARISON OF THE INVESTIGATOR'S EVALUATIONS  
 OF CHILDREN'S RESPONSES TO ATTITUDE QUESTIONS  
 WITH EVALUATIONS OF THREE JUDGES

Attitude	Agreement among Judges			Agreement of Investigator with each Judge		
	Grade	Number of Responses	Percent of Agreement	Judge A	Judge B	Judge C
Function of Police	2nd	10	90	90	100	100
	4th	14	93	100	93	100
	6th	17	82	88	82	82
Concept of Rule and Law	2nd	10	100	100	95	90
	4th	14	86	86	79	89
	6th	17	80	100	65	82
Concept of Freedom	2nd	10	100	100	100	100
	4th	14	86	86	93	86
	6th	17	76	100	77	94

The formula for calculating  $\chi^2$  for a 2 X 2 Table was used (11). Only positive or negative responses were counted.

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N(AD - BC / \frac{N}{2})^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

When a cell contained less than five frequencies, the Fisher Exact Test of Significance for a 2 X 2 Table (12) was used.

$$p = \frac{(A+B)!(C+D)!(A+C)!(B+D)!}{N! A! B! C! D!}$$

The following hypotheses were tested by chi square and the data are presented in the following chapter.

1. There will not be a significant difference between grade levels or age groups in the attitudes toward the police.
2. There will not be a significant difference in attitude toward the police when each of the three factors measuring this attitude are taken separately.
3. There will not be a significant difference between grade levels in the attitude toward the law.
4. There will not be a significant difference between grade levels in the attitude toward freedom.
5. There will not be a significant difference between the attitudes of girls and boys toward the police.
6. There will not be a significant difference in the attitudes toward the law between boys and girls.

7. There will not be a significant difference between the attitudes of girls and boys toward freedom.

8. Children from stable families (father present) will not differ in their attitudes toward the police from those of unstable families.

9. Children from stable families will not differ in their attitudes toward law from those of unstable families.

10. Children from stable families will not differ in their attitudes toward freedom from those of unstable families.

The informational data will be presented in tables to extend and support the above findings. It will not be analyzed for relationships.

## Footnotes to Chapter III

1. Aaron M. Bindman, "Minority Collective Action Against Local Discrimination: A Study of the Negro Community in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois," unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, 1961, pp. 113-120.
2. Joel R. Beal, "The Employability of the Champaign-Urbana, Illinois Negro," unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1964, p. 23.
3. Ibid., Chapter III.
4. Bindman, op. cit., p. 24.
5. Champaign-Urbana News-Gazette, March 18, 1966, pp. 3-6, and April 4, 1966, p. 2.
6. Report of the City of Champaign Human Relations Commission, April 26, 1966.
7. James Baldwin, The Fire Next Time, New York: The Dial Press, 1965, pp. 30-41.
8. Martin M. Grossack (ed.), Mental Health and Segregation, New York: Springer Publishing Company, Inc., 1963, p. 40.
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10. Henry E. Garrett, Elementary Statistics, New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1962, p. 153.
11. George A. Ferguson, Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959, p. 170.
12. Ibid., p. 173.



## CHAPTER IV

## FINDINGS

This chapter reports and analyzes the findings of this study which was designed to determine the knowledge of and attitudes toward the police, the law and freedom of a sample of Negro children at Hays School and Urbana Junior High School in Urbana, Illinois.

Nature and Presentation of the Data

Each hypothesis will be discussed in relation to the chi square test results, to the raw data upon which the test was based, and to the informational data which is related to the particular attitude under discussion. The statistic chi square was used to determine significant differences between the children when divided into groups on the basis of age, sex and family stability. The level of significance chosen was the .05 level.

Since the chi square test results do not reveal the way in which the compared groups were either alike or different, that is, whether they were alike or unlike in being positive or being negative, the raw data are reviewed to indicate the direction of the attitudes and also the general trends. These data are found in Table 3. A report of all chi square test results are found in the latter part of this chapter.

TABLE 3  
SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN  
ATTITUDES OF AGE GROUPS

Attitude	Positive Direction		Negative Direction	
	Grades	$\chi^2$ Value	Grades	$\chi^2$ Values
Police (Total)	4th and 6th	5.02*		
	2nd and 6th	10.61**		
	2nd and 8th	6.77**		
Function- (Police)	2nd and 4th	4.90*		
Performance (Police)	2nd and 6th	8.16**		
	2nd and 8th	.0010*+		
Role Iden- tification (Police)	2nd and 4th	7.54**		
	2nd and 6th	8.16**		
	2nd and 8th	14.42**		
Rule and Law	2nd and 4th	5.28*		
	2nd and 6th	11.62**		
	2nd and 8th	13.99**		
Freedom	6th and 8th	7.62**	2nd and 4th	.0111*+
	4th and 8th	6.64**	2nd and 6th	4.77*
	2nd and 8th	19.78**		

\*Significant at the .05 level.

\*\*Significant at the .01 level.

+ Exact probability obtained by Fisher Test.

Next, informational data related to each hypothesis are presented. Usually, after each question designed to elicit an attitudinal response, there followed a question which probed further to see if the child could explain the reason for his opinion.

After the discussion of the ten hypotheses, the informational data on the judicial process and judicial roles are summarized.

#### Age as Related to Attitudes

Hypothesis 1: There will be no significant differences between the age-grade groups in attitude toward the police.

#### Results of chi square tests

Nine possible combinations of the second, fourth, sixth and eighth grade groups were used for the first four hypotheses. One major division is the set of groups where the children are two years apart in age: second and fourth, fourth and sixth, sixth and eighth grades. The second set includes groups which are four years apart in age: second and sixth, and fourth and eighth grades. There is only one group in the last set where the children are six years apart in age: namely, the second and eighth grades.

1. Two years apart. There was a significant difference between the fourth and sixth grade in the negative direction.

However, there were no significant differences between either the second and fourth, or the sixth and eighth grades.

2. Four years apart. There was a significant difference between the second and sixth; the direction of the difference was negative. In the other group, fourth and eighth, no significant difference was found.

3. Six years apart. A significant difference was found between the second and eighth grades. The direction of change was negative.

#### Raw data

When the responses to all three attitudinal questions on the police were totaled, the responses of the second grade children were evenly divided between positive and negative. At least 60% of the responses of the fourth, sixth and eighth grades were negative. Sixty-six percent of all the responses for the entire sample of 104 children were negative. Table 4 gives the percentage of positive and negative responses to all questions on the police.

Hypothesis 2: There will be no significant differences in attitude toward the police when each of the three factors measuring this attitude are taken separately.

#### Results of tests on function of police

1. Two years apart. A significant difference was found in the positive direction between the second and fourth grades. However, no significant differences were found between either the

TABLE 4  
 PERCENTAGE OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE  
 RESPONSES TO POLICE BY AGE GROUPS

Attitude	Grade	Class Size	Percentage of	
			Positive	Negative
Total Responses to All Components	2nd	22	50	50*
	4th	29	40	60
	6th	34	23	77
	8th	19	25	75
	Total	104	34	66
Function of Police	2nd	22	35	65
	4th	29	71	29
	6th	34	44	56
	8th	19	68	32
	Total	104	55	45
Performance of Police	2nd	22	45	55
	4th	29	24	76
	6th	34	7	93
	8th	19	0	100
	Total	104	19	81
Identification with role of police	2nd	22	67	33
	4th	29	24	76
	6th	34	19	81
	8th	19	5	95
	Total	104	28	72

\*Percentages based on total responses rather than total class size.

fourth and sixth or the sixth and eighth grades.

2. Four years apart. There was no significant difference between either the second and sixth grades or between fourth and eighth grades.

3. Six years apart. No significant difference was found between the second and eighth grades.

#### Raw data

A response to the question on the policeman's duties was assigned a positive value if the child said the policeman protected or helped and negative if the child said the police arrested or stopped people's activities. Seventy-one percent of the fourth grade children interpreted the police as helpers and protectors, while 68% of the eighth grade had a positive view of police duties. On the other hand, only 35% of the second grade and only 44% of the sixth grade interpreted police duties in a positive manner. Fifty-five percent of the total sample gave positive responses.

#### Informational data on police functions

After giving their interpretation of the policeman's duties, the children were asked where they saw the police. These answers revealed some facts about their observations of policemen.

Seventy-three percent of the second grade children reported they saw the police in only a few places such as "on the street," or "at the station." At fourth grade, there were 48% who mentioned only a few places, and at sixth grade, 54% still

mentioned seeing the police in just a few places. However, by eighth grade 79% reported they saw the police in many places, particularly in their neighborhood.

Results of chi square tests on performance of police

1. Two years apart. There was no significant difference between any of the three combinations in this set.
2. Four years apart. A significant difference was found between the second and eighth grades. The direction of the change was negative. No significant difference existed between the fourth and eighth grades.
3. Six years apart. A significant difference was found between the second and eighth grades. This difference was in the negative direction.

Raw data on performance of police

At least 50% at each grade level responded "yes" (or a negative response) to the question, "Does the policeman ever make mistakes?"

Informational data on performance of police

After the above question, the children were asked what kind of mistakes they thought the police made. Table 5 show the types of mistakes the children gave.

At all grade levels, false arrest was mentioned most often as a mistake. The next largest category was "Pick Up" by which children meant that sometimes the police picked up somebody who

"isn't doing anything." In the "Don't Know" column are the children who said the police did make mistakes but who could not give any type.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES TO QUESTION: WHAT KIND OF MISTAKES DOES THE POLICEMAN MAKE?

Grade	False Arrest	Pick Up	Traffic	Miscellaneous	Don't Know	Total
2nd	23				27	50*
4th	52	3	14		7	76
6th	40	25	6	9	3	83
8th	58	11	5	21	5	100

\*Percentages based on total number of children in each class.

Under "Miscellaneous" are the only two examples in which police brutality was mentioned. One girl at sixth grade said, "Yes--beating up people when they refuse to get in the car." An eighth grade boy said: "Yes--like beating up on people and kids. Kicking them and shooting innocent people and arresting."

Results of chi square tests on identification with role of police

1. Two years apart. There was a significant difference found between the second and fourth grades. The direction of the change was negative. No significant differences were found between the fourth and sixth, or the sixth and eighth grades.



2. Four years apart. A significant difference was found between the second and sixth grades. The change was in the negative direction. However, no significant difference was found between the fourth and eighth grades.

3. Six years apart. A significant difference was found between the second and eighth grades. Again the direction of change is negative.

The results of all chi square tests on attitudes toward the police are found in Table 6.

Raw data on identification with  
role of police

The children were asked if they would like to be a policeman/woman. A yes answer was assigned to the positive category; the no, to the negative. At the second grade 67% of the children wished to be a police worker. From then on, over half of each grade level rejected the position. By eighth grade only one child thought it a desirable type of work.

Informational data on identification  
with role of police

When asked to explain their answers to the above question, those who said yes gave the following reasons: to protect people, to direct traffic, to have a gun and a few gave miscellaneous reasons such as riding in a police car.

Since the majority of children rejected police work, Table 7 is given to show reasons for thinking this vocation undesirable.

TABLE 6 (Continued)

Grade Groups Two Years Apart in Age Grades $\chi^2$ Values		Grade Groups Four Years Apart in Age Grades $\chi^2$ Values		Grade Groups Six Years Apart in Age Grades $\chi^2$ Values	
<u>2. Attitude Toward Performance - Mistakes</u>					
2nd and 4th	1.49	2nd and 6th	8.16**	2nd and 8th	.0010**
4th and 6th	2.26	4th and 8th	3.38		
6th and 8th	.14				
<u>3. Attitude Toward the Role</u>					
2nd and 4th	7.54**	2nd and 6th	8.16**	2nd and 8th	14.42**
4th and 6th	2.40	4th and 8th	3.38		
6th and 8th	.87				

\*Significant at the .05 level.

\*\*Significant at the .01 level.

\*Exact probability obtained by Fisher Test.

Police work was thought to be dangerous because a policeman could get killed or shot at. Boys thought the work was "Distasteful" because they would "not get enough money," "have to tell on others," and "arrest my friends." Girls thought it "Distasteful" because it would involve "walking the streets," "be out in bad weather," and they would have to associate with "bad people."

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES FOR REASONS  
GIVEN TO THE QUESTION: WHY DON'T  
YOU WANT TO BE A POLICEMAN/WOMAN?

Grade	Too Dangerous	Dis- taste- ful	Miscel- laneous	Don't Know	Total
2nd			5	27	32
4th	24	14		27	65
6th	47	18		23	88
8th	26	37	21	11	95

Those in the "Miscellaneous" column had chosen other careers or college. A second grade child wanted to be a scientist and several eighth grade boys mentioned politics and law, while eighth grade girls had chosen modeling and teaching.

Hypothesis 3: There will be no significant difference between grade levels in the attitude toward the law.

#### Results of chi square tests

1. Two years apart. A significant difference was found between the second and fourth grades. The direction of change was positive. There were no significant differences found between the fourth and sixth or the sixth and eighth grades.

2. Four years apart. There was a significant difference between the second and sixth grades in the positive direction. But no significant difference was found between the fourth and eighth grades.

3. Six years apart. A significant difference was found between the second and eighth grades in the positive direction.

Results of chi square tests are found in Table 8.

#### Raw data

The children were asked to give a definition of a rule and a law. If the response was in terms of what "to do" it was designated positive; when the idea of "not to do" was expressed, it was assigned to the negative cell. The only grade where the majority of responses were negative was the second grade.

Otherwise at least 60% of the responses at each grade level were positive interpretations of a rule and a law. This is shown in Table 9.

TABLE 8

AGE AND GRADE DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD LAW AND FREEDOM

Grade Groups Two Years Apart in Age		Grade Groups Four Years Apart in Age		Grade Groups Six Years Apart in Age	
Grades	$\chi^2$ Values	Grades	$\chi^2$ Values	Grades	$\chi^2$ Values
<u>Attitude Toward Law</u>					
2nd and 4th	5.28*	2nd and 6th	11.62**	2nd and 8th	13.99**
4th and 6th	1.31	4th and 8th	2.89		
6th and 8th	.20				
<u>Attitude Toward Freedom</u>					
2nd and 4th	.0111**	2nd and 6th	4.77*	2nd and 8th	19.78**
4th and 6th	.05	4th and 8th	6.64**		
6th and 8th	7.62**				

\*Significant at the .05 level.

\*\*Significant at the .01 level.

\*Exact probability obtained by Fisher Test.

Considering that there were 208 possible responses for the group as a whole, there were quite a few children who did not respond to these questions. The 140 responses represent 67% of the total possible responses. An analysis of the content reveals that there was a general inability to define a law as opposed to a rule.

TABLE 9  
PERCENTAGE OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE INTER-  
PRETATIONS OF RULE AND LAW BY AGE GROUPS

Grade	Positive	Negative	Total No. of Responses
2nd	26	74	19
4th	62	38	42
6th	76	24	45
8th	82	12	34
Total			140

\*Percentages are based on the actual number of responses made.

Informational data

To discover if these children were aware of laws which had helped the Negro or other people and of laws which might be discriminatory, they were asked if they knew of a "good law" and a "bad law." These questions elicited very few responses at any grade level.

Of those responding, most thought traffic laws were good laws and many mentioned the prohibition against killing people. Only two children, could actually cite a bad law. A sixth grade child said, "A bad law is when people cannot vote." Parking regulations at the University of Illinois Union Building were considered unfair by an eighth grade boy.

Another follow-up question was "Who makes the law?" More than half the children at each grade level had some answer. There was a gradual increase in the number who understood that our laws are made through collective action, such as congress, government or the people, rather than by individuals such as the president, judge and various law enforcement officers. Further details are given in the Appendix.

Hypothesis 4: There will not be a significant difference between grade levels in the attitude toward freedom.

#### Results of chi square tests

1. Two years apart. There was a significant difference between the second and fourth grades in a negative direction. A significant difference was also found between the sixth and eighth grades; however the direction of change was toward the positive. But there was no significant difference between the fourth and sixth grades.

2. Four years apart. A significant difference was found between the second and sixth grades. This change was toward a

less negative position. There was no significant difference between the fourth and eighth grades.

3. Six years apart. There was a significant difference between the second and eighth grades. This change was from negative to positive.

#### Raw data

Children's interpretation of freedom was ascertained through the question: "What does it mean to be free?" From second grade through sixth grade children interpreted freedom in negative terms or as being free from jail and various kinds of restraints. There is an abrupt shift at eighth grade to a positive interpretation. These changes can be seen in Table 10. Here the children gave a positive interpretation saying to be free meant "to do what one wants" but also added it was to do what one wanted "under the law."

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF FREEDOM BY AGE GROUPS

Grade	Class Size	Positive	Negative
2nd	22	0	100%*
4th	29	32	68
6th	34	31	69
8th	19	77	23

\*Percentages are based on number of responses made.



A further analysis of the negative responses, as presented in Table 11, reveals the terms with which these children thought about freedom.

TABLE 11  
PERCENTAGES OF TYPES OF NEGATIVE INTER-  
PRETATIONS OF FREEDOM BY AGE GROUPS

Grade	Freedom from jail	Freedom from Troubles	Freedom from interferences	Total
2nd	73		4	77*
4th	28	7	17	52
6th	24	15	21	60
8th	11		11	22

\*Percentages are based on class size.

Although there was a decrease in negativeness from second grade to fourth and sixth, more than one-half of the second, fourth and sixth grade children think of freedom in terms of being free from some kind of restraint.

#### Sex of Children as Related to Attitudes

Hypothesis 5: There will not be a significant difference between the attitudes of girls and boys toward the police.

Hypothesis 6: There will not be a significant difference between the attitudes of girls and boys toward the law.

Hypothesis 7: There will not be a significant difference between the attitudes of girls and boys toward freedom.

#### Results of tests

No significant differences were found between boys and girls in their attitudes toward the police or on any of the three components of this attitude when taken separately.

No significant differences were found between boys and girls in their attitudes toward the law or in their attitudes toward freedom.

Results of chi square tests are found in Table 12.

#### Raw data

In general boys and girls had a negative view of the police and to about the same degree. However, over 50% of both sexes view the police as helpers or protectors. Further details are found in Table 13.

Girls also agreed with boys in interpreting rules and laws positively and to about the same degree. Table 14 gives further details.

The agreement between the groups continued in attitudes toward freedom. These data are found in Table 15.

TABLE 12

SEX AND FAMILY STABILITY DIFFERENCES IN  
ATTITUDE TOWARD POLICE, LAW AND FREEDOM

Attitude	$\chi^2$ Values*
<u>Sex Groups: All boys versus all girls</u>	
A. Police (Total)	.03
1. Function (Duties)	.01
2. Performance (Mistakes)	.06
3. Liking for Role Identification with Role	.01
B. Law	.00
C. Freedom	.44
<u>Stable versus Unstable Families</u>	
A. Police (Total)	1.70
1. Function (Duties)	.03
2. Performance (Mistakes)	.96
3. Identification with Role	1.18
B. Law	.00
C. Freedom	.99

\*None of these values were significant.

TABLE 13  
 PERCENTAGE OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE RESPONSES TO  
 QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLICE BY SEX GROUPS

Sex	Total No.	Duties		Performance		Role		Total	
		+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
Boys	52	54	46	18	82	29	71	33	67
Girls	52	55	45	22	78	28	72	35	65

TABLE 14  
 PERCENTAGE OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE RESPONSES TO  
 QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LAW AND RULES BY SEX GROUPS

Sex	Total No.	Positive	Negative
Boys	52	67	33
Girls	52	66	34

TABLE 15  
 PERCENTAGE OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE RESPONSES  
 TO QUESTIONS ABOUT FREEDOM BY SEX GROUPS

Sex	Total No.	Positive	Negative
Boys	52	45	55
Girls	52	31	69

Family Stability as Related to Attitudes

Hypothesis 8: Children from stable families will not differ in their attitudes toward the police from those of unstable families.

Hypothesis 9: Children from stable families will not differ in their attitudes toward law from those of unstable families.

Hypothesis 10: Children from stable families will not differ in their attitudes toward freedom from those of unstable families.

Results of tests

No significant differences were found between children of stable and unstable families in their attitudes toward the police or on any of three components of this attitude. There were no significant differences found between these groups in their attitudes toward law and freedom.

Chi square test results are found in Table 12.

Raw data

Although there were no significant differences and examination of the raw data found in Tables 16, 17 and 18 shows that stable family children differ from nine to thirty-six percentage points in being more negative than the unstable family children.

TABLE 16

PERCENTAGE OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE RESPONSES  
TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLICE BY FAMILY TYPES

Family Type	No. in Sample	Duties		Performance		Role		Total	
		+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
Stable	72	54	46	19	81	25	75	33	67
Unstable	32	55	45	55	45	28	72	42	58

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE  
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE  
LAW AND RULES BY FAMILY TYPES

Family Type	No. in Sample	Positive	Negative
Stable	72	66	34
Unstable	32	53	47

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE RESPONSES  
TO QUESTIONS ABOUT FREEDOM BY FAMILY TYPES

Family Type	No. in Sample	Positive	Negative
Stable	72	32	68
Unstable	32	47	53

Informational Data on the Judicial  
Process and Roles

These data are summarized in Table 19. Some general trends are apparent concerning the information these children possess on this area of the political system.

1. After a person is arrested, all but three children in the total sample thought the person was taken to the jail. They knew that a judge or judge and jury must decide on the punishment and give the sentence. At second grade only 27% of the children thought the police made the decision on punishment. In succeeding grades no more than 17% thought the police had this power.

2. Trial by jury was understood by more at each grade level. In fourth and sixth approximately 34 to 41% could define either or both terms. By eighth grade 78% of the children could define both terms.

3. The role of the judge and lawyer was understood by over 50% of the sixth and eighth grade children. Even at second grade, 23% of the children could define what a lawyer did and 36% could define the role of the judge.

4. Only three children below eighth grade knew what a probation officer does; but by eighth grade 58% of the children could give an extended definition of his duties.

TABLE 19  
 SUMMARY OF KNOWLEDGE OF JUDICIAL PROCESS  
 AND ROLES BY AGE GROUPS

Interview Question	Percentage giving knowledgeable Answers			
	2nd Grade	4th Grade	6th Grade	8th Grade
<u>1. Judicial Process</u>				
Where do police take the arrested person?	96	94	100	100
Who decides how he shall be punished? (a) % answering police	27	17	9	11
(b) % answering Judge or Jury	41	66	91	84
What is a trial?	18	34	44	78
What is a jury?	9	41	38	79
<u>2. Roles Associated with the Court</u>				
Who is a lawyer?	23	49	62	74
Who is a judge?	36	38	56	79
Who is a probation officer?	0	10	5	58



## CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS  
AND RECOMMENDATIONSSummary

This study was an extension of the research in the area of political socialization. Many political scientists believe the stability of the political system over generations may depend in part upon the extent to which children acquire a commitment to the political system or political culture.

Previous research had concentrated largely upon children's understanding of elected political authority figures. In addition to having positive attitudes toward the president, governor and mayor, it was found that white working class and middle class children also were positively oriented to the government's activities.

This study sought to extend the research by investigating the urban Negro child who had not been included in most of the population samples. In addition the legal area of the political system was chosen for investigation. The major authority figure chosen was the policeman. In order to see if children were aware of the limitations on police power, they were questioned about

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the roles of the judge, lawyer and probation officer and the process of trial by jury. Since the concepts of law and freedom are related to the legal system, the children were asked to give their meanings for these terms.

An interview technique was used and questions were designed to elicit both evaluative or attitudinal responses and informational data. Positive and negative categories were established for the answers to questions about the police, law and freedom to establish attitudes in these areas. These data were then analyzed by chi square for their relationship to age-grade levels, sex and family stability.

The population selected was the second, fourth and sixth grade children at Hays School, Urbana, Illinois and graduates of Hays currently in the eighth grade at the Urbana Junior High School. With the exception of about a dozen white children, the Hays School is completely Negro. The neighborhood is segregated with few Negroes living elsewhere in the community. Fifty-five percent of the families in this sample could be classified as lower-class. Thirty percent of the families in the sample and twenty percent of the families in the Hays School population as a whole were receiving Aid to Dependent Children or were father-absent families.

Since this study was concerned with the political culture, the political activity and "protest" activity was studied. A major picketing effort to obtain better employment had been organized within the previous six years. Other gains had occurred

partially through picketing and the efforts of the Urban League which was established in 1961. However, no Negro organization which emphasized the more militant approach to desegregation and discrimination than the Urban League had gained much support. No open hostility between the Negro and white communities had developed in the efforts for economic betterment.

The Negroes had succeeded in electing a councilman to the Urbana City Council, and he had been vigorous in bringing violations of the housing code to the attention of the community. In Champaign there was a Negro on the School Board and one on the City Council. No specific facts could be obtained on the incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency for this neighborhood, but in the opinion of the police and social workers no serious problem existed. Thus, no overt hostility appeared to exist against the police and the legal system. One sign of possible discontent was an incident at a Champaign cafe where Negroes and police had clashed.

There were both positive and negative factors operating in this neighborhood which could influence the socialization of the children to both the political culture and the American culture as a whole. There had been an improvement in housing and employment, but still very poor housing and many low-paying jobs were the lot of this group. Some families had achieved a middle class status and thus some children would be acquiring a different set of values. Parents on the whole seemed more overtly passive than militant about discrimination and segregation.

The major problem of this study was to discover whether the attitudes of the Negro children in this sample would deviate from the positive attitudes of the children in previous studies.

The hypotheses will be discussed in the conclusions. First, the data as a whole, attitudinal and informational, will be discussed for conclusions and general trends which might be drawn. Secondly, the specific hypotheses will be discussed and conclusions which seem most tenable will be offered.

### Conclusions

#### General conclusions

1. The evaluative responses to the questions on the police showed a generally negative trend. However the second grade was generally positive. Children were also positive toward the duties or function of the police at each grade level. That is, they more often saw the police as helpers and protectors than as arrestors.

2. These evaluations of the police seemed to be based upon information; they were not just vague expressions of feelings. The children were able to cite specific examples of mistakes they think the police make and to give reasons for not wanting to be a policeman/woman. This differed from the previous studies which had emphasized that children had strong feelings but little information about the political authority figures under study.

3. Children's general information on the judicial process and judicial roles was substantial in view of the fact that little, if any, of this information was included in the social studies program of the first six grades.

4. The role of the judge appeared to be almost as well known to these children as did the policeman. In their eyes, the judge has great power; they often said he had the power of life or death when he sentenced people. They think the judge is the one who extracts the "truth" from the arrested person, not the policeman.

5. Many children in this sample knew that people can call on a lawyer to help them when "in trouble with the law." At the higher grade levels, they were able to define both trial and jury. Thus the police are not all-powerful to these children; many knew there is a hearing or trial after one is arrested.

6. However, their view of the legal system was that the courts and lawyers are concerned solely with criminal law. Only two or three gave examples of civil law; these referred to the judge marrying people and granting divorces.

7. There was little evidence in their responses to indicate that the current civil rights strife influenced their thinking. There were few references to slavery, police brutality, equality and rights, and these were at the eighth grade. The responses to questions about "good" and "bad" laws, for example, failed to elicit any responses about serious discriminations. They generally referred to either traffic laws or to a prohibition against murder.

8. From second through sixth grade, there was a negative interpretation of freedom. These children seemed preoccupied with the restraints to freedom. "Getting out of jail," was the most common response of the second grade children. In the fourth, many were concerned with "being pushed around," as well as being free from jail. By sixth grade, several mentioned having freedom from "money worries," as well as from various kinds of interferences. There was little child-like concern with being free to play or being free of school. Rather it was to be free of adult problems such as jail and money worries.

9. However, at eighth grade, there was an abrupt shift to a positive and rather mature definition of freedom. The majority state that "being free was to do what one wanted to," providing one did not break the law.

10. The least understanding was shown toward the questions on rules and laws. Although second grade children gave examples of school traffic rules, few children at other grade levels referred to actual situations. Rules were "something to go by." One might expect that school children would be more conscious of school rules and rules of games. Law seemed too abstract a term. These children did not see a difference between a rule and a law. However, they stated their definition in positive terms for the most part. Rules and laws are "what you follow," "ought to do," "should obey," rather than "what you should not do."

The writer concludes that these children were learning a great deal about the police, the judge and the courts. They were, for the most part, interpreting freedom in the light of these learnings. Although there were few references which could be traced directly to the civil rights movement, there were many responses which could reasonably be interpreted as reflecting the influence of the segregated environment. For second grade children to think of freedom in terms of being free from jail probably does not reflect a typical American childhood concept. The children were often quite specific in painting a word picture of the judge in the court; it seemed quite real to them. The picture of the legal system these children have was not all negative, but it was sufficiently so to give us pause. These children did not follow the positive pattern of earlier studies.

#### Specific conclusions

1. The first two research hypotheses were that there would be an increase in negative feeling toward the police, and toward all the components of the attitude toward the police (function, performance and role identification) with an increase in age. Three major age divisions were considered: those grades which were two years apart in age; those, four years apart; and the second and eighth grades, the only one six years apart in age.

A. Attitude Toward the Police. A critical period for change came about the fourth grade and this change was toward the negative. This conclusion



is based upon the significant difference at the .05 level found between fourth and sixth grade children; and the differences found between the second and sixth, and second and eighth at the .01 and .001 levels respectively, suggesting increasing negativeness with age.

- B. Attitude Toward the Function of Police. When responses to the duties of the police are considered separately, the fourth grade was again significantly different from the second, this time at the .01 level, with the change toward the positive.
- C. Attitude Toward the Performance of Police. The eighth grade was significantly more negative than the second grade. Otherwise there was no significant difference between any other set of age groups when it came to children's view of the tendency of the police to make mistakes.
- D. Identification with Role. Again at the fourth grade, there was a change in children's desire to become a policeman/woman, for there was a significant difference between the second and fourth grade children at the .01 level. The second grade was also significantly different from both the sixth and eighth grades at the .01 level. These differences were all in the negative direction.

E. Summary. There was a general trend toward an increase in negative feeling with an increase in age. The second grade children were significantly different from other groups of children in eight comparisons of twelve. It is possible that the presentation of the unit on the policeman at this grade level created positive attitudes. In addition, the emphasis by the teacher on obeying the traffic patrol may reenforce the feeling that all those people in charge of traffic situations are to be respected. The fourth grade appeared to be a period of change. Their attitudes toward the desire to be a policeman/woman and the police as a whole changed toward the negative but they were significantly more positive toward police duties.

2. The third hypothesis was that there would be an increase in negative attitudes toward the law with an increase in age and grade.

A. A reverse trend existed in the attitudes toward the law. Children were more positive with age. Again the fourth grade was a period of change for the fourth differed significantly from the second at the .05 level.

B. The second grade again differed significantly with the sixth and eighth at the .001 level.

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- A. A reverse trend existed in the attitudes toward the law. Children were more positive with age. Again the fourth grade was a period of change for the fourth differed significantly from the second at the .05 level.
- B. The second grade again differed significantly with the sixth and eighth at the .001 level.

3. The fourth hypothesis was that there would be an increase in negative feeling toward freedom with an increase in age and grade.

- A. There was a significant difference between all the comparisons of age groups except between the fourth and sixth grades. The trend was toward the negative from second through sixth.
- B. However, there was an abrupt reversal with the eighth grade differing from the sixth grade at the .01 level, eighth-grade youth being more positive. The data revealed no explanation for this reversal, since the eighth had been significantly different from other groups only in being more negative or in following the general pattern in negativeness in other areas. It may be that their positive attitude toward the law influenced their thinking about freedom, rather than their negative attitude toward the police coloring their conception of freedom.

Summary. There were a sufficient number of significant differences between the age groups in the negative direction to support a rejection of the null hypotheses of no difference. Children in this subculture in general tended to become more negative with respect to an increase in age and grade. Exceptions to this generality were with attitude toward the law, attitude toward the function or duties of the police and in the positive interpretation of freedom on the part of eighth-grade youth.

4. The fifth, sixth and seventh hypotheses were that girls' attitudes would be more positive toward the police, law and freedom. A review of the literature suggested this assumption, for the Negro girl of the lower class has shown more positive attitudes toward school by achieving better than boys and has been found to have a secure position within the family. Negro boys, on the other hand, have been found to have negative attitudes toward school and insecure positions in the family.

A. There were no significant sex differences in any of the attitudes sampled. In fact, the responses of girls and boys were strikingly similar.

B. One might speculate that negative attitudes toward the police and freedom are a part of the general culture of this neighborhood. The socialization of the girls probably does not differ in this general area.

C. Because the sample was small the inferences which can be drawn from this data are limited. No analysis was made of the influence of the interviewer. Girls were interviewed by women and men teachers and so were boys.

5. The eighth, ninth and tenth hypotheses were that children of stable families would have more positive attitudes than those from unstable families. It was assumed from the research literature that the high degree of family disorganization often found among the father-absent, lower-class family

would produce significantly more negative attitudes in children than if the father were present.

- A. No significant differences for these two groups were found. The single criterion of family instability, that of father-absence, apparently did not differentiate the families in this sample sufficiently.
- B. The population of this sample was shown to be approximately 55% lower class. This included not only the father-absent families but families where the father was an unskilled worker, earning a very low wage. Thus the education, economic and social conditions of these homes may not be sufficiently better than the father-absent homes and may not create an environment which would foster more positive attitudes. It was noted in the literature that the lower class is often apathetic toward the political system in general. The data from this study seemed to support this assumption in that few had participated in protest movements. Thus a pervasive negative feeling may exist toward the culture in general and toward the police in particular. The child may hear little direct verbalization of this at home, but he may observe much which he interprets negatively.

Limitations of the StudySample population

This sample was not selected randomly and the conclusions are confined to only those children included.

This particular Negro neighborhood may differ markedly from that of a Negro neighborhood in a large metropolitan area. It may also differ from a Negro neighborhood in an industrial community of the same size where the adult workers would have access to more skilled jobs and have been admitted to and gained experience in organizational skills in unions. On the whole, this Negro group does not seem to have been greatly influenced by the current civil rights movement, at least so far as taking action is concerned. Thus their children are growing up under different circumstances. However, it must be remembered that they are like many Negroes in this country in that they live in a segregated and separate Negro community.

Interview questions

Certain questions seemed to have caused difficulty. Some children were thought to have misinterpreted, "Who is a judge?" to mean, "Name a judge." A better phrasing would have been, "What does a judge do?" This also applies to the question on the lawyer. In the sample used for the trial test, this problem did not arise. Evidently the Negro children are more apt to know the names of some judges and lawyers. The questions on rules and laws might be rephrased to elicit responses which show better understanding of how rules and laws operate in the child's

life. The interpretation that their answers constitute a "positive" view of the law may be over-optimistic.

Some of the interviewers suggested that the entire structure of the interview led the child to answer the question on freedom in terms of jail and judges. This question might possibly have been given first.

#### Interview procedure

On the whole, the rapport between the interviewers and children of the second, fourth and sixth grades seemed to be good, for the children responded readily and at some length. The teachers' familiarity with the children seemed to help create a good climate for the interview. The assessment of the effect of the interviewer's manner and approach is always difficult. At the junior high it was necessary to use an interviewer who was a stranger to the children. The children's busy schedules did not allow for pre-interview contacts between the interviewer and junior-high children. With the exception of two boys, however, this interviewer felt the rest of the children responded freely.

#### Categorization of data

A crucial decision in the analysis of the data was that of establishing positive and negative categories. It was hoped from the trial interviews that the responses to attitudinal questions might fall along more of a continuum or that there would be readily recognizable degrees of positive and negative feelings.



Such a range was not apparent. Rather the responses seemed to fall into two or at most three well defined groups and so only positive and negative values could be assigned. A larger sample or re-designed questions might permit finer analysis.

### Recommendations

#### Research

A study of the same age groups but for an entire community should be done in order to determine the following: 1) the extent to which a representative sampling of various social classes and of both white and Negro children would have similar views; 2) the extent to which a wider sampling would have acquired the same knowledge as the sample in this study. This might allow for inferences as to whether the actual experiences of the children with the police and courts are different or whether they are all acquiring attitudes and information of a similar kind and to approximately the same degree.

A study in which children of lower class white children could be matched with lower class Negro children might indicate whether the negative attitudes found in this study are typical of the lower class culture or whether they are typical of the Negro culture.

A study in which a larger group of Negro middle class children with a history of family stability would be compared with Negro lower class children with a history of unstable family life might indicate whether family stability in itself accounts for positive or negative attitudes, or whether the wider culture

of the Negro still influences children toward the negative view of this part of the political system.

A need exists for more adequate instruments for attitude testing. The development of an attitude scale appropriate to this area would be helpful and permit finer analysis of the responses.

The tests which are to be published by Easton and Hess could be used with a Negro group to see if they have the same positive feelings to the national political authority figures and the government as a whole, but differ only toward the police.

#### Curriculum

At the beginning of this study, it was pointed out that there are three major developments in education and political science which suggest the need for the present investigation. These are: the revision movement in the social studies, the research on political socialization in political science, and the new programs for the disadvantaged child. The implications for the curriculum of this study will be discussed in relation to these developments.

The revision movement in the social studies and the new research in political science on political socialization are two developments which are related. The many new social studies projects now underway in various universities are mainly concerned with the structure of knowledge in the various social sciences. While the characteristics of learners and the nature

of our society are largely ignored. It was suggested that research is needed to know how appropriate new knowledge is for children and also how this knowledge will prepare children for the social realities of our times.

The political scientists have undertaken such research, although their concern was not with education as such but with what factors account for the stability of a political system over generations. Their research indicates that one answer may be that children at an early age are "socialized" to the basic principles of a system. Educators are also concerned with this problem of how to preserve a democratic society. Yet no major project at the elementary school level is devoted to this basic problem.

Between the study of the policeman as a friendly helper in the primary grades and the secondary school study of the structure of the government, there is a wide gap. Research suggests that society through its other agents, the home, neighborhood and peer group, is filling this void. Children are learning more about the police, are becoming aware of the major political authority figures, and are acquiring concepts of the government and the legal system. These learnings are largely incidental to the school program and may be based upon erroneous information. But they are creating a set toward a positive or negative view of political authority figures, the government and the legal system. In the middle class, the child becomes positively oriented toward the president and government. On the

been stressed in Chapter III that there is a small group of middle class Negroes in this neighborhood. The current emphasis in programs for the disadvantaged has been upon the development of language skills and concepts. Little is said about the development of attitudes, except general references to the need for a better attitude toward the school or raising the aspiration level. Perhaps the present social studies programs are dealing with material that is so far removed from the life of the disadvantaged child that he finds difficulty in becoming interested and in "achieving" more. Even if he is "culturally deprived," he is not failing to learn and to acquire considerable background on the police and the law. The children in this study responded at some length to questions causing them to define such terms as "trial," "jury," and "judge." Perhaps this area would have more meaning to them than a study of foreign countries and would be more immediately significant in citizenship education.

A citizenship program could be developed using the concept of the dual roles of the citizen. The citizen has the right to participate but he also has the obligation to obey or to be both a participant and a subject. Little stress has been put on the "subject" role and this would involve the legal system rather than the "law making" aspect of government. Some political scientists have suggested that commitment to this part of the political system is more important than commitment to the political parties or those presently running the government.

However such a program should meet several conditions. It should present clearly the basic rights guaranteed American

citizens but at the same time, present the problems that confront the police and judiciary in preserving these rights. Otherwise the program will be unrealistic to children like those in this study. This means the teachers should be informed about local conditions which have brought about the negative attitudes. What kind of experience have these children had or heard about that leads them to believe the police make false arrests and to define freedom in terms of being free from jail? Such a study by teachers would no doubt involve finding out what the community is doing to change the environment which creates or fosters such attitudes. A closer working relationship between the school and community action groups would help co-ordinate the efforts of all those who work for a democratic society.

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## APPENDIX A

## INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERVIEWERS

Initial meeting with interviewers

Listen to the tape of an interview with a third grade child so that you will have a general idea of the interview. We will discuss your questions at our meeting.

Interview procedure

Have each child give his name before you begin the interview; be sure this is recorded. Then please write down the name as a double check. Otherwise you have nothing to write during the interview.

Instructions to the child. "Mary, I am going to ask you some questions today; these have nothing to do with your school-work. Someone at the University would like to know what fourth grade children think about these questions.

Just give me what you think. There are no right or wrong answers. If you don't know, just say, 'I don't know.' Speak right up so your voice will be recorded."

If you feel that you can give these instructions to the whole class, you may do so, but you might repeat the last paragraph again at the interview.

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If you feel that you can give these instructions to the whole class, you may do so, but you might repeat the last paragraph again at the interview.

Other problems. Stick to the questions in the order given. Do not elaborate. You may repeat what the child says at times so that it will be recorded properly. Try to encourage the child to respond, but do not react positively or negatively to his answers. The only time you might pursue an answer is when a child uses a technical term which you think he might not understand. Allow a reasonable time for the child to answer; otherwise go right on to the next.

## APPENDIX B

## INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

Role of the policeman

1. What does a policeman do?
2. Where do you see him?
3. Does the policeman ever make mistakes? What kind?
4. Would you like to be a policeman/woman? Why?

Role of the Judiciary and judicial process

5. When the police arrests someone, where does the policeman take the person?
6. Who decides how the arrested person will be punished?
7. Do you know who a judge is?
8. Do you know who a lawyer is?
9. Do you know what a jury is?
10. What is a trial?

Attitude toward the law

11. What is a rule?
12. What is a law?
13. Do you know a good law which helps people?
14. Do you know a bad law?
15. Who makes laws?

Attitude toward freedom

16. What does it mean to be free?

- 17. Do you have much freedom at home? after school?  
in school?
- 18. Who tells you what you can do and can't do?
- 19. Who punishes you if you don't follow the rules?

## APPENDIX C

## RESPONSES TO QUESTION: WHO MAKES THE LAWS?

	2nd Grade	4th Grade	6th Grade	8th Grade
<u>Individuals</u>				
President	9	14	3	5
Law Enforcement	18	14	3	
Judge	32	17	14	5
<u>Collective Action</u>				
Congress			6	38
People		3	34	31
Government		7	20	16
<u>Divine</u>	9	4		
<u>Don't Know</u>	33	42	20	5



## VITA

Virginia Schnepf was born in Garber, Iowa, March 15, 1916. She graduated from Mankato High School, Mankato, Minnesota, in June, 1933. At the State University of Iowa, she obtained a B.A. degree with a major in Political Science and minor in secondary education in 1948. The M.A. degree in elementary education was obtained at the University of Chicago in 1955.

Before entering the teaching profession she served as Executive Director of the Sacajawea Camp Fire Girls Area Council at Lewiston, Idaho for several years. Her teaching experience includes classroom work at Lake Bluff and Moline, Illinois; supervisory work at Glen Ellyn, Illinois and counseling at Thornridge High School at Dolton, Illinois. At the State University of New York Teachers College at Fredonia, New York, she was fourth grade critic teacher in the Campus School and spent one summer as critic teacher at Northern Michigan College, Marquette, Michigan.

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