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Los Angeles

Civic Engagement in the Upper Elementary Grades:

An Examination of Parent and Teacher Practices and Children's Civic Identity

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Education

by

Elizabeth Spalding White

2012

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Civic Engagement in the Upper Elementary Grades:

An Examination of Parent and Teacher Practices and Children's Civic Identity

by

Elizabeth Spalding White

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

Professor Rashmita Mistry, Chair

This study examines civic identity (i.e., civic values and responsibility to community and to people) in middle childhood, a previously unexplored developmental period in the civic engagement literature, and how adults and socialization processes in the home and school contexts are associated with children's civic outcomes. Middle childhood is a relevant time to explore these processes, as children at this age begin to demonstrate more complex understandings and interactions with their social world (Eccles, 1999). Thus, it is a key time to build a foundation for future civic engagement. This study aimed to determine: 1) child and family characteristics associated with civic outcomes in middle childhood; 2) the extent to which parents' humanitarian values and civic beliefs (social and government trust) are associated with children's civic identity and the ways that parents share these values/beliefs with children; and 3) the types of civic activities used by teachers in the upper elementary grades and the extent to

which teacher practices are associated with children's civic outcomes. Survey data were collected from 407 ethnically and economically diverse upper-elementary students (4th- 6th grades), their parents (N = 388), and teachers (N = 22) from seven schools in Southern California. *Aim 1:* Results indicated that being female, having a need to affiliate with others, and being from a low-income family were associated with children's civic identity. *Aim 2:* Additionally, parents who more strongly endorsed humanitarian values and were more trusting of others had children with greater civic outcomes, and parents transmitted these values/beliefs to their children by being civically engaged themselves. Parent mistrust in the government was also associated with greater civic outcomes, but only for children from low-income families. *Aim 3:* Teachers reported using multiple types of civic activities in the classroom, and civic learning opportunities (e.g., service learning) were associated with children's feelings of responsibility to people. This study provides evidence of a civic identity in middle childhood and shows that parents and teachers both matter for children's civic outcomes. Findings also suggest that parents' civic engagement and concrete civic learning experiences are particularly meaningful to children's civic outcomes during middle childhood.

The dissertation of Elizabeth Spalding White is approved.

Sandra Graham

Meredith Phillips

John Rogers

Rashmita Mistry, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2012

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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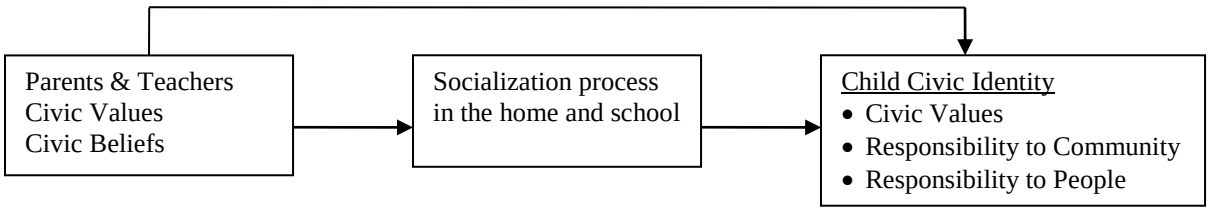
INTRODUCTION

Youth civic engagement is important because participation in one's society is essential in a functioning democracy (Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002). This is a critical time in history to have all community members become more civically engaged given the myriad of pressing social issues (e.g., poverty, systemic racism) facing the United States. If leaders are to represent and promote the goals of the people, all members, especially marginalized groups, must exercise their voting rights and use their political voice when they feel changes should be made. Communities benefit when community members are civically engaged (Putnam, 2000), and making a contribution to one's community through service activities, both formal (e.g., volunteering in youth organizations) and informal (e.g., running errands for neighbors), helps individuals who may not have sufficient resources to support themselves. Becoming civically engaged is also beneficial for those participating in service or civic activities, as youth learn perspective taking, tolerance, and acceptance of diverse individuals (Flanagan & Faison, 2001). Additionally, civic engagement helps support positive transitions to adulthood for at-risk youth (Diemer, 2009; Finlay, Flanagan, & Black, 2007).

Unfortunately, almost 60% of young adults ages 18 to 25 report no civic or political activity (Lopez et al., 2006), and rates are even lower among racial/ethnic minorities and those from lower socioeconomic (SES) backgrounds (CIRCLE, 2007; Hart & Atkins, 2002). Younger generations report lower rates of voting/political participation when compared with older generations (Jenkins, Andolina, Keeter, & Zukin, 2003), and while volunteering rates look more promising, only 40% of 15-to-25-year-olds report any volunteer activity and less than a quarter volunteer regularly (Keeter, Zukin, Andolina, Jenkins, 2002). Due to these low rates of participation, there has been increased attention to research on youth civic engagement in recent

years, though many questions remain about the origins of youth civic involvement and how to promote civic participation among all youth populations. Research on the experiences contributing to civic engagement in childhood is needed to determine how educators and parents can build a foundation upon which future civic engagement can grow. The purpose of this study is to explore children's emergent *civic identity* which includes civic values and notions of social responsibility (i.e., responsibility to the community and to people in general). For the home context, I examine whether parents' civic-related values and beliefs are associated with children's civic identity, the specific socialization practices used to transmit these ideas to children, and whether these processes differ based on child and family characteristics. I also explore civic learning opportunities in the school context including the kinds of civic learning opportunities teachers create in their classrooms, and the degree to which these experiences are associated with children's civic identity. A conceptual model guiding the current study is below. (Figure 1; See Figures 2 and 3 for more detailed models.)

Figure 1. ***Conceptual Model***



One limitation of the existing literature on civic engagement is the exclusive focus on adolescents and adults, as there are likely socialization experiences occurring during childhood that contribute to the development of adult/adolescent civic engagement. The upper elementary grades (approximately ages 9-11) represent a relevant time to explore this construct, as children at this age have an increased ability for logical reasoning, and demonstrate increased social cognition engaging in self-reflective thinking and perspective-taking (Rice, 1998). During this

Figure 2.

Model of the home context

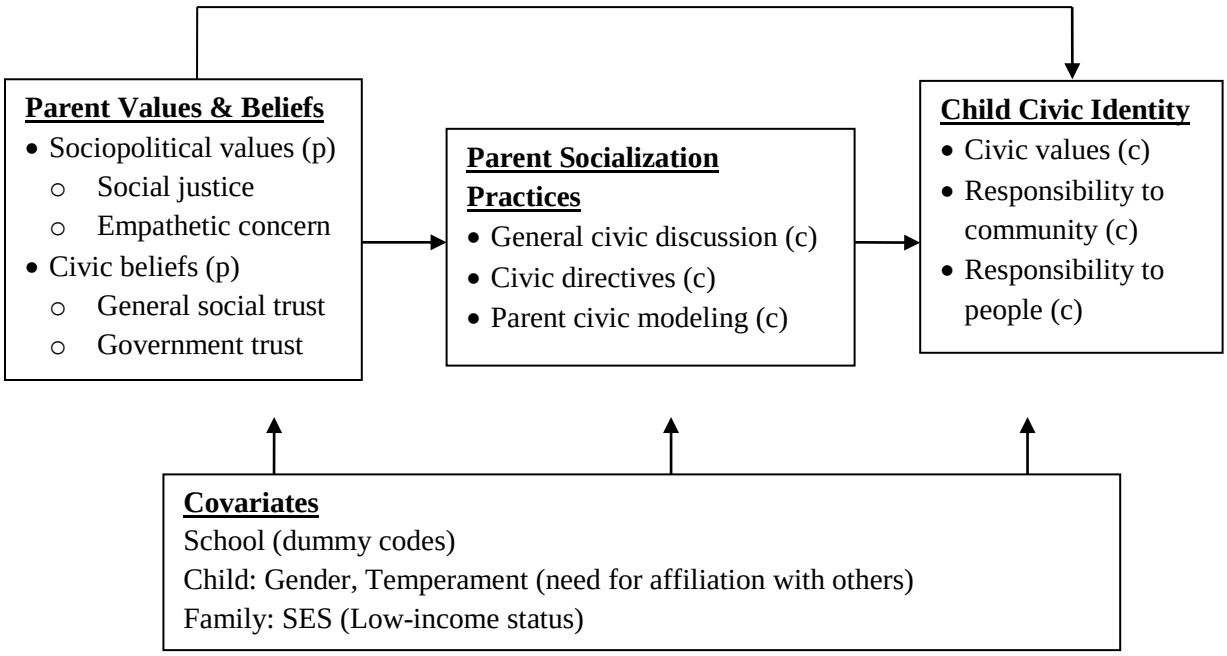
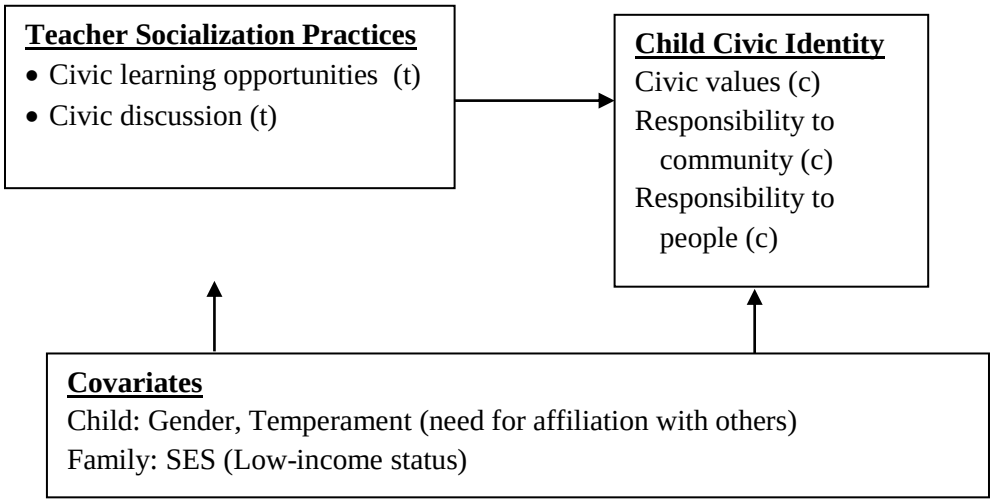


Figure 3.

Model of the school context



time, children also begin to demonstrate a more complex understanding of their social world and a more nuanced way of interacting with others. Research examining children's political development has shown that an understanding of democracy, individual rights, and civil liberties begins to develop in early childhood (Helwig, 2006). Children's understanding of leadership and hierarchical organizations advances throughout middle childhood, and by the time they reach the upper elementary grades, students understand the election and voting process, choosing between candidates, and the representation of political parties (Berti, 2005). Children's political attitudes also show increasing sophistication. During the elementary school years, children become increasingly aware of various political issues and develop more discerning views of political leaders and government processes (Hess & Torney, 1967; Moore, Lare, & Wagner, 1985). This line of research demonstrates children's growing understanding of political topics, though these investigations have been limited to political knowledge and attitudes.

The field of civic engagement emerged in the 1990's in an effort to expand research on political socialization to include other forms of participation such as volunteering, protesting, and demonstrating concern for social issues. Including such activities was particularly important in examining youth involvement, as many political activities (e.g., voting, donating money to political parties) have age-based and financial restrictions (Keeter, Jenkins, Zukin, & Andolina, 2005). These extensions of the political socialization literature, however, have yet to be explored with elementary-aged children. Given children's emergent political attitudes and understanding of sophisticated political topics, they likely also have developing ideas and beliefs related to civic engagement. Furthermore, numerous scholars (e.g., Astuto & Ruck, 2010; Sherrod et al., 2002) have noted the need for research with younger populations to better understand developmental processes leading to lasting civic engagement.

Additionally, limited empirical work has examined the ways in which home- and school-based socialization processes promoting civic engagement may operate differently depending on child and family characteristics. Understanding these differences is essential in moving the field forward, especially given the increasing economic and ethnic diversity among children in the United States (Economic Policy Institute, 2011; Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2008). Furthermore, research and panel surveys frequently reveal trends in adolescent and adult participation based on group membership, so research with diverse populations is needed to better understand these differences. For example, girls often show higher levels of civic and political participation during adolescence and adulthood (e.g., Bobek, Zaff, Li, & Lerner, 2009; CIRCLE, 2007; Obradovic & Masten, 2007). Furthermore, among 18-24 year old citizens, African Americans and Whites are more likely to vote than Latinos and Asian-Americans, though Asian-Americans demonstrate higher rates of regular volunteering than all other racial groups (CIRCLE, 2007; Marcelo, Lopez, & Kirby, 2007). Throughout the lifespan adults from lower SES backgrounds show lower levels of community service and political participation (Foster-Bey, 2008; Jenkins et al., 2003). Understanding the socialization experiences promoting civic engagement among diverse groups is central to figuring out why these differences persist and determining ways to promote civic engagement among all populations.

Although the study sample includes children from various race/ethnic backgrounds, ethnic group comparisons will focus on Latinos and Whites. Latinos currently constitute one of the fastest growing segments of the population, and it is estimated that the number of school-age Latino children will increase 166% (from 11 million to 28 million) by 2050 (Fry & Gonzales, 2008). Latinos make up approximately 20% of the school-age population in the U.S., though those estimates are considerably higher in California where almost 50% of K-12 students are

Latino (Pew Hispanic Center, 2010). Civic engagement is particularly important to explore among Latinos given the low overall rates of political participation (e.g., Foster-Bey, 2008) coupled with the many laws and legislature affecting Latino immigrant youth's experiences and life chances. These include Arizona's recent immigration law (Senate Bill 1070), and the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM Act). Thus, understanding the ways in which parents and teachers can promote civic engagement among Latino children is particularly important to examine.

Children's Civic Identity

For this project, children's civic engagement is conceptualized as an emergent *civic identity*, which includes general civic values (e.g., importance of environmentalism, helping those who are less fortunate, etc.) and notions of social responsibility (i.e., responsibility to the community, responsibility to people). These outcomes were chosen because they represent developmentally appropriate measures of civic engagement for elementary school students and provide a comprehensive set of precursors to civic engagement in adolescence and adulthood. Adult and adolescent civic identity comprises a person's connection to members of society, a belief in the ability to promote social change, and an understanding of the broader social implications associated with civic participation. These domains develop through socialization experiences, and some researchers hypothesize that a civic identity is the link to lasting civic engagement in adulthood (Youniss & Yates, 1997). Furthermore, survey data show that individuals who feel a sense of responsibility to their community are more likely to vote and work to solve community problems, and a desire to help others motivates regular volunteerism (Keeter et al., 2002). Thus, children's feelings of responsibility to the community and to people and the importance they place on civic values are likely important precursors to civic ideals and

behaviors later in life, so they represent a meaningful set of civic outcomes for children. Research has shown that key sociopolitical attitudes including liberal/conservative orientations and racial prejudice remain quite stable throughout the life-cycle (see Sears, 1990, for review), so it is possible that children carry this civic identity into adolescence and adulthood.

The Meaning of Civic Engagement

In prior work with adults and adolescents, civic engagement has been defined and operationalized in a variety of ways including traditional forms such as voting and volunteering (e.g., Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, & Atkins, 2007), broader notions of engagement such as reading about politics, boycotting products, or joining groups and organizations (e.g., Keeter et al., 2002), and cultural practices such as translating for community members (e.g., Stepick, Stepick, & Labissiere, 2008). Jenkins and colleagues (2003) argue that civic participation, electoral participation, and expression of political voice are distinct though interrelated dimensions of civic engagement whereas other theorists maintain that civic and political participation are markedly different as political involvement is confrontational in nature while civic engagement requires cooperation and communalism (Uslaner & Brown, 2005). Measures of civic engagement also differ in that some assess current behaviors (e.g., Keeter et al. 2002), some measure future intended behaviors (e.g., Flanagan, Bowes, Jonsson, Csapo, & Sheblanova, 1998), while others capture both (e.g., Finlay et al., 2007; Metz & Youniss, 2005). Instead of overt behaviors, some researchers have examined civic commitments, meaning the degree to which youth consider helping their country and doing something for society as an important life goal (e.g., Flanagan et al., 1998), or future anticipated participation in community improvement, ideas about social responsibility, and beliefs about personal efficacy (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). All of these indicators, however, tap into a similar construct mapping civic and political activity

and interest. Throughout each literature review the term "civic engagement" is used to represent all forms of civic activity mentioned above.

Theoretical Framework

This study is guided by multiple theoretical perspectives. At the broadest level, the study is informed by ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), which posits that human development occurs within various "systems" or environmental contexts. These systems include the immediate setting (e.g., home, school), the broader social setting (e.g., neighborhood, media, government), the overarching cultural ideology (e.g., policies, values, beliefs), and the sociohistorical period in which one lives. Ecological theory maintains that complex interactions between the individual and the environment, which includes others (e.g., parents, teachers, peers) within these environments, are the primary mechanisms through which human development occurs. Interactions that take place within the most proximal settings (e.g., the home) and are enduring over time exert the most powerful influence on children. Parents are often the main person with whom children interact on a regular and enduring basis, so parents' sociopolitical values and beliefs will likely influence children's emergent civic identity. These ideas are likely imparted to children in various ways. Parke and Buriel (2006) maintain that parents influence children's development through socialization experiences associated with child-rearing practices, so family communication habits regarding civic issues and social responsibility may be mechanisms through which parents' civic-related views are passed to children. Furthermore, according to social cognitive learning theory (Bandura, 1986), children learn how to behave by observing influential others. Parent modeling of civic behavior (both the demonstration of civic values/beliefs and civic participation) may be an additional way that parents' beliefs and values are transmitted to children. Torney-Purta (1995) views political socialization through a

constructivist lens and maintains that children use these interactions and observations to actively construct their own knowledge and understanding. Thus, children's interpretations of these socialization processes are particularly important to consider.

Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006) also maintain that as children grow and develop, other significant adults also contribute to their development, and one of the primary adult figures in children's lives (besides parents) are teachers. Therefore, teacher practices may also influence children's emergent civic identity. Similar to the home context, socialization experiences in schools that contribute to children's civic identity may be through direct practices or how the environment is structured. Like parents, teachers can communicate directly with students about current events and politics as one means of transmission, but they are also in a position to create various civic learning experiences (e.g., service learning) in the classroom. Furthermore, experiencing a democratic classroom climate may be another socialization process through which teachers foster children's civic identity, particularly given that teachers are able to demonstrate and encourage democratic principles with a wider, more diverse group of individuals than typically possible in the home. Schools and classrooms are one of the first settings in which youth learn to be a participant and part of a community so the ways in which these environments are structured may be particularly important to children's civic identity (Flanagan et al., 1998).

Overall, there are multiple pathways to civic participation and a variety of socialization experiences in the home and school may foster youth civic engagement (e.g., Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Keeter et al., 2002). The current study includes parent and teacher factors and home- and school-based socialization experiences to determine the specific influences within each context. Although these home and school processes are likely interrelated (e.g., Bronfenbrenner &

Morris, 2006; Parke & Buriel, 2006) and parents' ideas may influence school choice and children's subsequent educational experiences, the parent and teacher models will be examined separately to focus specifically on the context in which these interactions occur.

Paper Organization

This paper is divided into four studies examining children's civic engagement. Study 1 focuses on individual difference variables and family demographic characteristics. Specifically, I examine the degree to which child- (gender, race/ethnicity, temperament, prosocial behavior, academic achievement) and family-level characteristics (maternal education, family SES, parents' nativity status) predict children's civic identity. Study 1 also establishes covariates for all subsequent regression analyses. Study 2 examines whether parents' humanitarian values (social justice values and empathetic concern) are related to children's civic identity and whether or not parent-child communication and parent modeling of civic behavior are pathways through which parent values are transmitted to children. Study 3 focuses on parents' civic beliefs (social and government trust) and the degree to which these beliefs predict children's civic identity, again testing parent-child communication and parent modeling of civic behavior as pathways of mediation. Because research shows that both trust and mistrust in the government can motivate civic engagement, and that government trust varies for groups with differential power/status in society, I also test whether or not the relationship between parent government trust and child civic outcomes is moderated by family SES, maternal education, or race/ethnicity. Study 4 examines the school context highlighting the classroom-based socialization experiences promoting children's civic identity. Specifically, I examine whether teacher-student civic discussion and civic learning opportunities in the classroom predict children's civic outcomes. I also examine teachers' open-ended descriptions of civic learning opportunities in their

classroom. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of my overall findings, addressing broad themes, practical implications, study limitations, and future directions.

Methods

District/School Recruitment

Teachers and students were recruited from two public suburban school districts and a private, university-based school in Southern California. Each school was offered a $250 donation to their school library as an incentive to participate, and teachers received a $25 gift card to Target for their participation. Because the private school had a policy of no gifts for research participation, participants from that school were not given any monetary incentives.

School recruitment was an iterative process which began in June 2010. Initially I targeted urban districts in the Los Angeles area. First, I completed an application to conduct research in a large, ethnically diverse urban school district though this application was not approved. District officials described pre-existing demands on teachers during the school year and felt the study would be an additional burden. Next, I contacted three additional districts (that included urban schools) through email to inquire about study participation. After multiple emails and phone communication, all districts declined to participate. Reasons cited included multiple schools closing, principals' dissatisfaction with past research conducted in schools, and overburdened teachers. In late August 2010, I contacted three suburban school districts north of Los Angeles. Although one district declined, by late fall, two of these districts ("District One" and "District Two") had agreed to participate.

In District One, a district official contacted elementary school principals and teachers and invited them to participate in the study. Of the eleven elementary schools in the district, two school principals volunteered their 4th and 5th grade classes for participation. Five teachers at

three additional schools in the district also volunteered their 4th or 5th grade classrooms. Overall, data were collected from 14 classrooms across five schools in District One. In District Two, a district official gave me permission to recruit teachers and students from one school in the district. All 4th-6th grade teachers at the school volunteered their classrooms for participation. Data were collected in seven classrooms. During the fall, I also completed an internal research application for a university-based private school in the Los Angeles area. Once the application was approved, I contacted the research coordinator at the school who then provided teacher contact information for the school's 5th and 6th grade teachers. Both 5th and 6th grade classrooms agreed to participate in the study. Data were collected in two classrooms.

Schools. District One serves approximately 15,000 students and includes 11 elementary schools (grades K-5). At the district level, the student population is majority White (46%), Latino (35%), and Asian (9%) though other groups are also represented including African American (3%) and other (7%). Ethnic representation of students in participating schools was similar to overall district reports. However, two schools had more Latino students (School 2: 50%; School 5: 70%) and fewer Whites (30%; 15%, respectively) when compared to district averages. These two schools also had the highest percentage of socioeconomically disadvantaged[1] students (School 2: 50%; School 5: 55%) and English Language Learners (ELLs, 25%; 30%, respectively). According to district records, home language was majority English or Spanish for K-12 students.

District Two serves approximately 22,000 students and includes 21 elementary schools (grades K-6). Similar to schools in District One, students at this school were also majority White

[1] Schools did not specify how "socioeconomic disadvantage" was defined or measured.

(63%), Latino (23%), and Asian (9%). School-level data regarding student economic disadvantage or percentage of ELLs were not available.

The private school included in the study serves 450 students in grades PreK-6th. This school is also ethnically diverse including the following groups: White (32%), Latino (23%), Multiracial (18%), Asian (10%), African American (10%) and other (7%). According to school-level data, approximately 11% of students come from "low-income"[1] families. The percentage of ELLs was not available, though the school includes a dual-language English-Spanish program.

Student Recruitment

Student participants were recruited directly from classrooms, and all children enrolled were invited to participate. Study packets were distributed to all children, and parent materials were available in both English and Spanish because of the large number of English and Spanish speaking families in participating schools. Students were offered entry into a classroom raffle for a $15 gift card to Jamba Juice and Subway for returning the signed forms to their classroom.

Participants

Participants in the study included 4th- 6th grade students (*N* = 407; 58% female), their parents (*N* = 388), and teachers (*N* = 22) from the two public school districts and the university-based private school: District One (5 schools, 14 classrooms); District Two (1 school, 7 classrooms); and private school (1 school, 2 classrooms). Across all schools, 774 students were recruited for participation, and the participation rate was 53%. Because a few children chose not to participate and some were absent on the day of survey administration, the number of child participants dropped to 391. Of those, 372 had both child and parent data. The majority of parents completing the survey were mothers (73%), though fathers (23%) also participated. The

[1] "low-income", meaning income below 2x the U.S. Federal Poverty Threshold

remaining 4% of respondents included grandparents (n = 4), step-parents (n = 3), foster parents (n = 3), and both mother and father completing the survey together (n = 5).

The participant sample was ethnically diverse (43% White, 26% Latino, 16% Multiracial, 11% Asian, and 4% other) and 48% had at least one foreign born parent. Children from various race/ethnic backgrounds were represented in the sample of immigrant families: White (n = 51); Latino (n = 65); Multiracial (n = 23); Asian (n = 38); and other (n = 8). The sample was also economically diverse, as 25% of the children were from low-income families, 31% were from middle income families, and 44% were from higher income families. Slightly less than half of the mothers (44%) and fathers (45%) had at least a college degree. (See Table 1.0 for a description of the study sample.)

Twenty three classrooms were included in recruitment, though one teacher chose not to participate which reduced the number of participating teachers to 22. Teacher participants were predominantly female (n = 20) and White (n = 19), though other ethnic groups were also represented (African American, n = 1; Asian, n = 1; Multiethnic, n = 1). Teacher age ranged from 29 to 61 (M = 47.86, SD = 7.62) while years of teaching experience ranged from 6 to 29 years (M = 18.81, SD = 7.25). All teachers had attained either a bachelor's or a master's degree.

Table 1.0

Descriptives for Study Sample (N = 407 students, 388 parents, 22 teachers)

	n	%	Range	Mean	SD
Child gender					
Female	225	57.80	--	--	--
Male	164	42.20	--	--	--
Child race/ethnicity					
White	174	42.90	--	--	--
Latino	104	25.60	--	--	--
Asian	45	11.10	--	--	--
Multiethnic	66	16.30	--	--	--
Other	17	4.20	--	--	--
Child temperament					
Assertiveness	383		1.50 - 5.00	3.57	0.70
Need for affiliation with others	383		1.80 - 5.00	4.06	0.60
Child prosocial behavior (peer nominations)					
Nominated	313	76.90	--	--	--
Not nominated	94	23.10	--	--	--
Reading Achievement					
Does not meet standards	79	24.20	--	--	--
Meets/exceeds standards	247	75.80	--	--	--
Mathematics Achievement					
Does not meet standards	80	24.30	--	--	--
Meets/exceeds standards	249	75.70	--	--	--
Socioeconomic status					
Household income	361		$5,000 - $500,000	$120,000	$114,000
Income-to-Needs ≤ 2 (low-income)	89	24.70	--	--	--
Income-to-Needs > 2, ≤ 4 (middle income)	112	31.20	--	--	--
Income-to-Needs > 4 (affluent)	158	44.00	--	--	--
Maternal education level					
Did not graduate high school	14	3.90	--	--	--
High school graduate	108	30.30	--	--	--
Vocational school graduate	76	21.30	--	--	--
College graduate	105	29.40	--	--	--
Post-graduate completed	54	15.10	--	--	--
Paternal education level					
Did not graduate high school	22	6.50	--	--	--
High school graduate	102	30.10	--	--	--
Vocational school graduate	64	18.20	--	--	--
College graduate	94	27.20	--	--	--
Post-graduate completed	59	17.40	--	--	--

Table 1

Descriptives for Study Sample (N = 407 students, 388 parents, 22 teachers)

	n	%	Range	Mean	SD
Parents' nativity status					
Immigrant family	185	0.48			
Non-immigrant family	197	0.52			
Parent values, beliefs and practices					
Parent humanitarian values					
Empathetic Concern	385	--	2.33 - 5.00	4.59	0.50
Social Justice Values	384	--	1.60 - 5.00	3.82	0.68
Parent trust					
Generalized social trust	386	--	1.00 - 4.33	3.02	0.72
Trust in the U.S. government	385	--	1.00 - 5.00	2.99	0.78
Child reported parent socialization practices					
General civic communication	390	--	1.00 - 5.00	3.06	1.12
Civic directives	390	--	1.00 - 5.00	3.66	0.98
Parent civic modeling	390	--	1.00 - 5.00	3.50	0.90
Child civic identity					
Civic values	--	--	1.50 - 5.00	4.26	0.64
Civic responsibility- community	--	--	1.56 - 5.00	3.88	0.70
Civic responsibility- to people	--	--	2.50 - 5.00	4.47	0.50
Teacher gender					
Female	20	90.90			
Male	2	9.09			
Teacher ethnicity					
White	19	86.36			
African American	1	4.54			
Asian	1	4.54			
Multiethnic	1	4.54			
Teacher age			29.00- 61.00	47.86	7.62
Years of teaching			6.00- 29.00	18.81	7.25
Teacher education level					
College graduate	14	63.63			
Post-graduate completed	8	36.36			

Note. The *n*'s for individual variables varies due to some missing data.

Procedures

Data collection. Data collection was carried out from December 2010 to April 2011. Teachers completed the survey at their convenience and returned it in a sealed envelope. Parent

surveys were returned in a sealed envelope to a box in the classroom. Child questionnaires were administered in a group setting, the classroom, in coordination with classroom teachers. For each administration, I first discussed the youth assent forms, asking children for whom parent consent was secured, to provide their assent for participation in the study. Next, I administered the self-report questionnaire. Children completed the questionnaire independently at their desks. A research assistant accompanied me to help distribute forms and, when needed, to answer student questions about survey items. We collected the surveys upon student completion, and gave students another opportunity to ask questions about the survey or their participation.

Preliminary analysis. Because data were collected from multiple schools and classrooms, Intraclass Correlation Coefficients (ICC's) were calculated at the school- and classroom- level for all study variables to determine the school- and classroom-level clustering of these data. All ICC's were low ranging from 0 to .07 for schools and .02 to .08 for classrooms within schools, indicating that there was little shared variance among students in the same schools and classrooms. (See Appendix A for ICC's). Given these low values and the similarity among all schools in terms of student demographics, I determined that controlling for school at baseline using dummy codes would sufficiently address the issue of multi-site data collection. Furthermore, the current study is focused on specific parent and teacher practices rather than school-level differences. Thus, all regression analyses presented control for school.

Measures

Following is a general description of all study measures included in analyses. A more detailed description of specific study variables including factor analysis results, reliability, and coding are reported within each study. These measures are organized according to the conceptual model guiding this study.

Parents' Civic Values and Beliefs

Parent humanitarian-egalitarian values. Parent sociopolitical values were assessed using Katz and Hass' (1988) Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism scale, a 10-item measure assessing "adherence to the democratic ideals of equality, social justice, and concern for others' well-being" (p. 894). Parents responded on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Parent trust. Parents completed three items assessing generalized social trust and three items measuring trust in the U.S. government (Flanagan, Syvertsen, & Stout, 2007). Parents responded on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Parent Socialization Processes

Parent-child civic communication. Children completed 10 items rating the frequency of communication with parents about civic issues and civic responsibility on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*) (Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007; Kahne, 2005; Kahne & Sporte, 2008).

Parent modeling of civic behaviors. Children completed three items rating their parents' civic and political participation on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*; Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007).

Teacher Socialization Processes

Classroom civic learning activities. Teachers completed five items assessing civic learning opportunities/activities in the classroom (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). Teachers responded on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Teachers also provided open-ended descriptions of three activities/lessons they used to teach civic skills and promote civic engagement among students.

Teacher-child civic discussion. Teachers completed six items rating the frequency of civic communication and classroom discussion on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*) (Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007; Kahne, 2005).

Child Civic Identity Outcomes

Child civic values. Children completed six items assessing civic values (Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007). Children were asked to rate the importance they place on civic-related values (e.g., helping others) on a scale from 1 (*not at all important*) to 5 (*very important*).

Child social responsibility. Children's social responsibility was assessed using a 13-item self-report measure (Chi, Jastrzab, & Melchior, 2006). The social responsibility sub-scales included in the current study were items assessing children's concern for others, caring for the community, and environmental stewardship. Responses ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Child Characteristics

Gender. Children indicated their own gender.

Race/ethnicity. Parents were asked to indicate their child's race/ethnicity based on 15 categories from the 2010 U.S. Census. When parent reports were not available, child reports from the same measure were used.

Temperament. Parents completed the assertiveness (8-items) and need for affiliation with others (10-items) subscales from Simonds and Rothbart's (2004) Temperament in Middle Childhood Questionnaire (TMCQ). Parents responded on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*a lot*).

Prosocial behavior. Children provided peer nominations.

Academic achievement. Reading and math achievement data were taken from children's most recent report card.

Family Demographic Characteristics

Family SES. Parents completed questions that asked about household income, family size, and educational attainment. Parents indicated their family's household income from the past year (2010) by selecting a category from a scale ranging from 1 (*less than $10,000*) to 11 (*more than $500,000*). Parents also reported the total number of children and adults currently living in the household. These measures were used to create an income-to-needs ratio score for each family. Parents also indicated the highest level of education completed by both of the child's parents on a scale that ranged from 1 (*less than a HS diploma*) to 7 (*J.D., M.D., or Ph.D.*).

Parent generational status. Parents indicated whether or not they and their spouse/partner were born in the United States or another country.

Teacher Characteristics

Teachers were asked to report their highest level of education, race/ethnicity, age, gender, and years of teaching experience.

Covariates

School dummy codes were included as covariates.

STUDY 1

Child & Family Characteristics and Children's Civic Identity

The purpose of Study 1 was to examine the degree to which child and family characteristics are associated with children's civic identity. Individual factors (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity, social skills) and family background characteristics (e.g., SES, parents' foreign born status) are important to test in middle childhood, as these factors have been shown to be predictive of various civic outcomes with adolescent and adult populations. A review of the extant literature follows.

Individual Child Characteristics

Gender. When examining the impact of various child and family characteristics on youth and young adult civic engagement, gender is one of the most consistently predictive factors. Female adolescents are more likely to report volunteering (Kleiner & Chapman, 2000; McIntosh, Hart, & Youniss, 2007; Metz & Youniss, 2005; Obradovic & Masten, 2007), attach greater importance to helping society (Flanagan et al., 1998), and report greater commitment to patriotism, building tolerance in communities, and helping people in need (Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill, & Gallay, 2007). Bobek and colleagues (2009) compared mean scores between girls and boys on multiple civic outcomes including civic skills, civic participation, perceptions of civic duty, and social connections with others and found that girls were significantly higher on all civic outcomes. Initial evidence suggests that among immigrant youth, girls are also more likely to be engaged in civic activities and express concern with community issues (Bedolla, 2000; Stepick & Stepick, 1999). Differences in political participation are less clear. Females age 18 to 24 show higher voting rates than their male counterparts (CIRCLE, 2007) though boys demonstrate greater political knowledge (McIntosh et al., 2007; Moore et al., 1985) when

compared with girls which some (Greenstein, 1973; Moore et al., 1985) attribute to greater representation of males in traditional politics. Given these findings, it is hypothesized that being female will be associated with children's civic values and feelings of social responsibility.

Race/ethnicity. Research has also revealed race/ethnic differences in civic participation rates. Among 18-24 year old citizens, African Americans and Whites are more likely to vote than Latinos and Asians, though Asian-Americans demonstrate higher rates of regular volunteering than all other racial groups (CIRCLE, 2007; Marcelo et al., 2007). These findings are not always consistent, as Foster-Bey (2008) found that Latinos and Asians show lower levels of volunteering and participation in community activities when compared to Whites and African Americans. Researchers (e.g., Bobek et al., 2009) maintain that differences in civic engagement based on race/ethnicity should be interpreted with caution as civic engagement of ethnic minority youth may look different than civic engagement of Whites. Stepick and colleagues (2008) found that rates of civic engagement among Latino immigrants were similar to non-immigrants when additional forms of civic engagement such as helping a recent immigrant or helping a non-English speaker write were included in study measures. They found that immigrant youth are more likely to engage in civic activities that benefit their ethnic group and often use their bilingual skills to support community members. Unfortunately, these civic behaviors are not often captured by traditional measures of civic engagement. Furthermore, while Latinos often show lower levels of civic and political activity (e.g., Bobek et al., 2009; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995), recent work indicates that Latinos are more likely to have taken part in a protest than all other ethnic groups (Marcelo et al., 2007). Overall, research does indicate that certain types of civic participation are more or less common depending on ethnic group membership. However, examination of broader or more abstract civic notions such as civic commitments

show few race/ethnic differences (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). In the current study I examine children's civic values and social responsibility, both of which are broader, more abstract notions of engagement and are hypothesized to underlie an array of civic/political participation. Therefore, I do not expect to find race/ethnic differences in children's civic identity.

Social/academic skills and temperament. Other individual characteristics may also be related to children's civic identity including social skills, temperament, and achievement. Youth who demonstrate social competence are more likely to engage in community service (see Hart, Atkins, & Donnelly, 2006, for review; Metz & Youniss, 2005), and individuals who are socially skilled (high emotional regulation, positive emotionality) in early childhood are more likely to volunteer in adolescence as compared to youth who are shy or have difficulty with social interaction (Atkins, Hart, & Donnelly, 2005). Hart and Feagley (1995) examined a group of African American and Latino youth showing high levels of civic engagement (e.g., volunteering, community service through youth group), and found that when compared to other adolescents, these youth were more likely to use references to positive, caring personality traits when describing themselves. Furthermore, researchers maintain that civic participation skills are essential for future civic involvement (e.g., Flanagan & Faison, 2001; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997), and, extraversion, agreeableness, and outgoingness are associated with volunteering among adult populations (Matsuba, Hart, & Atkins, 2007). In the current study, a measure of prosocial behavior (peer nominations of cooperation) will be included to determine if social skills also predict civic identity in childhood. According to McIntosh and Youniss (2010) collaboration with others is central to civic engagement so a peer report of cooperation may be especially relevant to civic outcomes. Additionally, parent reports of child temperament including need for affiliation with others and assertiveness will also be included in analyses

(Simonds & Rothbart, 2004). Because civic engagement often requires interaction with peers, and the civic outcomes used in the current study reflect a child's relationship with the community and community members, the chosen temperament measures are especially relevant. In addition to social skills and temperament, academic skills also seem to matter, as youth with higher grade point averages (GPA) are more likely to demonstrate civic engagement (Metz & Youniss, 2005; Obradovic & Masten, 2007). Not surprisingly, academic grades also usually predict youth political knowledge (McIntosh et al., 2007; Moore et al., 1985). Given these findings with adolescents, I will also examine the degree to which academic achievement predicts children's civic identity.

Family Characteristics

SES. Research examining the degree to which income and other measures of SES (i.e., occupational status, educational attainment) are related to levels of civic engagement has yielded inconsistent findings. Population surveys and research studies reporting adult civic participation rates usually show that as levels of income and education increase, civic behaviors including volunteering, voting, and community involvement also increase (e.g., Foster-Bey, 2008; Hyman & Levine, 2008; Keeter et al., 2002; Matsuba et al., 2007; Verba et al., 1995). Similar trends are evident in youth populations, and this relationship holds using different measures of SES and examining various types of civic engagement. For example, research with adolescents has shown that maternal education (Metz & Youniss, 2005), and family non-poverty status (Nolin, Chaney, & Chapman, 1997) predict community service participation. Similarly, youth from higher SES backgrounds (parents' income, education, and occupations) are more likely to report voting in elections and volunteering with community organizations in early adulthood (Hart et al., 2007). Verba and colleagues (1995) found that parents' educational attainment significantly predicted

exposure to political stimuli in the home and youth activity participation in high school, which then led to higher rates of political participation in adulthood. Researchers maintain that youth from low-income backgrounds have fewer opportunities for civic activities (at home and in school) and fewer civic role models in their communities (Flanagan, 2004; Hart & Atkins, 2002; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Sherrod et al., 2002) and therefore display lower levels of civic engagement.

On the other hand, some studies examining youth populations have also shown that household income (Bobek et al., 2009; Matsuba, et al., 2007), parent occupation (Obradovic & Masten, 2007), and maternal education (McLellan & Youniss, 2003; Metz, McLellan, & Youniss, 2003) fail to predict youth civic engagement measured in various ways. Adding to this confusion, sometimes family SES only predicts certain types of civic engagement, as McIntosh and colleagues (2007) found that higher parent education and family income predicted greater youth civic knowledge, though family SES was not related to community service participation. These contradictory findings may result from the lack of consistency in SES measures and the broad range of civic and political activities included as "civic engagement" in these studies. Overall, it appears that SES has a stronger and more consistent impact on adult civic engagement, whereas during adolescence, findings are more mixed. Because I examine civic engagement in middle childhood, and I examine "civic identity" rather than overt participation, I expect that SES measures (maternal education and family income-to-needs ratio) will not significantly predict children's civic outcomes.

Immigrant families. An additional family level characteristic to consider is parents' generational status. Naturalized U.S. citizens show lower levels of volunteering and engagement in community activities as compared with native born citizens, while immigrant non-citizens

show even lower rates (Foster-Bey, 2008). One's civic engagement typically increases the longer a person has resided in the United States, though rates still remain lower than White Americans, and undocumented immigrants may continue to avoid civic participation to maintain a lower profile (see Stepick & Stepick, 2002, for review). It is plausible that parents who are foreign born will engage in fewer civic and political socialization practices because they have less experience with the U.S. political system, and may therefore have children who show lower levels of civic engagement. Furthermore, like immigrant youth, immigrant adults may be more likely to engage in civic activities that are not often captured by traditional measures of civic engagement. Parents' generational status will be included as an additional family background characteristic potentially affecting children's civic outcomes.

Study 1: The Current Study

In summary, the current study extends existing work on civic engagement by examining the degree to which individual child characteristics and family background characteristics predict civic identity in middle childhood. It was expected that being female, demonstrating higher prosocial skills, need for affiliation with others, assertiveness, and academic achievement, and having native born parents would be associated with greater civic identity in childhood, while race/ethnicity and family SES (poverty status, maternal education) would not be as predictive.

The following questions guided Study 1:

1. What individual child characteristics predict civic identity in middle childhood?
2. What family background characteristics predict civic identity in middle childhood?

Study 1: Methods

Descriptions of study participants and procedures are included in the Introduction. (See Table 1.0 for a description of the study sample.)

Study 1: Measures

Individual Child Characteristics

Gender. Children reported their own gender by circling "boy" or "girl".

Race/ethnicity. Parents were asked to indicate their child's race/ethnicity based on 15 categories from the 2010 U.S. Census. Children whose parents circled White were labeled White. Children whose parents indicated that they were Cuban, Puerto Rican, Mexican or Mexican American or who wrote in "Other" race/ethnic descriptions including Latino, Hispanic, Salvadorian, Ecuadorian, Central American, or Guatemalan were categorized as Latino. Children whose parents indicated that they were Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Pacific Islander, or Other Asian were coded as Asian. Children whose parents wrote in Middle Eastern, Arabic, American or Jewish were categorized as "Other". Because of the small number of African American participants (n = 9), they were also grouped in the "Other" category. Additionally, no participants indicated that they were American Indian so this category was not included. Lastly, numerous parents circled multiple race/ethnic categories. When the ethnicities circled represented more than one pan-ethnic category (e.g., Latino and White) children were labeled as "multiracial". When parent reports of child race/ethnicity were not available, child reports from the same measure were used and coded in an identical fashion.

Temperament. Parents completed the assertiveness (8-items) and need for affiliation with others (10-items) subscales from Simonds and Rothbart's (2004) Temperament in Middle Childhood Questionnaire (TMCQ). Parents read descriptive statements (e.g., "my child places great importance on friends") and then rated how much each statement describes their child on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*a lot*). This response scale was modified from the original version which ranged from 1 (*almost always untrue of your child*) to 5 (*almost always true of your*

child). Exploratory factor analysis was used to check dimensionality of the scale. The 18 items were factor analyzed using principal component analysis with Varimax rotation. As expected, the analysis yielded two distinct factors explaining 54.79% of the variance: need for affiliation with others (36.98%) and assertiveness (17.81%) (see Table 1.1). All items demonstrated high loadings on the expected factors with one exception. An item originally in the assertiveness subscale, "my child is followed by other children", loaded almost equally strongly onto both factors. Because this measure of temperament has been used and validated in prior studies (e.g., Schwebel, Gaines, Severson, 2008), the item retained its original position in the assertiveness subscale. For each temperament measure, items were averaged so that higher scores reflected greater demonstration of these temperaments. Cronabach's alpha indicated adequate reliability: affiliation ($\alpha = .83$) and assertiveness ($\alpha = .85$).

Prosocial behavior. Child prosocial behavior was measured through peer nominations. Children were asked to list the names of four students in their classroom who cooperate well with others. *Someone who cooperates is really good to have as part of your group, because this person is agreeable and cooperates- helps out, shares, and gives everyone a turn. Please list first and last names.* Children were not given a roster of names because recent work indicates that children listed higher on the roster are more likely to be nominated than children who are placed lower on the roster (Poulin & Dishion, 2008). Additionally, children were allowed to nominate both same and other-gender peers, as research has shown that including the nominations from both genders improves the predictive validity of the peer nomination measures (Poulin & Dishion). First, the total number of peer nominations for each participating child was tallied. Because the number of participating students in each classroom was largely variable (ranging from 6 to 30), the raw count of peer nominations or the number of nominations divided by the

number of class participants were not appropriate, as these composite measures would not fully reflect each child's differential chance of being nominated. Veldman and Sheffield (1979) found that dichotomizing peer nomination scores among students from classes of differing sizes resulted in better external validity when compared to frequencies, division by class size, and standardized scores. Furthermore, recent studies have also used dichotomized peer nominations (e.g., Giletta, Scholte, Engels, & Larsen, 2010), and Olweus (2009) argues that "the strength of the typical peer nomination method may be more in the identification of distinct extreme groups than in creating distributions of students" (p. 19-20). Therefore, I dichotomized the measure of peer nominations to reflect whether or not each child had been nominated at least once by peers.

Academic achievement. Reading and math achievement data were taken from children's most recent report card. Because the grading scales varied in each district, grades were recoded so that an identical scale could be used for all participants. The grading scale for each district is as follows: District One (1 = below standards; 2 = approaching standards; 3 = meets standards; 4 = exceeds standards); District Two (F = does not meet grade level standards (gls); D = does not meet gls; C = meets gls; B = exceeds gls; A = consistently exceeds gls); District Three (1 = still needs to meet expectations; 2 = meets expectations with assistance; and 3 = meets expectations). All report card items were recoded to reflect whether or not students met grade level standards independently. Dichotomous scores were created to reflect "meets/exceeds standards" or "does not meet standards independently".

Family Demographic Characteristics

Family SES. Parents indicated their family's household income from the past year (2010) based on all sources of income including *earnings, welfare cash assistance, child support, and support from other members of their household.*, by selecting a category from a scale

ranging from 1 (*less than $10,000*) to 11 (*more than $500,000*). Scores were recoded to reflect the midpoint of each income response bracket (e.g., $10,000 to $15,000 was recoded as $12,500). Parents also reported the total number of children and total number of adults currently living in the household. Family income-to-needs ratio (INR) was computed by dividing the family's income by the 2010 Federal Poverty Threshold for their family size (determined by the number of adults and children in the home). As specified in Dowsett, Huston, Imes, & Gennetian (2008), families with an INR less than 2 were categorized as "low-income"; between 2 and 4 were labeled as "middle income"; above 4 were labeled as "affluent". Only the dichotomous variable for low-income families was included in analysis. Low-income status is considered a particularly meaningful distinction given that many social programs in the U.S. use this measure to determine whether or not families receive various services and financial support.

Parent education. Parents indicated the highest level of education completed by both of the child's parents on a scale that ranged from 1 (*less than a HS diploma*) to 7 (*J.D., M.D., or Ph.D.*). These education categories were recoded in two ways: First, they were recoded for descriptive purposes to include the following categories: 1 (less than HS degree), 2 = (HS degree); 3 (vocational/ associates degree); 4 (college degree); and 5 (post graduate degree completed). Additionally, the maternal education variable used in analysis was dichotomized to represent whether or not mothers had a college degree. Past work with adolescents (e.g., Metz, McLellan, & Youniss, 2003; Metz & Youniss, 2005) has dichotomized maternal education in a similar manner, and research has shown that having a college education is associated with greater volunteering, voting, and tolerance of diverse groups when compared to lower levels of education (see Cunningham, 2006, for review). Thus, having a college education is a meaningful distinction in the civic engagement literature.

Parent generational status. Parents indicated whether or not they and their spouse/partner were born in the United States or another country. If either parent indicated that they were born in another country, the family was labeled as "immigrant family".

Child Civic Identity Outcomes

Child civic values. Children's civic values were measured using six items (Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007). Children were asked to rate the importance they place on various civic-related values (e.g., helping others, protecting the environment) on a scale from 1 (*not at all important*) to 5 (*very important*). Exploratory factor analysis yielded one factor explaining 50.26% of the variance for the six items (see Table 1.2). Items were averaged with higher score reflecting greater endorsement of civic values. The composite measure demonstrated adequate reliability ($\alpha = .80$).

Child social responsibility. Children's social responsibility was assessed using a 13-item self-report measure (Chi et al., 2006). The scale is part of a larger measure examining children's personally responsible behaviors and notions of social responsibility. The sub-scales included in the current study were items assessing children's concern for others (e.g., "I try to help when I see people in need"), caring for the community (e.g., "I have done things to help people in my community") and environmental stewardship (e.g., "I have a responsibility to help keep the community clean"). Response scale ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). This response scale was modified from the original version which ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree or "no way!"*) to 4 (*strongly agree or "yes!"*). This change was made to maintain a similar 5-point response scale for the entire child survey. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted to determine whether single or multiple domains of civic engagement were measured. The analysis yielded two factors explaining a total of 54.78% of the variance for the 13 items (see Table 1.3).

Factor 1 included caring for the community and environmental stewardship subscales and explained 36.98% of the variance. Because items loading strongly onto this factor reflected responsibility to take care of the environment and to take care of the community more generally, this factor was labeled *responsibility to community*. Factor 2 included all items on the children's concern for others subscale and explained an additional 17.81% of the variance. This factor was labeled *responsibility to people*. For each composite, items were averaged so that higher scores reflected greater feelings of social responsibility. Cronabach's alpha indicated adequate reliability for both measures: responsibility to community ($\alpha = .89$) and to people ($\alpha = .72$).

Covariates. To reduce the effect of school-related factors on children's civic outcomes, I controlled for school in all regression analyses. The seven participating schools were dummy coded and entered at baseline in all multiple regressions. (The school with the largest number of participants served as the comparison group.)

Table 1.1

Exploratory Factor Analysis for Temperament Subscales (2 factors specified)

Items	Factor 1 Need for Affiliation	Factor 2 Assertiveness
My child…		
Would like to be friends with lots of people	**.65**	
Is warm and friendly	**.80**	
Places great importance on friends	**.60**	
Likes just being with other people	**.67**	
Would like to confide in others	**.58**	
Likes hugs and kisses	**.55**	
Loves pets and other small animals	**.54**	
Would like to spend time with a good friend	**.51**	
Likes to make others feel good	**.82**	
Likes to feel close to other people	**.65**	
Is followed by other children	.49	**.47**
Greatly enjoys playing games when s/he can win		**.57**
Enjoys making her/his own decisions		**.51**
Is first to speak up in a group		**.49**
When with other children, is the one to choose activities/games		**.69**
Usually wins arguments with other children		**.74**
Likes to be in charge		**.82**
Enjoys winning arguments		**.81**
Eigenvalues	4.81	2.32
% of Variance	36.98	17.81
Cumulative %		54.79

Note: Factor loadings ≤ .40 are not shown. Although "is followed by other children" loaded almost equally strongly onto both factors, this item was included in the Assertiveness measure to preserve the original scale. Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization.

Table 1.2

Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Child Civic Values

Items	Factor 1 Child General Civic Values
It is important for me to...	
help those who are less fortunate	**.70**
help people in my community	**.78**
help stop pollution	**.78**
help protect animals	**.65**
preserve the earth for future generations	**.70**
work to stop prejudice	**.64**
Eigenvalues	3.01
% of Variance	50.26

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization.

Table 1.3

Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Child Social Responsibility

Items	Factor 1 Responsibility to Community	Factor 2 Responsibility to People
I try to get my family to recycle at home	**.70**	
I have a responsibility to help keep the community clean	**.79**	
I do my part to help the environment	**.75**	
I try to get my friends to recycle bottles and cans	**.69**	
By working with others in the community, I can help make things better	**.69**	
I spend time on projects with other people to help the community	**.68**	
I think it is important to change things that are unfair in society	**.58**	
I have done things to help people in my community	**.72**	
I believe I can make a difference in my community	**.77**	
I try to help when I see people in need		**.70**
I try to be kind to other people		**.73**
I apologize when I hurt someone's feelings		**.77**
I want to help when I see someone having a problem		**.60**
Eigenvalues	4.81	2.32
% of Variance	36.98	17.81
Cumulative %		54.78

Note: Factor loadings ≤ .40 are not shown. Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization.

Results

Children's Civic Outcomes: Descriptive Findings

Children showed moderate-to-high levels of civic identity including endorsement of civic values (M = 4.26, SD = 0.64), feelings of responsibility to the community (M = 3.88, SD = 0.70), and feelings of responsibility to people *(*M = 4.47, SD = 0.50). Correlations among indicators of civic identity ranged from 0.51 to 0.76 ($p < .001$). Additionally, children's civic values, responsibility to community, and responsibility to people were significantly correlated with being female (r = .23, .28, .30, respectively, $p < .001$) and need for affiliation with others (r = .17, .19, .27, respectively, $p < .001$). Child responsibility to the community was also significantly correlated with being from a low-income family (r = .15, p = .01) and being Latino (r = .12, p = .02). Correlations among all Study 1 variables can be found in Table 1.4.

RQ1: What Child Characteristics Predict Children's Civic Identity?

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to test whether individual child characteristics and family background characteristics predicted children's civic identity. After controlling for school (Baseline Model, not shown), individual child characteristics were entered in Step 1. Results (Table 1.5) showed that being female and children's need for affiliation with others consistently predicted all child civic outcomes: endorsement of civic values F (16, 254) =4.66 ($p \leq .001$); feelings of responsibility to the community F (16, 254)=4.44 ($p \leq .001$); and responsibility to people F (16, 254)=3.31 ($p \leq .001$). Specifically, females showed stronger endorsement of civic values (β = .26, $p \leq .001$), and reported greater responsibility to the community (β = .29, $p \leq .001$) and greater responsibility to people (β = .24, $p \leq .001$). Similarly, children with a greater need for affiliation with others reported greater civic values (β = .19, p = .004) and greater responsibility to community (β = .19, p = .005) and to people (β = .23, $p \leq$

Table 1.4

Correlations among Study 1 Variables (N=294- 406)

Variable Names	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Child Gender (female)																
2. White	.03															
3. Latino	.02	-.51***														
4. Asian	.00	-.31***	-.21***													
5. Multiethnic	-.07	-.38***	-.26***	-.16**												
6. Other	.03	-.18**	-.12**	-.07	-.09^{+}											
7. Child affiliation	.18***	-0.01	.03	-.03	-.00	.02										
8. Child assertiveness	.03	.07	-.04	-.06	.01	-.02	.49***									
9. Child prosocial	.10	-.01	-.08+	-.01	.08^{+}	.09^{+}	-.01	.03								
10. Reading achievement	-.01	.15**	-.32***	.09^{+}	.04	.08	.09^{+}	.12*	.14**							
11. Math achievement	-.08	.14**	-.26***	.09^{+}	.07	-.08	.09^{+}	.15**	.28***	.44***						
12. Low-income	.04	-.24***	.35***	0.00	-.10*	.02	.00	-.03	-.15**	-.28***	-.35***					
13. Maternal education	.05	.15**	-.30***	.14**	-.00	.04	-.02	.04	.10**	.20***	.15**	-.31***				
14. Immigrant family	-.11*	-.32***	.25***	.30***	-.12*	.02	-.04	.01	-.04	-.11^{+}	-.02	.23***	.00			
15. Civic values	.23***	-.08	.06	.00	.03	.00	.17***	.01	-.02	.09	.01	.07	.05	.03		
16. Comm. responsibility	.28***	-.10^{+}	.12*	.00	-.04	.04	.19***	.04	-.09^{+}	-.02	-.06	.15**	.05	.10^{+}	.76***	
17. Responsibility to people	.30***	-.02	.04	-.00	-.01	-.01	.27***	.08	-.05	.09^{+}	.09	.02	.07	-.01	.51***	.54***

Notes: +p ≤ .10 *p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001

Table 1.5

Child & Family Characteristics Predicting Child Civic Outcomes (N=274)

	Child Civic Values				Child Responsibility to Community				Child Responsibility to People			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Child characteristics	(.19)				(.20)				(.18)			
Gender (female)	**.26*** **	.08	**.26*** **	.08	**.29*** **	.08	**.29*** **	.08	**.24*** **	.06	**.25*** **	.06
Latino	.10	.11	.07	.12	.12^{+}	.12	.07	.12	.07	.09	.05	.09
Asian	.04	.12	.01	.13	.08	.13	.01	.14	.05	.10	.01	.10
Multi	.10^{+}	.11	.10	.11	.02	.12	.02	.11	.02	.08	.03	.08
Other	.04	.19	.03	.19	.07	.21	.05	.20	.06	.15	.05	.15
Temperament: Affiliation	**.19** **	.07	**.19** **	.07	**.19** **	.08	**.19** **	.08	**.23*** **	.06	**.24*** **	.06
Temperament: Assertiveness	-.05	.06	-.05	.06	-.01	.07	-.01	.06	-.04	.05	-.04	.05
Prosocial behavior	-.07	.10	-.08	.10	-.10^{+}	.11	-.11^{+}	.11	-.05	.08	-.05	.08
Reading Achievement	.12^{+}	.11	.12^{+}	.12	.00	.12	.02	.12	.09	.09	.09	.09
Mathematics Achievement	.09	.13	.10	.13	.10	.14	.12^{+}	.14	.10	.10	.10	.09
Family characteristics							(.05)					
(SES) Low-income[1]			.07	.10			**.16***	.11			.02	.08
Maternal Ed (college graduate)[2]			.05	.08			.10^{+}	.09			.07	.07
Immigrant family			.06	.09			.13^{+}	.09			.09	.07
R^2	.23		.24		.22		.26		.17		.18	
Change R^2	**.15*** **		.01		**.16*** **		**.04** **		**.15*** **		.01	

*Notes: +p ≤ .10 *p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001 ; All models include school dummy codes at baseline; Race/ethnic characteristics are dummy coded (White is comparison group);Numbers in parentheses are effect sizes (Cohen's f^2). 1, 2: In alternate models, Income, Income-to-Needs Ratio, and Maternal Education were all tested as continuous variables though no significant effects were observed.*

.001). Additional child characteristics entered in Step 1 including race/ethnicity, assertiveness, prosocial behavior, and academic achievement were not significantly predictive.

RQ2: What Family Characteristics Predict Children's Civic Identity?

In Step 2, children's civic identity measures were regressed on family background characteristics including maternal education, family SES, and parents' generational status. Results indicated that children from low-income families expressed higher levels of community responsibility ($\beta = .16$, $p = .009$) as compared with children from middle and higher income backgrounds F (19, 251) = 4.54 ($p \leq .001$). Family SES did not significantly predict children's civic values or responsibility to people. Maternal education and parents' generational status were not significantly predictive of any child civic outcomes.

Study 1: Discussion

Findings from the current study show that both child and family characteristics matter for civic outcomes in middle childhood. As predicted, girls reported greater endorsement of civic values and feelings of responsibility to the community and to people. Research with adolescents consistently shows that females are more likely to report a commitment to helping society and people in need (Flanagan et al., 1998; Flanagan, Cumsille, et al., 2007), and the current study shows that these trends are evident during an earlier developmental period. Given that parents, teachers, and peers often encourage and reinforce stereotypical female behaviors such as compassion and caring for others among girls (see Hastings, Utendale, & Sullivan, 2007, for review), and that this differential treatment based on gender begins at birth (see Fagot, Rodgers, & Leinbach, 2000, for review), this finding was not surprising. It is also not surprising that children who demonstrated affiliative behaviors reported greater civic outcomes. Children who have a desire for warmth and closeness with others may see their relationship with the

community and community members as reciprocal in nature. In other words, they report greater perceptions of civic duty and social responsibility because they desire and expect interpersonal/community support in return.

All other child characteristics examined in Study 1, however, were not associated with children's civic outcomes. Findings regarding race/ethnicity were expected given the civic outcomes examined. All ethnic groups tend to be civically engaged in different ways (Marcelo et al., 2007; Stepick et al., 2008), and these early civic values and notions of responsibility are likely precursors to multiple types of civic behavior. Children's assertiveness, while not as relevant to civic values or responsibility, may be more critical to other civic outcomes such as the ability to organize social movements or leadership skills. Academic achievement was also not shown to be relevant to civic outcomes in middle childhood. Adolescent high achievers tend to be more civically engaged (e.g., Metz & Youniss, 2005; Obradovic & Masten, 2007), but this association may emerge over time as children accumulate more school experiences and academic identity becomes more stable and salient. Because I used dichotomous scores for academic achievement, there was less variability among student grades which may have also led to non-significant findings. (Dichotomizing scores, however, was necessary because of the unequal grading scales across districts and schools.) Findings regarding children's cooperation with peers were surprising and unclear, as numerous researchers (e.g., Astuto & Ruck, 2010; Metzger & Smetana, 2010) hypothesize that prosocial behavior during early/middle childhood is a key antecedent to civic engagement later in life. Perhaps including additional measures of prosocial behavior such as parent or teacher reports would provide a more valid measure. While peer nominations are an effective way to measure social status variables and reciprocal friendship, they may not have been the best measure of cooperative behavior among students.

One of the more novel findings from Study 1 was in regards to family SES. Specifically, children from low-income families were more likely to report greater feelings of responsibility to the community when compared to children from middle income/affluent families. Although it was unexpected, this finding does make conceptual sense. Families experiencing economic hardship must utilize various forms of social and financial support from friends, family, and the community to make ends meet (Mistry, Lowe, Benner, & Chien, 2008; Scott, Edin, London, & Kissane, 2004). Children who see parents/families using community supports may internalize the reciprocal nature of the support provided and develop a sense of responsibility to the community in return. However, other family characteristics including maternal education and parents' nativity status were not associated with children's civic identity. Research examining the impact of parent education on adolescent civic engagement has been somewhat mixed, so this is not entirely surprising. Findings regarding nativity status may be an artifact of the current study sample, as half of the child participants had at least one foreign born parent. Although researchers hypothesize that immigrants become more civically/politically engaged the longer they reside in the U.S., they are usually focusing on Latino samples, and the variability among the immigrant population in the current study could have led to null findings.

STUDY 2

Parent Values and Children's Civic Outcomes

Results from Study 1 established that being female, having a need to affiliate with others, and coming from a low-income family are associated with children's civic outcomes in middle childhood. Study 2 builds on these findings by examining the parent values and socialization practices that predict children's civic identity, over and above the effect of these child and family characteristics. Parent values are important to consider because they influence attitudes and behaviors and result in different kinds of interactions with others (Case, Fishbein, & Ritchey, 2008; Feldman & Steenbergen, 2001; Rokeach, 1968, 1973; Strunk & Chang, 1999). In Study 2, I examine the degree to which parents' sociopolitical values (humanitarianism-egalitarianism) are associated with children's civic identity and whether or not home-based socialization processes mediate these associations.

Parent Humanitarian-Egalitarian Values

A value is, "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable", and "once a value is internalized, it becomes, consciously or unconsciously, a standard criterion for guiding action" (Rokeach, 1968, p. 160). In examining parent values that may influence children's civic identity, parents' humanitarianism-egalitarianism is important to consider. Humanitarian-egalitarian values represent concern for the well-being of others and support for democratic principles of equality and social justice (Katz & Hass, 1988). Furthermore, these values demonstrate social concern and a connection to diverse members of society, a key component of civic identity, which is hypothesized to motivate civic participation in adolescence and into adulthood (Youniss & Yates, 1997). Humanitarian-egalitarian values are related to both political and interpersonal attitudes, as individuals high in

humanitarianism-egalitarianism are more likely to demonstrate collectivist values (Strunk & Chang, 1999), express more positive attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Glover, 1994), immigrants (Cowan, Martinez, & Mendiola, 1997), and social welfare policies (Feldman & Steenbergen, 2001), and show lower levels of prejudice towards women and gay and lesbian populations (Case et al., 2008). Thus, those high in humanitarian-egalitarian values show more socially liberal political orientations and demonstrate more positive, empathetic attitudes towards various marginalized groups. Rokeach's landmark studies (1968, 1973) examining values and social attitudes show similar results. In a series of studies, participants were asked to rank 36 values in order of importance, as guiding principles in life; Rokeach examined the degree to which those rankings corresponded to social attitudes. Results showed that one's ranking of "equality" as an important life value most clearly distinguished between those with and without racist attitudes, and between those who expressed more positive versus negative attitudes towards people living in poverty. This association can also be seen for civic behavior, as Rokeach also found that ranking of equality was the most distinguishing factor among college students who did and did not participate in civil rights demonstrations.

While numerous researchers conceptualize humanitarian-egalitarian values as a single construct (e.g., Katz & Hass, 1988; Strunk & Chang, 1999) others argue that humanitarian and egalitarian values represent two separate value domains. In particular, Feldman and Steenbergen (2001) conducted randomized phone surveys with adults in the metropolitan New York area and found significant differences in these value orientations. Humanitarianism was positively predicted by empathy while egalitarian values were predicted by race (being non-white), religion (being non-Catholic) and age (being younger). Feldman and Steenbergen (2001) also explored the degree to which each value predicted poverty attributions and support of social welfare. Only

egalitarian values were associated with recognition of structural causes of poverty and support for reducing income differences. Feldman and Steenbergen (2001) argue that humanitarian values reflect concern for others and feelings of responsibility to people in the community while egalitarian values demonstrate a recognition of structural problems, beliefs about the negative impact of economic inequality, and a desire for structural change rather than necessarily helping others. Regardless of whether these parent values represent single or multiple constructs, parents' humanitarian-egalitarian values clearly play a central role in their own civic/political attitudes and civic participation.

Are Parent Values and Children's Civic Outcomes Related?

Families, particularly parents, create a sociopolitical culture in the home that shapes youth perceptions of their own role in the community and their relationship to community members. Research examining the generational transmission of sociopolitical attitudes and values has shown similarities between parents and children in terms of political party identification (Connell, 1972; Hess & Torney, 1967) and racial prejudice (Ward, 1985). Flanagan and colleagues (1998) examined an international sample of adolescents and found that regardless of their country of origin, youth who report that parents demonstrate humanitarian values and emphasize the importance of helping those who are less fortunate demonstrate higher civic commitments, meaning they were more likely to consider helping their country and doing something for society as an important life goal. Similarly, adolescents whose parents emphasize compassion and humanitarian values are more likely to demonstrate altruistic life goals and recognize structural causes of poverty and homelessness (Flanagan & Tucker, 1999). Overall, evidence indicates that youth civic engagement and perceptions of social responsibility are

shaped by parents' sociopolitical values. Thus, the current study examines the degree to which parent humanitarian-egalitarian values predict civic outcomes among younger populations.

Transmission of values from parent to child. In addition to testing the direct effects of parent values on children's civic outcomes, I also examine whether parent socialization practices account for these associations. Specifically, I test general parent-child civic communication, parent civic directives, and parent modeling of civic behavior to better understand the specific ways in which parents communicate and demonstrate these values to their children. Numerous studies have shown that parent-child civic and political communication is associated with a wide array of civic outcomes among adolescents and adults including volunteering, political interest, participation in electoral politics, and political voice activities (e.g., boycotting products) (Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, & Keeter, 2003; Keeter et al., 2002; Kelly, 2006; McIntosh et al., 2007; Verba et al., 1995). Additionally, the effect of parent-child civic and political discussion on adolescent civic outcomes persists even after controlling for demographic factors (e.g., SES, gender, race) and preexisting commitment to civic engagement (Kahne & Sporte, 2008).

In addition to parent-child communication, parent values may be communicated through parent modeling of civic behavior, as adolescents who volunteer are more likely to report that their parents also participate in service (McLellan & Youniss, 2003; Metz & Youniss, 2005). Furthermore, Keeter et al. (2002) conducted a national telephone survey and found that young adults who report growing up in homes where someone volunteered are more likely to volunteer, be an active member of groups, vote, follow politics, boycott products, and sign petitions, than those who report growing up without civic role models. By talking about politics and civic issues with their children and demonstrating civic participation themselves, parents create a value for civic participation and an awareness of social issues in the home (Keeter et al., 2002; Kelly,

2006). Therefore, I expect that general parent-child civic communication, parent civic directives, and parent civic modeling will be pathways through which parent humanitarian-egalitarian values are shared with children.

Demographic trends. Research has shown differences in adult values based on race/ethnicity and gender. Ethnic minority groups tend to show greater endorsement of humanitarianism-egalitarianism, as Latinos show higher levels of humanitarian values when compared with Whites (Cowan et al., 1997), and African Americans rank equality significantly higher as an important life value when compared to Whites (controlling for income and education; Rokeach, 1973). Gender differences are particularly evident in parents' value-related socialization practices. In Flanagan and colleagues' (1998) work described earlier, girls in all countries including the United States, Russia, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Australia, and Sweden were more likely to report that their parents encourage civic values and social responsibility in their upbringing (Flanagan et al., 1998). Thus, the current study examines whether or not associations between parent humanitarian-egalitarian values and children's civic identity differ based on gender or race/ethnicity.

Study 2: The Current Study

In summary, the current study extends existing work by examining the extent to which parent values predict civic identity in middle childhood and whether or not these values are passed to children through parent socialization practices. It was expected that parents who show greater humanitarian-egalitarian values would have children who more strongly endorse civic values and report greater feelings of responsibility to the community and to people and that parent socialization practices (i.e., general civic communication, civic directives, civic modeling) would be significant pathways of mediation for any observed associations. Because research has

shown differences in adult values based on race/ethnicity and differences in parents' value-related socialization practices based on child gender, I also explored the extent to which the strength of these associations differ as a function of race/ethnicity (Latino vs. White) or gender.

The following questions guided Study 2:

1. Do parent humanitarian-egalitarian values predict children's civic identity?
    a. Are these associations mediated by parent socialization practices including general civic communication, civic directives, and civic modeling?
    b. Are there differences in this relationship based on gender or race/ethnicity?

Study 2: Methods

Descriptions of study participants and procedures are included in the Introduction. (See Table 1.0 for a description of the study sample.)

Study 2: Measures

Following is a description of measures for Study 2. For measures previously addressed in Study 1, an abbreviated description is included.

Parent Civic Values

Parent humanitarian-egalitarian values. Parent sociopolitical values were assessed using Katz and Hass' (1988) Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism scale, a 10-item measure assessing concern for the well-being of others and support for democratic principles of equality and social justice. Item examples include "a good society is one in which people feel responsible for one another" and "everyone should have an equal chance and an equal say in most things". Parents responded on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The 10-items were factor analyzed using principal component analysis with Varimax rotation. The analysis revealed two factors explaining 57.90 percent of the variance for the 10 items (see Table 2.1). Factor 1 was

labeled *empathetic concern* due to high loadings on items such as "one should be kind to all people" and "one should find ways to help others less fortunate than oneself". The first factor explained 30.51% of variance. The second factor was labeled *social justice values* due to high loadings on items such as "prosperous nations have a moral obligation to share some of their wealth with poor nations" and "everyone should have an equal chance and an equal say in most things". The variance explained by this factor was 27.39%. The three items loading strongly onto Factor 1 were averaged to represent a measure of parent empathetic concern. The five items loading strongly onto Factor 2 were averaged to represent a measure of parents' endorsement of social justice values. (Two items loaded almost equally strongly onto both factors and were therefore not included in composite measures.) For both value dimensions, higher scores indicated greater value endorsement/expression. Cronbach's alpha demonstrated adequate internal consistency reliability for parent empathetic concern ($\alpha = .78$) and parent social justice values ($\alpha = .79$).

Parent Socialization Practices[1]

Parent-child civic communication. Children responded to eight items measuring the frequency of communication about civic responsibility on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*). Item examples include "my parents tell me it's important to take care of the environment" and "my parents tell me it's important to help those who are less fortunate". Children also rated the frequency of communication with parents about current events and/or politics, if they talk to their parents about community issues, and if their parents encourage them to express opinions about current events (Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007; Kahne, 2005; Kahne

[1] Child reports of parent socialization practices were used. Because children actively construct their own political/civic knowledge through interactions with socializing agents (Torney-Purta, 1995), child reports, which represent children's interpretation and understanding of these parent socialization processes, are particularly important to consider.

& Sporte, 2008). To determine whether single or multiple communication domains existed, these ten items were factor analyzed using principal component analysis with Varimax rotation. Exploratory factor analysis revealed two factors explaining 60.67% of the variance for the entire set of items (see Table 2.2). Factor 1 (7 items explaining 37.93% of the variance) was labeled *civic directives* due to the high factor loadings for items such as "my parents tell me it's important to volunteer or do community service". Factor 2 (3 items explaining 22.73% of the variance) was labeled *general civic communication* due to high loadings for items such as "I talk to my parents about current events and/or politics". One item "my parents tell me it's important to vote" loaded equally strongly onto both items and was therefore not included in the composite. For each composite, items were averaged so that higher scores reflected more frequent parent-child communication. Cronabach's alpha indicated adequate internal consistency reliability for both measures: civic directives ($\alpha = .89$) and general civic communication ($\alpha = .78$).

Parent civic modeling. Children responded to three items rating their parents' civic participation on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*; Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007). Item examples include "my parents do volunteer work in our community" and "my parents are active in local politics (e.g., school board, city council)". Exploratory factor analysis revealed one factor for the three items explaining 66.55% of the variance (see Table 2.3). These items were labeled *parent civic modeling* because they measure children's perceptions of their parents' civic participation. The three items were averaged; higher scores indicated greater modeling of civic behavior. Internal consistency reliability was adequate ($\alpha = .75$)[1].

[1] Children also responded to "My parents vote in elections". However this item did not show as high factor loadings when compared to other items and was not highly correlated with the other participation items. Furthermore, inclusion of this item resulted in lower internal consistency reliability and was therefore excluded from the composite.

Child Civic Identity Outcomes

Child civic values. Children rated the importance of six civic-related values on a scale from 1 (*not at all important*) to 5 (*very important*) (Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007). Exploratory factor analysis yielded one factor (see Table 1.2). Items were averaged so that higher score reflected greater endorsement of civic values ($\alpha = .80$).

Child social responsibility. Children responded to 13 items measuring social responsibility (Chi et al., 2006). Response scale ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Exploratory factor analysis yielded two factors (see Table 1.3): *responsibility to community* (9-items, $\alpha = .89$) and *responsibility to people* (4-items, $\alpha = .72$). Items were averaged so that higher scores reflected a greater sense of social responsibility.

Child & Family Characteristics

Covariates. All analyses included school dummy codes at baseline. Child-level covariates included child gender and need for affiliation with others ($\alpha = .83$; Simonds & Rothbart, 2004). Family-level covariates included family SES (1 = low-income; 0 = middle/higher income).

Moderators. Child gender and parent reported child race/ethnicity (Latino vs. White) were included as moderators. (When parent reports were not available, child reports were used.)

Table 2.1

Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Parent Humanitarian-Egalitarian Values

Items	Factor 1 Empathetic Concern	Factor 2 Social Justice Values
One should be kind to all people	**.79**	
One should find ways to help other less fortunate than oneself	**.76**	
A person should be concerned about the well-being of others	**.84**	
There should be equality for everyone because we are all human beings	*.44*	*.58*
Those who are unable to provide for their basic needs should be helped by others	*.57*	*.47*
A good society is one in which people feel responsible for one another		**.61**
Everyone should have an equal chance and an equal say in most things		**.66**
Acting to protect rights/interests of other members of the community is a major obligation for all persons		**.72**
In dealing with criminals the courts should recognized that many are victims of circumstances		**.76**
Prosperous nations have a moral obligation to share some of their wealth with poor nations		**.76**
Eigenvalues	3.05	2.74
% of Variance	30.51	27.39
Cumulative %	30.51	57.90

Note: Factor loadings ≤ .40 are not shown. Items loading above .40 on more than one factor were not included in the composite measures. They are shown here for descriptive purposes. Items omitted from composites are in italics. Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization.

Table 2.2

Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Parent-Child Communication

Items	Factor 1 Civic Directives	Factor 2 General Civic Communication
My parent tell me…		
it's important to help those who are less fortunate	**.72**	
it's important to take care of the environment	**.76**	
it's important to vote	*.44*	*.47*
it's important to change things in society that are unfair	**.75**	
it's important to stop prejudice	**.68**	
it's important to take care of others in the community	**.77**	
it's important to volunteer or do community service	**.76**	
it's good to work with other people to solve problems	**.66**	
I talk to my parents about current events and/or politics		**.88**
My parents encourage me to express my opinions about politics and current events		**.79**
I talk to my parents about community issues		**.67**
Eigenvalues	4.17	2.50
% of Variance	37.93	22.73
Cumulative %		60.67

Note: Factor loadings ≤ .40 are not shown. Items loading above .40 on more than one factor were not included in the composite measures. They are shown here for descriptive purposes. Items omitted from composites are in italics. Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization.

Table 2.3

Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Parent Civic Modeling

Items	Factor 1 Civic Modeling
My parents are active in the community	**.83**
My parents are active in local politics (e.g., school board, city council)	**.80**
My parents do volunteer work in our community	**.82**
Eigenvalues	2.00
% of Variance	66.55

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization.

Study 2: Results

Descriptive Findings: Parent Values, Socialization Practices, & Child Civic Outcomes

Parents showed moderate levels of social justice values (M = 3.82, SD = 0.68) and high levels of empathetic concern (M = 4.59, SD = 0.50). Correlations among parent values were significant and positive (r = .37, p < .001). Correlations among all Study 2 variables are shown in Table 2.4. Parent social justice values showed modest correlations with child civic values (r = .18, p < .001), child responsibility to community (r = .19, p < .001), and child responsibility to people (r = .14, p = .01). Similarly, correlations between parent empathetic concern and children's civic outcomes were modest: civic values (r = .12, p = .02); responsibility to community (r = .12, p = .02); and responsibility to people (r = .18, p < .001).

Parent socialization practices including child reports of the frequency of general civic communication (M = 3.06, SD = 1.12), civic directives (M = 3.66, SD = 0.98), and parent civic modeling (M = 3.50, SD = 0.90) were moderate. Correlations between communication measures were moderate and positive (r = .59, p < .001), while correlations between parent civic modeling and general civic communication (r = .43, p < .001) and civic directives (r = .49, p < .001) were similar. Parent-child communication measures and parent civic modeling showed moderate, positive correlations with all child civic outcomes (p < .001, see Table 2.4).

RQ1: Do Parent Values Predict Children's Civic Identity

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to test whether parent social justice values and parent empathetic concern predicted children's civic outcomes. After controlling for school (Baseline Model, not shown), additional covariates including child gender, affiliation, and family SES were entered in Step 1. Next, parent social justice values and parent empathetic concern values were entered in Step 2. Results (see Table 2.5) showed that after

Table 2.4
Correlations among Study 2 Variables (N=340-390)

Variable Names	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Child gender (female)										
2. Child affiliation	.18***									
3. Poor/Low-income status	.04	.00								
4. Parent social justice values	.02	.18***	.02							
5. Parent empathetic concern	.04	.22***	-.05	.37***						
6. General civic communication	.16**	.19***	.14**	.16**	-.01					
7. Civic directives	.09^{+}	.26***	.18***	.26***	.11*	.59***				
8. Parent civic modeling	.11*	.16**	-.00	.26**	.16**	.43***	.49***			
9. Child civic values	.23***	.17***	.08	.18***	.12*	.44***	.53***	.47***		
10. Child community responsibility	.28***	.19***	.15**	.19***	.12*	.55***	.61***	.59***	.76***	
11. Child responsibility to people	.30***	.27***	.02	.14**	.18***	.40***	.41***	.32***	.51***	.54***

Notes: +p ≤ .10 *p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001

Table 2.5

Parent Values Predicting Child Civic Outcomes (N=334-336)

	Child Civic Values				**Child Responsibility to Community**				**Child Responsibility to People**			
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Covariates												
Gender	**.23*** **	.07	**.24*** **	.07	**.26*** **	.07	**.26*** **	.07	**.23*** **	.05	**0.24*** **	.05
Affiliation	**.12***	.06	**.10**$^{+}$	.06	**.16****	.06	**.14****	.06	**.22*** **	.04	**.19****	.05
Low-income	.03	.08	.02	.08	**.12***	.09	**.11***	.08	.02	.04	.01	.07
Parent Values							(.02)				(.02)	
Parent Social Justice			.10	.06			**0.11***	.08			.08	.05
Parent Empathetic Concern			.04	.07			.02	.06			**.10**$^{+}$	.06
R^2	.15		.16		.17		.18		.14		.16	
Change R^2	.08***		.01		.12***		.01^{+}		.12***		.02*	

*Notes: *p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 ; All models include school dummy codes at baseline; Numbers in parentheses are effect sizes (Cohen's f^2).*

accounting for school and child/family covariates, parent social justice values predicted children's responsibility to community F (11, 324) = 6.72, ($p \leq .001$) while parent empathetic concern predicted children's responsibility to people F (11, 325) = 5.58, ($p \leq .001$). Specifically, parents who demonstrated greater social justice values were more likely to have children who felt a stronger sense of responsibility to the community ($\beta = .11$, $p = .05$) while parents who demonstrated greater empathetic concern had children who felt a stronger sense of responsibility to people ($\beta = .10$, $p = .09$). Parent humanitarian-egalitarian values did not significantly predict child civic values.

RQ1a. Are these associations mediated by parent socialization practices?

Next, I tested whether or not parent socialization practices including general civic communication, parent civic directives, and parent civic modeling mediated observed associations between parent values and child civic outcomes. In order to establish mediation, four conditions must be met (see Baron & Kenny, 1986): 1) the independent variables predicts the outcome variable; 2) the independent variables predicts the mediating variables; 3) the mediating variables predict the outcome variable; and 4) there is a decreased effect of the independent variable on the outcome variable when the mediators are added to the model.

Condition 1: Earlier analysis established that parent social justice values predicted child responsibility to community while parent empathetic concern predicted child responsibility to people (see Table 2.5). *Condition 2*: Parent social justice values significantly predicted all parent socialization practices: communication about civic issues ($\beta = .12$, $p = .04$), civic directives ($\beta = .20$, $p \leq .001$), and civic modeling ($\beta = .20$, $p \leq .001$). However, parent empathetic concern did not significantly predict general civic communication ($\beta = -.05$, $p = .32$), civic directives ($\beta = .04$, $p = .49$), or civic modeling ($\beta = .09$, $p = .11$). Therefore, pathways of mediation were only

tested between parent social justice values and child responsibility to the community. *Conditions 3 & 4*: Regression analyses presented in Table 2.6 show that all parent socialization practices significantly predicted children's responsibility to the community. After accounting for covariates, once parent socialization variables (i.e., general civic communication, civic directives, and civic modeling) were added to the model, the direct effect of parent social justice values on child responsibility to community was no longer significant indicating full mediation. Sobel (1982) tests were conducted to test significance of these indirect effects. Sobel tests revealed that parent civic directives ($z = 3.02$, $p < .001$) and parent civic modeling ($z = 3.14$, $p < .001$) were significant pathways of mediation while parent general civic communication ($z = 1.88$, $p = .06$) was marginally significant.

Table 2.6

Parent Social Justice Values, Parent Socialization Practices, and Child Civic Outcomes (N=335)

	Child Responsibility to Community					
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Covariates						
Gender	**.26*** **	.07	**.26*** **	.07	**.19*** **	.06
Temperament: Affiliation	**.16** **	.06	**.14** **	.06	.01	.05
Low-income	**.12***	.09	**.11***	.09	.04	.07
Parent Values						
Social justice values			**.12***	.06	-.03	.04
Parent Socialization Practices					(.81)[1]	
General civic communication					**.23*** **	.03
Civic directives					**.28*** **	.04
Civic modeling					**.32*** **	.04
R^2	.17		.19		.55	
Change R^2	.12***		.02*		.36***	

*Notes: *p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 ; All models include school dummy codes at baseline; Numbers in parentheses are effect sizes (Cohen's f^2). 1. Effect size of parent socialization practices may be inflated due to respondent bias.*

RQ1b. Are there differences in these associations based on gender or race/ethnicity?

Tests of moderation were conducted to determine whether associations between parent humanitarian-egalitarian values and child civic outcomes differed based on gender or for Latinos and Whites. Tests of moderation by gender and race/ethnicity were conducted separately because of sample size and associated power issues. Results indicated no significant interaction effects. (See Tables B.1 and B.2 in Appendix B for regression results.)

Study 2: Discussion

Overall, findings from Study 2 show that parent values and practices do matter for children's emergent notions of civic responsibility, over and above the effects of school and child/family characteristics. Parents' domain-specific sociopolitical values differentially predicted children's civic outcomes in a way that makes conceptual sense. Specifically, parents who reported greater endorsement of social justice values had children who reported greater responsibility to the community while parents who reported greater empathetic concern for others had children who reported greater responsibility to people. This finding (along with factor analysis results) gives credence to Feldman and Steenbergen's (2001) assertion that humanitarian-egalitarian values represent two value domains, humanitarianism (empathetic concern) and egalitarianism (social justice values), that should be examined separately. Surprisingly, parents' social justice values and empathetic concern did not predict children's general civic values. This is in contrast to past work with adolescents that has shown similarity among parents and children when examining values (Connell, 1972; Ward, 1985). Furthermore, the direct effects of parent values on children's civic outcomes were somewhat weaker in the current study compared to prior work with adolescents and young adults. This is not surprising given that most of these studies rely on single respondents (i.e., youth reports of parent values) or

retrospective reports and may therefore suffer from respondent bias while the current study included parent reports of their own sociopolitical values.

I also found evidence that the relationship between parent social justice values and children's community responsibility is mediated by multiple parent socialization practices including general civic discussion, civic directives, and civic modeling. In other words, parents transmit social justice values by talking with their children (general discussions and explicitly telling them what to do) and by being civically engaged themselves. The relationship between parent empathetic concern and children's responsibility to people was not explained by the proposed mediators, meaning that parents' empathetic concern is shared with children in a manner not captured in the current study. Tests of moderation by gender and race/ethnicity (Latino vs. White) failed to reach significance showing that associations between parents' sociopolitical values and children's notions of civic responsibility hold for diverse groups.

STUDY 3

Parent Social and Government Trust and Children's Civic Outcomes

Results from Study 2 established that parents' social justice values are associated with their child's sense of community responsibility, and these ideas are passed to children through parent socialization practices. Study 3 extends these findings by examining whether parent civic beliefs, namely social trust and government trust, predict children's civic outcomes and whether these beliefs are passed to children through similar socialization processes. Both dimensions of trust shape political attitudes, are related to civic engagement, and reflect elements of civic identity (see Levi & Stoker, 2000, for review; Uslaner, 2002). Thus, parent social and government trust may also influence the civic notions of their children. In Study 3, I examine the degree to which parents' general social trust and trust in the U.S. government are associated with children's civic identity (over and above the effects of school and child/family characteristics) and whether general civic discussion, civic directives, and parent civic modeling mediate these associations.

Parent Civic Beliefs

Generalized social trust. In examining parent civic beliefs that may be related to children's civic outcomes, generalized social trust, meaning trust in people in general, is particularly important to consider. Generalized social trust is rooted in a sense of communalism, reflecting optimism, a connection to fellow community members, and a willingness to work cooperatively with others (Spitz & MacKinnon, 1993; Uslaner & Brown, 2005). These notions are similar to Youniss and Yates' (1997) social relatedness (i.e., a connection to diverse members of society), a key component of civic identity. Research consistently shows that generalized social trust among adults is positively related to civic participation (Uslaner, 2002),

though sociological and political theorists have engaged in an ongoing debate regarding the direction of effects. The majority of evidence, however, suggests that in adulthood, social trust shows considerable stability over time (Flanagan & Stout, 2010; Stolle, 2003; Stolle & Hooghe, 2004; Uslaner, 2002), and by adulthood, trust has become more of a disposition or worldview. This general belief in the goodness of others then leads people to community participation, particularly volunteering and charitable giving (Uslaner, 2002; Uslaner & Brown, 2005). Given that a greater sense of social trust motivates adults to become more civically active and engaged, it is possible that these parent beliefs influence their children's civic values and notions of social responsibility as well.

Government trust. Government trust, meaning trust in government institutions and political leaders, is also important to consider among parents as this kind of trust (or mistrust) reflects moral-political awareness, another key component of adult civic identity (Youniss & Yates, 1997). This dimension of trust shows both similarities and differences with social trust. First, rather than a general worldview or disposition, trust in the government is thought to be a reflection of one's satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with current political systems and an evaluation of government performance (Levi & Stoker, 2000; Newton, 2001; Uslaner & Brown, 2005). Therefore, trust in the government is less stable than generalized social trust and changes over time depending on various factors including economic trends, election results, and other events such as war and the government's response to natural disasters (Pew Research Center, 2010). While higher levels of government trust can lead to greater participation in civic activities, mistrust of the government or political system, particularly among those who feel efficacious, can also motivate civic participation including political voice activities and

participation in electoral campaigns (see Levi & Stoker, 2000, for review). Thus, both high and low levels of government trust motivate civic action.

Demographic trends. These dimensions of trust also vary based on demographic factors. African Americans consistently express lower levels of social trust and trust in the government (CIRCLE, 2007; Pew Research Center, 1997; Stolle & Hooghe, 2004). Additionally, individuals with lower income and lower educational attainment are generally less trusting of people in general and of government institutions (Allum, Patulny, & Sturgis, 2010; Pew Research Center, 1997). Allum and colleagues (2010) also found that women showed lower levels of government trust. Overall, we see that those who have more privileged positions and power in society (e.g., males, higher income, etc.) tend to demonstrate higher levels of social and government trust, whereas those who may experience marginalization are less trusting.

Parent Trust and Children's Civic Outcomes

Parent social trust. Studies examining the ways in which youth civic outcomes are impacted by parents' social trust are sparse though limited work does suggest shared trust attitudes between parent and child. Dohmen, Falk, Huffman, and Sunde (2006) examined congruence between parent social trust and that of their children (both adolescents and adults) and found that after controlling for child age and gender, parents' social trust predicted that of their children. Although the current study does not explicitly examine children's social trust, it is plausible that children's endorsement of civic values and sense of social responsibility reflect elements of trust in other people in general. Therefore, in the current study, it is hypothesized that parents who are more trusting of others in general will have children who show a stronger endorsement of civic values and feel a greater sense of responsibility to their community and to other people.

Parent government trust. Although few studies explicitly examine parent trust in the government, research has shown some similarities between parents and children in terms of political attitudes and party affiliation (Connell, 1972; Hess & Torney, 1967). Because both high and low- levels of government trust have been shown to promote civic action (see Levi & Stoker, 2000, for review), it is predicted that the relationship between parent government trust and child civic outcomes will be moderated by indicators of status/power in society. For groups with greater status in society including those with higher income, educational attainment, and Whites, I expect that trust in the government will positively predict children's civic identity. However, for groups with less status in society demonstrating lower levels of government trust (i.e., individuals with lower income and educational attainment, and Latinos), I expect that government *mis*trust will predict children's civic outcomes.

How are parent trust beliefs shared with children? In addition to testing the direct effects of parent trust on children's civic outcomes, I also examine whether parent socialization practices account for any observed associations to better understand the specific ways in which parents communicate and demonstrate these beliefs to their children. Because parent social trust (Uslaner, 2002) and government trust (or mistrust) (Levi & Stoker, 2000) are all associated with civic and political participation, it is hypothesized that parent modeling of civic behavior is one pathway through which parent trust is shared with children. Additionally, parent civic communication (general civic discussion and civic directives), which may also be informed by parents' trust beliefs, will also be tested as pathways of influence. According to Kelly (2006), frequent parent-child political discussion and parent civic participation creates a civic context/culture in the home that fosters youth civic engagement, and research consistently shows that parent-child political/civic discussions and parent civic modeling are associated with

adolescent and young adult civic engagement (Andolina et al., 2003; Dalhouse & Frideres, 1996; Keeter et al., 2002; Pew Research Center, 1997; Verba et al., 1995). It is hypothesized that these parent socialization practices will at least partly explain associations between parent social and government trust and children's civic outcomes.

Study 3: The Current Study

In summary, the current study extends existing work by examining the extent to which parent social trust and government trust predict civic identity in middle childhood and whether or not parent-child communication and parent civic modeling mediate these associations. It was expected that parents who show greater social trust would have children who more strongly endorse civic values and report greater feelings of civic responsibility and that parent socialization practices (i.e., general civic communication, civic directives, and civic modeling) would significantly mediate these associations. It is predicted that the relationship between parent government trust and child civic outcomes will be moderated by indicators of status/power. For groups with greater status in society (i.e., higher income and educational attainment, Whites), I expect that trust in the government will positively predict children's civic identity. However, for groups with less status in society (i.e., lower income and educational attainment, Latinos), I expect that government *mis*trust will predict children's civic outcomes.

The following questions guided Study 3:

1. Do parent civic beliefs (generalized social trust and government trust) predict children's civic identity?
    a. Are these associations mediated by parent socialization practices including general civic discussion, civic directives, and civic modeling?

b. Are there differences in these relationships based on race/ethnicity, maternal education, or income?

Study 3: Methods

Descriptions of study participants and procedures are included in the Introduction. (See Table 1.0 for a description of the study sample.)

Study 3: Measures

Following is a description of study measures. For measures previously addressed in Studies 1 and 2, an abbreviated description is included.

Parent Trust

Parents reported generalized social trust and trust in the U.S. government's responsiveness to the people (Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007). Three items measured trust of people in general (e.g., "Most people are fair and don't take advantage of you") and three items measured trust in the government (e.g., "The government really cares about what people like my family and I think"). Parents responded on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). As expected, exploratory factor analysis revealed two distinct factors for measures of parent trust (see Table 3.1). Parents' generalized social trust explained 33.93% of the variance while parents' trust in the government explained 32.51% of variance. To calculate the parent generalized social trust composite one item, "Most people just try to look out for themselves, rather than try to help others" was reverse coded. Next, the three items measuring generalized social trust were averaged with higher scores indicating greater trust in people in general. For parent trust in the government, two items "the government does not care about us ordinary people" and "the U.S. government is pretty much run for the rich" were reverse coded. Next, the three items measuring government trust were averaged so that higher scores reflected greater

trust in the government. Both composites revealed adequate internal consistency reliability: generalized social trust (α = .73), and trust in the U.S. government (α = .72).

Parent Socialization Practices

Parent-child civic communication. Children completed 10 items rating the frequency of communication with parents about general civic issues and civic responsibility on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*) (Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007; Kahne, 2005; Kahne & Sporte, 2008). Exploratory factor analysis revealed two factors: *general civic communication* (α = .78) and *civic directives* (α = .89) (see Table 2.2). For each communication composite, items were averaged so that higher scores reflected more frequent parent-child communication.

Parent civic modeling. Children responded to three items rating their parents' civic and political participation on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*; Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007). Exploratory factor analysis revealed one factor: *parent civic modeling* (see Table 2.3). The three items were averaged with higher scores indicating more frequent modeling of civic behavior (α = .75).

Child Civic Identity Outcomes

Child civic values. Children rated the importance of six civic-related values on a scale from 1 (*not at all important*) to 5 (*very important*) (Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007). Exploratory factor analysis yielded one factor (see Table 1.2). Items were averaged so that higher scores reflected greater endorsement of civic values (α = .80).

Child social responsibility. Children responded to 13 items measuring social responsibility (Chi et al., 2006). Response scale ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Exploratory factor analysis yielded two factors (see Table 1.3): *responsibility to*

community (9-items, α = .89) and *responsibility to people* (4-items, α = .72). Items were averaged so that higher scores reflected a greater sense of social responsibility.

Child & Family Characteristics

Covariates. All analyses included school dummy codes at baseline. Additional covariates included child gender and need for affiliation with others (α = .83; Simonds & Rothbart, 2004), and family SES (1 = low-income; 0 = middle income/ affluent).

Moderators. Child race/ethnicity (Latino vs. White), family SES (low-income vs. middle income/affluent) and maternal education (less than college graduate vs. college graduate +) were included as moderators in moderation analyses.

Table 3.1

Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Parent Social and Government Trust

Items	Factor 1 Social Trust	Factor 2 Government Trust
Most people can be trusted	**.92**	
Most people are fair and don't take advantage of you	**.93**	
Most people just try to look out for themselves, rather than try to help others (reverse coded)	**.53**	
The government doesn't care about us ordinary people (reverse coded)		**.85**
The government is pretty much run for the rich (reverse coded)		**.87**
The government really cares what people like my family and I think		**.64**
Eigenvalues	2.04	1.95
% of Variance	33.93	32.51
Cumulative %		66.44

Note: Factor loadings ≤ .40 are not shown. Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization.

Study 3: Results

Descriptive Findings: Parent Trust, Socialization Practices, and Child Civic Outcomes

Parents demonstrated moderate levels of generalized social trust (M = 3.02, SD = .72) and trust in the U.S. government (M = 2.99, SD = .78); correlations among parent trust variables were moderate and positive (r = .27, p < .001). Parent generalized social trust showed positive significant correlations with parent-child general civic discussion (r = .11, p = .04) and parent civic modeling (r = .18, $p \leq .001$), and marginally significant correlations with parent civic directives (r = .09, p = .09). Parent trust in the U.S. government was only marginally correlated with general civic discussion (r = .10, p = .06). Parent generalized social trust was positively correlated with children's civic values (r = .25, p < .001), child responsibility to community (r = .19, p < .001), and child responsibility to people (r = .13, p = .01). Parent trust in the government was not significantly correlated with any child civic outcomes. See Table 3.2 for correlations among all Study 3 variables.

RQ1: Do Parent Civic Beliefs (Social & Gov. Trust) Predict Children's Civic Outcomes?

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to determine whether parent social and government trust predict children's civic identity. After controlling for school (Baseline Model, not shown), additional covariates including child gender, affiliation, and family SES were entered in Step 1. Next, children's civic outcomes were regressed on parent social trust and government trust in Step 2. Results showed that after accounting for school and child/family characteristics, parent generalized social trust significantly predicted children's civic values F (11, 324) = 8.13 (p < .001), children's responsibility to community F (11, 325) = 7.52 (p < .001), and responsibility to people F (11, 326) = 5.66 (p < .001) (see Table 3.3). Results indicated that parents who were more trusting of people in general had children who demonstrated stronger

Table 3.2
Correlations among Study 3 Variables (N=340-390)

Variable Names	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Child Gender (female)										
2. Affiliation	.18***									
3. Low-income	.04	.00								
4. Parent social trust	.04	-.04	-.07							
5. Parent government trust	-.02	.07	-.09+	.27***						
6. General civic communication	.16**	.19***	.14**	.11*	.10+					
7. Civic directives	.09^{+}	.26***	.18***	.09+	.04	.59***				
8. Parent civic modeling	.11*	.16**	-.00	.18***	.07	.43***	.49***			
9. Child civic values	.23***	.17***	.08	.25***	-.01	.44***	.53***	.47***		
10. Child community responsibility	.28***	.19***	.15**	.19***	.05	.55***	.61***	.59***	.76***	
11. Child responsibility to people	.30***	.27***	.02	.13*	.00	.40***	.41***	.32***	.51***	.54***

Notes: +p ≤ .10 *p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001

Table 3.3

Parent Trust Predicting Child Civic Outcomes (N=335)

	Child Civic Values				Child Responsibility to Community				Child Responsibility to People			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Covariates												
Gender (female)	**.24*** **	.07	**.23*** **	.07	**.26*** **	.07	**.25*** **	.07	**.23*** **	.05	**.23*** **	.05
Affiliation	**.12***	.06	**.13****	.05	**.16****	0.06	**.16****	0.06	**.23*** **	.04	**.27*** **	.04
Low-income	.02	.08	.02	.08	**.12***	.09	**.12***	.09	.02	.07	.02	.07
Parent Civic Beliefs			(.08)				(.04)				(.02)	
Social trust			**.27*** **	.05			**.18*** **	0.05			**.14****	.04
Government trust			**-.09**$^{+}$	.04			.00	0.05			-.06	.04
R^2	.15		.22		.17		.20		.14		.16	
Change R^2	.08***		.07***		.12***		.03**		.12***		.02*	

*Notes: $^{+}p \leq .10$ *$p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$; All models include school dummy codes at baseline; Numbers in parentheses are effect sizes (Cohen's f^2).*

endorsement of civic values (β = .27, $p < .001$) and felt a greater sense of responsibility to the community (β = .18, $p = .001$) and to people (β = .14, $p = .008$). Parent trust in the government was marginally predictive of children's civic values (β = -.09, $p = .09$), as results indicated that parents who were less trusting of the government had children who demonstrated greater endorsement of civic values F (11, 324) = 8.13 ($p < .001$). Parent government trust did not significantly predict children's social responsibility outcomes.

RQ1a: Are these associations mediated by parent socialization practices?

Next, I tested whether or not parent socialization practices (i.e., general civic communication, civic directives, and civic modeling) mediated any observed associations between parent social and government trust and child civic outcomes. In order to establish mediation, four conditions were confirmed (see Baron & Kenny, 1986). *Condition 1*: Prior analysis established that parent social trust predicted all child civic outcomes while parent mistrust in the government marginally predicted children's civic values (see Table 3.3). *Condition 2*: Hierarchical multiple regressions showed that parent social trust predicted parent-child general civic discussion (β = .12, $p = .02$), parent civic directives (β = .09, $p = .10$), and parent civic modeling (β = .15, $p = .004$). Parent government trust was not predictive of any parent socialization practices: general civic discussion (β = .08, $p = .15$); civic directives (β = .02, $p = .65$); or civic modeling (β = .06, $p = .28$). Therefore, I only tested pathways of mediation between parent social trust and child civic outcomes. *Conditions 3 & 4*: After accounting for school and child/family characteristics, once parent socialization variables (i.e., general civic communication, civic directives, and civic modeling) were added to the model, the direct effect of parent social trust was reduced (though still significant) for children's civic values and responsibility to the community indicating partial mediation (see Table 3.4). For children's

Table 3.4

Parent Social Trust, Parent Socialization Practices, and Child Civic Outcomes (N=336-338)

	Child Civic Values						**Child Responsibility to Community**						**Child Responsibility to People**					
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Covariates																		
Gender	**.24*** **	.07	**.24*** **	.07	**.20*** **	.06	**.26*** **	.07	**.26*** **	.07	**.20*** **	.05	**.24*** **	.05	**.24*** **	.05	**.20*** **	.05
Affiliation	**.12***	.05	**.12****	.05	.01	.05	**.15****	.06	**.16****	.06	.01	.05	**.22*** **	.04	**.22*** **	.04	**.13****	.04
Low-income	.02	.08	.03	.08	-.04	.07	**.12***	.09	**.12***	.09	.04	.07	.02	.07	.02	.07	-.04	.06
Parent Civic Beliefs																		
Social Trust			**.24*** **	.04	**.17*** **	.04			**.18*** **	.05	**.08***	.04			**.13****	.04	.07	.03
Parent Socialization					(.37)						(.79)						(.19)	
General civic communication					**.15****	.03					**.22*** **	.03					**.24*** **	.03
Civic directives					**.27*** **	.04					**.28*** **	.04					**.17****	.03
Civic modeling					**.20*** **	.04					**.30*** **	.03					.07	.03
R^2	.15		.21		.43		.18		.20		.55		.14		.16		.29	
Change R^2	.08***		.06***		.21***		.12***		.03***		.35***		.12***		.02*		.14***	

*Notes: +p ≤ .10 *p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001 ; All models include school dummy codes at baseline; Numbers in parentheses are effect sizes (Cohen's f^2). Effect sizes for parent socialization practices may be inflated due to respondent bias.*

responsibility to people, the effect of parent social trust was no longer significant indicating full mediation. Sobel (1982) tests were conducted to test the significance of these indirect effects. Sobel tests revealed that general civic discussion was a significant (or marginally significant) pathway of mediation between parent social trust and all child outcomes: civic values ($z = 1.77$, $p = .08$); responsibility to community ($z = 2.08$, $p = .04$); and responsibility to people ($z = 1.99$, $p = .05$). Parent civic modeling was a significant pathway of mediation between parent social trust and children's civic values ($z = 2.32$, $p = .02$) and child responsibility to community ($z = 2.68$, $p = .007$). Parent civic directives, however, was not a significant pathway of mediation.

RQ1b: Are there differences in these associations based on social status?

Tests of moderation were conducted to determine whether or not associations between parent government trust and child civic identity differed based on family status variables including family SES, maternal education, and race/ethnicity. After controlling for school (Baseline Model, not shown) and child/family characteristics (Step 1), parent generalized social trust and parent government trust were entered as main effects (Step 2). Next, the government trust interaction by family characteristics were entered in Step 3 of the Model. (Tests of moderation by family SES, maternal education, and race/ethnicity were conducted separately because of sample size and associated power issues. In each case, the family characteristic used to create the interaction term was entered as a main effect in Step 2.)

Results (See Table 3.5) revealed a significant family SES by parent government trust interaction for children's responsibility to the community ($\beta = -.19$, $p \leq .001$), and marginally significant interactions for child civic values ($\beta = .10$, $p = .08$) and children's responsibility to people ($\beta = .10$, $p = .09$). Simple slopes were calculated to compare the relationship between parent government trust and child civic outcomes for children from low-income families with

those from middle income/affluent families (see Graphs 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3). The pattern of findings indicated that parent *mis*trust in the government was predictive of children's civic outcomes, but only for children from low-income families; parent government trust was not predictive for children from middle-income/affluent families. Tests of moderation by maternal education and race/ethnicity were non-significant. (See Tables C.1 and C.2 in Appendix C for non-significant moderation analysis results.

Table 3.5

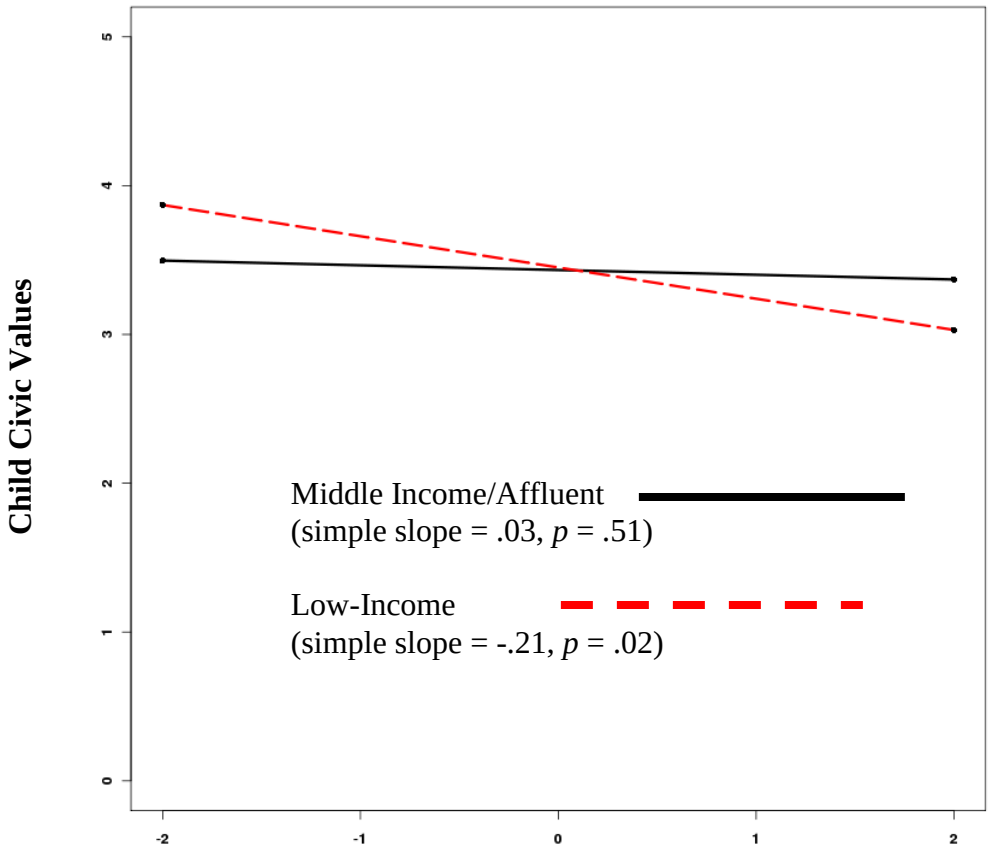
Parent Trust, SES x Government Trust Interaction, and Child Civic Outcomes (N=336-338)

	Child Civic Values						**Child Responsibility to Community**						**Child Responsibility to People**					
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Covariates																		
Gender	**.24*** **	.07	**.23*** **	.07	**.23*** **	.06	**.26*** **	.07	**.26*** **	.07	**.25*** **	.07	**.23*** **	.05	**.23*** **	.05	**.23*** **	.05
Affiliation	**.12***	.06	**.13****	.05	**.13****	.05	**.16****	.06	**.16****	.06	**.15****	.06	**.23*** **	.04	**.23*** **	.04	**.23*** **	.04
Main Effects																		
Low-income			.02	.08	.01	.08			**.12***	.09	**.10**$^{+}$	.09			.02	.07	.01	.07
Social trust			**.27*** **	.05	**.26*** **	.05			**.18*** **	.05	**.08***	.04			**.14****	.04	**.14****	.04
Government trust			**-.09**$^{+}$	.04	-.04	.05			**.00**	.05	.09	.05			-.06	.04	-.01	.04
Interaction Effect					(.01)						(.03)						(.01)	
SES x Gov trust					**-.10**$^{+}$	.10					**-.19*** **	.11					**-.10**$^{+}$	.08
R^2	.15		.21		.22		.16		.20		.23		.14		.16		.17	
Change R^2	.08***		.06***		.01^{+}		.11***		.04***		.03***		.12***		.02^{+}		.01^{+}	

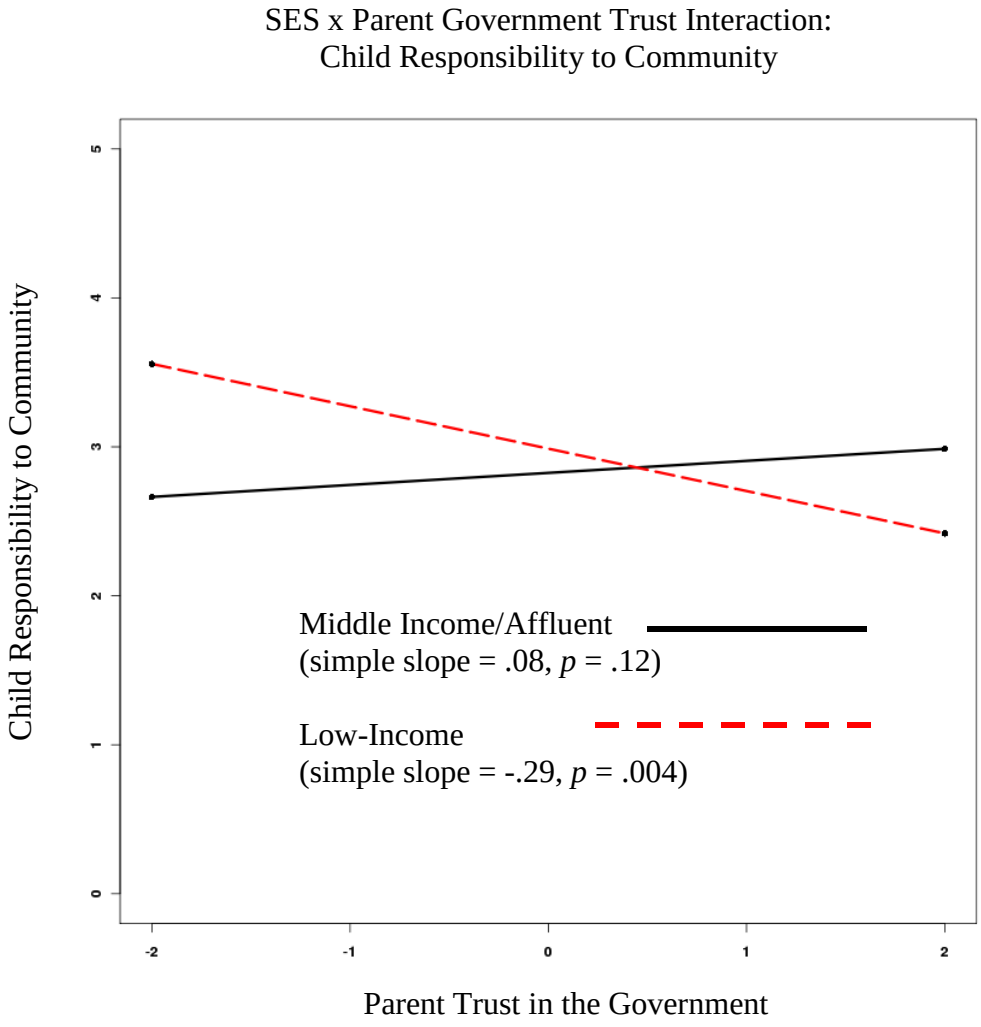
*Notes: +p ≤ .10 *p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001 ; Parent government trust variable was centered; Interaction term was created from centered variable; All models include school dummy codes at baseline; Numbers in parentheses are effect sizes (Cohen's f^2).*

Graph 3.1

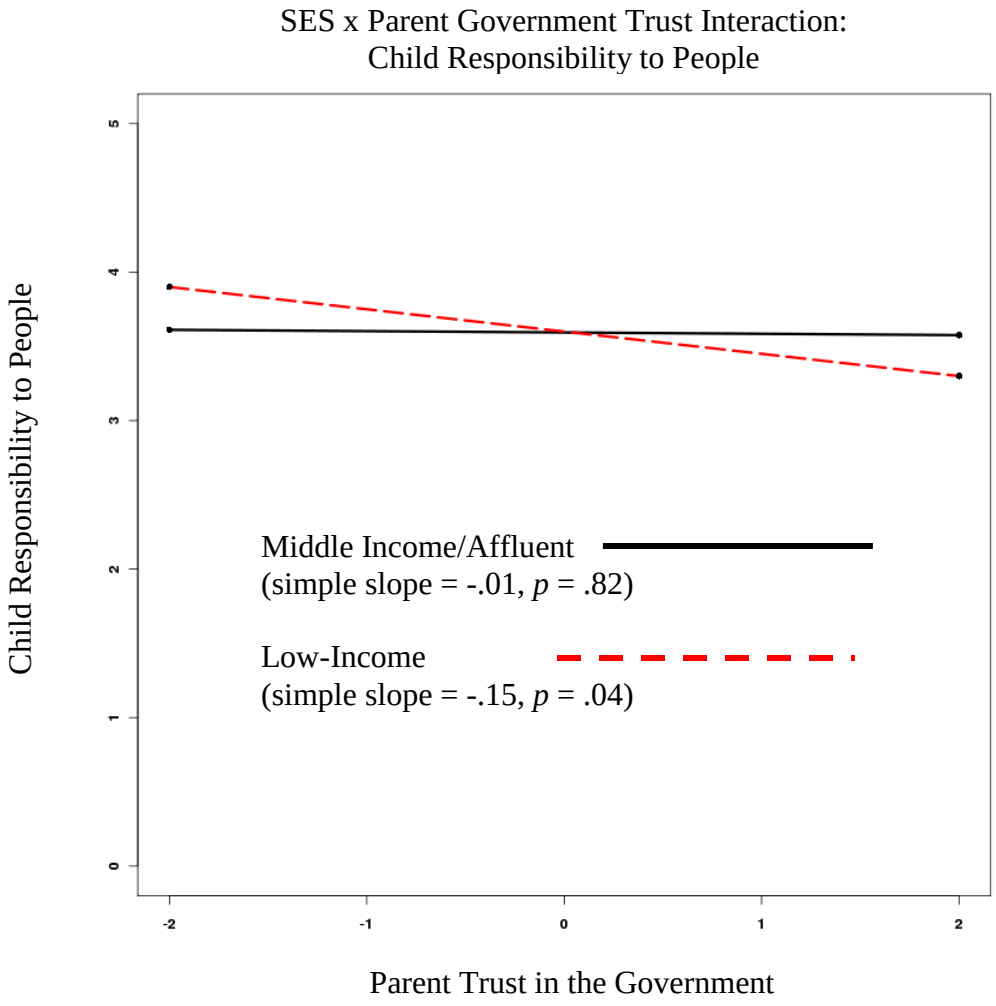
SES x Parent Government Trust Interaction:
Child Civic Values



Graph 3.2


SES x Parent Government Trust Interaction:
Child Responsibility to Community
Child Responsibility to Community
0
1
2
3
4
5
-2
-1
0
1
2
Parent Trust in the Government
Middle Income/Affluent
(simple slope = .08, p = .12)
Low-Income
(simple slope = -.29, p = .004)

Graph 3.3



Study 3: Discussion

Findings from Study 3 show that parents' civic beliefs also matter for children's civic outcomes, over and above the effects of school and child/family characteristics. However, different patterns of effects were evident depending on the type of trust examined. Specifically, parents who are more trusting of people in general have children who more strongly endorse civic values and report greater feelings of responsibility to the community and to people. Research has shown that adults who are more trusting of others in general are more likely to

engage in community participation and volunteering (Uslaner, 2002). The current study shows that parents' general belief in the trustworthiness or goodness of others has implications for their children's civic outcomes as well. Furthermore, past work has shown congruence among parents and their adolescent and adult children in terms of generalized social trust (Dohmen et al., 2006), and findings from Study 3 show that parents social trust beliefs are associated with children's civic notions at an even earlier developmental period. Additionally, the relationship between parents' generalized social trust and children's civic outcomes is mediated by general parent-child civic discussion and parent civic modeling. In other words, parents' demonstration of civic engagement through discussion and modeling are pathways through which parent social trust influences children's civic outcomes. Parent civic directives, however, was not a significant pathway of mediation. Thus, parents' social trust was not passed to children by simply telling them what to do or that it is important to be civically engaged; parents had to demonstrate civic engagement themselves. When parents engage their adolescent children in discussions around civic issues and encourage them to form their own opinions, youth demonstrate greater civic knowledge and interest, and tolerance of diverse groups (see Flanagan & Faison, 2001, for review). Furthermore, numerous studies have shown that adolescents and adults who are civically engaged report growing up in homes where parents modeled community involvement. The current study shows that similar processes seem to operate for younger groups.

Findings regarding parents' trust in the U.S. government, however, showed a different pattern of effects. Specifically, parents' *mis*trust in the government was associated with children's civic outcomes, but only for children from low-income families. Thus, among low-income families, parents who report greater mistrust of the government have children who more strongly endorse civic values and report greater feelings of responsibility to the community and

to people. Past work with adults has shown that low-status groups (e.g., ethnic minorities, individuals with lower income and educational attainment) are generally less trusting of government institutions (Allum et al., 2010; CIRCLE, 2007; Pew Research Center, 1997; Stolle & Hooghe, 2004) and that both high and low levels of government trust promote civic action (see Levi & Stoker, 2000, for review). Therefore, it was expected that the relationship between parent government trust and child civic outcomes would be moderated by indicators of status/power in society. However, in the current study, only family SES emerged as a significant moderator; findings did not show differences in associations based on other status indicators including race/ethnicity (Latino vs. White) and maternal education (College Graduate vs. Not). Furthermore, for children from middle income/affluent families, neither parent trust nor mistrust in the government was predictive of civic outcomes. Although limited sample size prevented tests of mediation exclusively for low-income families, perhaps for families experiencing economic hardship, in particular, parents tend to voice greater concern and skepticism regarding the governments' fiscal policies and practices, and this attention to civic issues in the home promotes civic outcomes (values and responsibility) among their children.

STUDY 4

Teachers' Civic Practices and Children's Civic Outcomes

Findings from Studies 2 and 3 have shown that parents' sociopolitical values and civic beliefs predict children's civic outcomes, over and above the effect of school, child gender, temperament, and family SES. Additionally, these parent values and beliefs are transmitted to children through specific socialization practices including general civic discussion in the home and parent modeling of civic behavior. Study 4 adds to this work by moving to the school context and examining the effect of another key adult figure in children's lives: their teachers. Specifically, I examine the extent to which classroom-based socialization experiences including civic learning opportunities and civic discussion predict children's civic outcomes. Additionally, I explore the types of civic activities used by teachers in the upper elementary grades to better understand school-based civic learning experiences during middle childhood.

Socialization Experiences in Elementary Classrooms

Schools and classrooms are one of the first settings in which youth learn to be a participant and part of a community so it is a particularly relevant setting to promote civic engagement (Flanagan et al., 1998). Much of the work assessing adolescent civic engagement has focused on school-related factors such as democratic school climate (e.g., Flanagan, Cumsille, et al., 2007), school-based service experiences (e.g., Metz et al., 2003; Reinders & Youniss, 2006; Yates & Youniss, 1996), and students' sense of connection to their school (e.g., Duke, Skay, Pettingell, & Borowsky, 2009; Flanagan et al., 1998). School-based measures are appropriate for adolescents, given that students in most middle and high schools have numerous teachers throughout the day, so reporting on one teacher may not be possible or as relevant as more general school measures. In elementary contexts, however, children usually have one or

two main teachers for the entire school year, so individual teacher-related socialization practices are a more proximate influence on developing civic dispositions.

Civic learning opportunities. In examining classroom-based socialization practices that may promote children's civic outcomes, civic learning opportunities are especially important to consider. One particularly impactful school-based activity is community service or service learning experiences. Research with both White and African American students has shown that both voluntary and school mandated community service during adolescence is associated with increases in social concern, intentions to vote or volunteer in the future, and adult civic engagement (Hart et al., 2007; Reinders & Youniss, 2006; Yates & Youniss, 1996). Furthermore, gains in civic outcomes after service experiences are particularly pronounced among adolescents who do not regularly volunteer (Metz & Youniss, 2005). However, benefits of community service depend on the ways in which these experiences are structured. In fact, the term "service learning" is used to denote community service activities that are curriculum based, include learning goals, address community needs, and include an opportunity for reflection and analysis of social issues (Skinner & Chapman, 1999). Research has shown that service experiences that are incorporated into the curriculum and include an opportunity for reflection and lessons regarding ethical reasoning have a greater impact on youth civic outcomes when compared to community service alone (Boss, 1994; Leming, 2001). Furthermore, experiences involving direct contact with people in need (e.g., meeting homeless people at a shelter) have a stronger impact on youth civic engagement, as compared to experiences involving no contact, indirect contact, or functionary work (Metz, et al., 2003; Reinders & Youniss, 2006). Although research with elementary aged populations is sparse, limited work does suggest that children report a greater sense of civic responsibility (Stephens, 1995) and improved academic outcomes (Weiler,

LaGoy, Crane, & Rovner, 1998) after participating in well-designed service learning programs in the elementary grades.

In addition to service learning, other types of school or classroom-based civic learning opportunities may be associated with children's civic outcomes. For example, Kahne and Sporte (2008) found that in an ethnically diverse sample, having various civic learning opportunities in school (e.g., having an open classroom climate, hearing from civic role models, studying about current events and ways to improve the community) was strongly related to adolescents' commitments to civic participation. In fact, Kahne and Sporte found that classroom civic learning experiences and service learning experiences were the strongest predictors of 11th grade students' civic outcomes, controlling for the effect of individual/family characteristics, activity involvement, and prior commitment to civic participation. Overall, research has established that various types of civic learning experiences in the classroom are associated with adolescent civic engagement. Therefore, in the current study, it is expected that civic learning opportunities in the elementary grades will also predict children's civic outcomes.

Civic discussion in the classroom[1]. In addition to direct civic learning experiences, teacher-child civic communication patterns and class-wide civic discussions are also important to explore. Among 18-25 year olds, those who report that teachers encourage open discussions and debates about civics and politics are more likely to be civically engaged in various ways including involvement in organizations, signing petitions, boycotting, and following political news (Keeter et al., 2002). In fact, having an open classroom climate for discussion is associated with civic outcomes among adolescents in the United States and in international samples

[1] Although some past work with adolescents has combined civic learning opportunities and civic discussion (e.g., Kahne & Sporte, 2008), other researchers consider civic communication with teachers as a separate construct (e.g., Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007). The current study examines these constructs separately for a more nuanced examination of the learning experiences that may help promote civic engagement in the upper elementary grades.

(Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). The content of teacher- initiated class discussions matter as well, as research has shown that when teachers engage students in discussions around controversial issues (e.g., the war in Iraq), students report greater concern about the unjust treatment of others, and, when teachers explain alternative ways of becoming civically involved (besides voting), students demonstrate higher reported political efficacy (Syvertsen, Flanagan, & Stout, 2007). In the current study, it is expected that civic discussion in the elementary grades will also be associated with children's civic outcomes.

What Types of Civic Activities Are Used In The Elementary Grades?

Few studies explore the types of civic activities used in the early elementary grades or the impact of these experiences on children. Research has shown, however, that service learning and community service activities are less common in elementary schools when compared with middle or high schools (Skinner & Chapman, 1999). The U.S. department of education conducted a national survey of community service and service learning in K-12 education (Skinner & Chapman, 1999), and found that 55% of elementary schools reported using community service activities compared to 77% of middle schools and 83% of high schools. Furthermore, only 25% reported using service learning compared to 38% of middle schools and 46% of high schools. The degree to which other types of civic activities are used is unknown.

California state content standards for Social Studies education, labeled *History-Social Science*, show that students are expected to learn about history and government processes in the upper elementary grades (California, DOE, 2000). Fourth grade standards focus on California history (social, political, cultural and economic aspects) as well as "the structures, functions, and powers of the local, state, and federal governments as described by the U.S. Constitution" (p. 14). In fifth grade, the standards broaden to include U.S. History, as students examine early

explorers, the colonial era, and the American Revolution. Students in grade five are also expected to learn about the development and meaning of the U.S. Constitution, the principles of democracy, and the role of citizens. In sixth grade, students move to world history, "analyzing the geographic, political, economic, religious, and social structures of early civilizations" (p. 24). However, specific citizenship standards (e.g., being a good citizen, rights/responsibilities of citizens) are not consistently present past the first grade (California DOE, 2000). Furthermore, given the implementation of the *No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB)* in 2001 which mandated high-stakes standardized testing in Language Arts and Mathematics, it's unclear whether or not Social Studies or civic activities are prioritized in the classroom. In fact, in a study examining the impact on NCLB on schools, 71% of the districts reported that elementary school teachers spent less time on other subjects in order to focus more on math and reading instruction, and the subject most frequently cut back was Social Studies (Center on Education Policy, 2006). According to U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan, "Today's students are tomorrow's leaders, and giving them a strong foundation in civic values is critical to the vitality of America's democracy and economy in the 21st century" (January 10, 2012). Given the U.S. Department of Education's recent *Call to Action* to strengthen democracy and promote positive citizenship though improved civic education, research is needed to better understand what types of civic activities elementary teachers are currently using, and the kinds of practices that have an impact on children's civic outcomes in the elementary grades.

Study 4: The Current Study

In summary, the current study extends existing work by examining the extent to which teachers' civic practices are associated with children's civic engagement in middle childhood. Research with adolescents has shown that both direct civic learning experiences (e.g., service

learning, hearing from civic role models) and discussion of civic issues are related to youth and young adult civic engagement. Thus, it is hypothesized that these types of teacher socialization practices will also be related to civic engagement in the upper elementary grades. I also explore the various types of civic activities reported by teachers in the upper elementary grades. Little is known about the civic learning opportunities elementary school teachers use in their classrooms, though curriculum standards and research (e.g., Skinner & Chapman, 1999) suggest that they will include both formal lessons about the government and history as well as some types of community service activities.

The following questions guided Study 4:

1. Do teacher practices (civic learning opportunities in the classroom and teacher-child civic discussion) predict children's civic outcomes?
2. What types of civic learning activities are used in the upper elementary grades?

Study 4: Methods

Descriptions of study participants and procedures are included in the Introduction. (See Table 1.0 for a description of the study sample.)

Study 4: Measures

Following is a description of study measures. For measures previously addressed in Studies 1, 2, or 3, an abbreviated description is included.

Teachers' Civic Practices

Classroom civic learning activities. Teachers completed five items assessing civic learning opportunities or activities in the classroom (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). Item examples included "students met people who work to make society better" and "students are required to keep up with current events"; teachers responded on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5

(*strongly agree*). Exploratory factor analysis was used to check dimensionality of the scale. The five items were factor analyzed using principal component analysis with Varimax rotation. The analysis yielded two separate factors explaining 80.76% of the variance (see Table 4.1). Factor 1 (3 items) included statements such as "students worked on a service learning or volunteer project" and explained 47.98% of the variance. Factor 2 included one item: "students learned about taking care of the environment" and explained and additional 32.76% of the variance. The fifth item, "students learned about things in society that need to be changed", loaded strongly (> .40) onto both factors. This item, however, seemed to be a better conceptual fit with the learning opportunity items, and was therefore included as part of the Factor 1 scale. Furthermore, teacher responses regarding student learning about environmentalism (which was the only other item loading onto Factor 2), showed very little variability, as all teachers either answered that they *agree* or *strongly agree*. Therefore, this item was dropped from analysis. The remaining four items were averaged and the composite was labeled *civic learning opportunities*; higher scores reflected greater civic learning opportunities in the classroom. Cronabach's alpha indicated adequate reliability ($\alpha = .79$).

Teachers also provided written descriptions of three activities/lessons they used to teach civic skills and promote civic engagement among students. Teachers responded to the following prompt: *Please list and describe 3 activities/lessons you have used or will use this school year to teach civic skills and promote civic engagement*.

Teacher-child civic discussion. Teachers completed six items rating the frequency of civic communication and classroom discussion on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*). For example, teachers reported how often they "talk to students about community issues" and "encouraged students to discuss social/political topics" (Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007; Kahne,

2005). Exploratory factor analysis yielded one factor explaining 65.35% of the variance for the six items (see Table 4.2). Items were averaged with higher scores reflecting more frequent teacher-child civic discussions, and the composite was labeled *civic discussion*. Cronbach's alpha indicated adequate reliability (α = .79).

Child Civic Identity Outcomes

Child civic values. Children rated the importance of six civic-related values on a scale from 1 (*not at all important*) to 5 (*very important*) (Flanagan, Syvertsen, et al., 2007). Exploratory factor analysis yielded one factor (see Table 1.2). Items were averaged so that higher scores reflected greater endorsement of civic values (α = .80).

Child social responsibility. Children responded to 13 items measuring social responsibility (Chi et al., 2006). Response scale ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Exploratory factor analysis yielded two factors (see Table 1.3): *responsibility to community* (9-items, α = .89) and *responsibility to people* (4-items, α = .72). Items were averaged so that higher scores reflected a greater sense of social responsibility.

Covariates

Covariates included child gender and need for affiliation with others (α = .83; Simonds & Rothbart, 2004), and family SES (1 = low-income; 0 = middle income/ affluent).

Table 4.1

Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Civic Learning Opportunities in the Classroom

Items	Factor 1 Civic Learning Opportunities	Factor 2 Extra Items
In my class this year…		
Students learned about things in society that need to be changed	**.43**	.82
Students met people who work to make society better	**.88**	
Students were required to keep up with politics or government, either by reading a newspaper, watching TV, or going to the Internet	**.75**	
Students worked on a service learning or volunteer project to improve the community	**.92**	
Students learned about taking care of the environment		**.93**
Eigenvalues	2.40	1.64
% of Variance	47.98	32.76
Cumulative %		80.75

Note: Factor loadings ≤ .40 are not shown. Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization.

Table 4.2

Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Teacher-Child Civic Discussion

Items	Factor 1 Classroom Civic Discussion
I focus on issues children care about	**.59**
I encourage children to make up their own minds	**.91**
I encourage students to discuss political and social topics	**.86**
I talk to students about current events/politics	**.83**
I talk to students about community issues	**.74**
I encourage students to express opinions about politics/current events	**.88**
Eigenvalues	3.92
% of Variance	65.35

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization.

Study 4: Results

Teachers demonstrated moderate levels of civic learning opportunities in their classroom (M = 3.31, SD = .85) and civic discussion in the classroom (M = 3.59, SD = .65); correlations among teacher socialization variables were not statistically significant (r = .32, p = .15). There was no statistically significant school-level difference among teacher reported civic practices, as determined by one-way ANOVAS: civic learning opportunities: $F(6, 15) = 1.836$, p = .159; civic discussion: $F(6, 15)$ = .999 p = .461. There were also no school-level differences among teachers in terms of years of teaching experience $F(6,15) = 1.077$, p = .419, or teacher age $F(6, 15)$ = .639, p = .698. Classroom civic learning opportunities and classroom civic discussion showed weak correlations with all children's civic outcomes. See Table 4.3 for correlations among all study variables.

Table 4.3
Correlations among Study 4 Variables (N=22-390)

Variable Names	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Child Gender (female)							
2. Affiliation	.18***						
3. Low-income	.03	.00					
4. Civic learning opportunities	-.02	-.07	-.05				
5. Teacher civic discussion	-.06	-.14	-.03	.32			
6. Child civic values	.23***	.17***	.08	.06	-.06		
7. Child community responsibility	.28***	.19***	.15**	-.01	-.07	.76***	
8. Child responsibility to people	.30***	.27***	.02	.05	-.08	.51***	.54***

Notes: +p ≤ .10 *p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001

RQ1: Do teacher practices predict children's civic outcomes?

Multiple regression analysis was used to determine the extent to which teachers' classroom-based civic practices predicted children's civic outcomes. Analyses were carried out in M*plus* v. 5.0 (Muthen & Muthen, 1998-2007), and the cluster command was used to account

for teacher clustering at the classroom level. Children's civic outcomes were regressed on teacher reports of civic learning opportunities and civic discussion in their classroom (see Table 4.4). Child gender, need for affiliation with others, and family SES were included as covariates. Results indicated that in classrooms where teachers reported greater use of civic learning opportunities, children reported a greater sense of responsibility to people (β = .10, p = .047). Civic learning opportunities, however, were not significantly associated with children's civic values (β = .10, p = .26) or their responsibility to the community more generally (β = .03, p = .73). Furthermore, classroom-based civic discussion did not significantly predict children's civic values (β = -.06, p = .38), children's responsibility to the community (β = -.04, p = .58) or children's responsibility to people (β = -.07, p = .11).

Table 4.4

Classroom Socialization Experiences Predicting Children's Civic Identity (N=390)

	Civic Values		**Responsibility to Community**		**Responsibility to People**	
	Model 1		**Model 1**		**Model 1**	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Covariates						
Gender	**.21*** **	.05	**.25*** **	.05	**.26*** **	.05
Affiliation	**.13***	.06	**.14****	.05	**.22****	.04
Low-income	.07	.05	**.14*** **	.04	.01	.04
School Socialization						
Civic learning opportunities	.10	.09	.03	.08	**.10***	.05
Civic discussion	-.06	.08	-.04	.08	-.07	.05
R^2	.09**		.12**		.15	

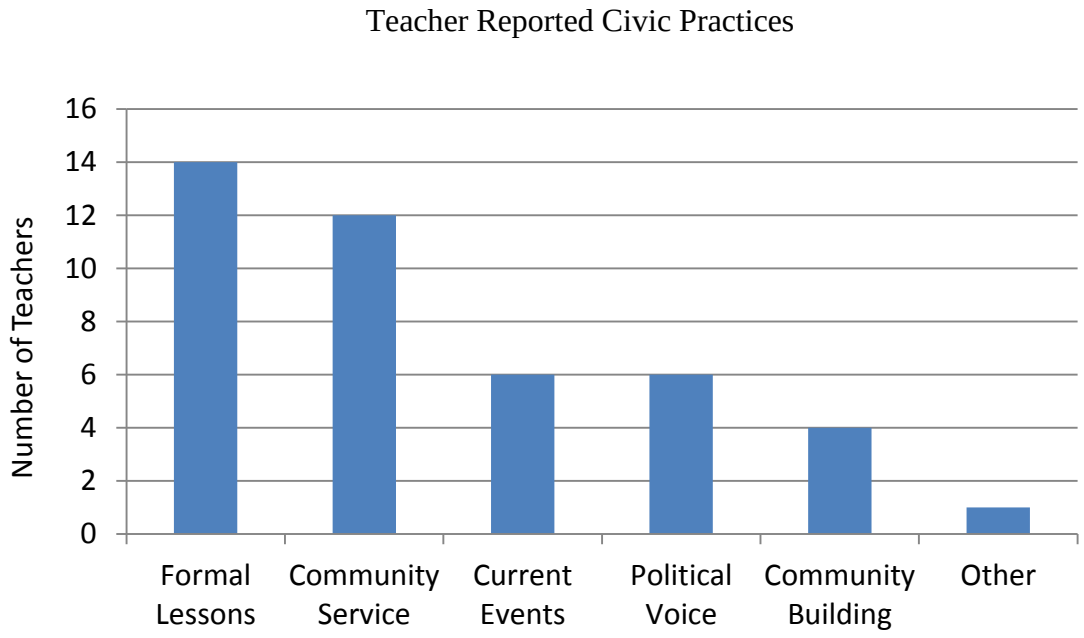
*Notes: +$p \leq .10$ *$p \leq .05$ **$p \leq .01$ ***$p \leq .001$; Effect size (Cohen's f^2) for covariates and school socialization experiences on child responsibility to people = .18*

RQ2: What types of civic learning activities are used in the upper elementary grades?

Teachers provided written descriptions of three or more civic learning activities/lessons they used (or planned to use) during the current school year. Responses were read numerous

times and a coding scheme was developed based on the type of civic activity reported. Analysis revealed five distinct categories in teachers' self-described civic practices: formal lessons, community service activities, current events monitoring, political simulation, and community building (see Graph 4.1). Each is described in greater detail below. Teachers reported between 2 and 5 activities with an average of 2.9 activities per teacher.

Graph 4.1



Formal lessons. Fourteen teachers reported using *formal lessons* from their Social Studies and Science curriculum to promote civic engagement among students. More specifically, teachers described studying national holidays (e.g., Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday, Veteran's Day, Earth Day, Arbor Day, Memorial Day) as well as historical events such as the civil rights movement and 9/11. Some teachers reported incorporating novel studies as well, as one teacher described reading "The Watson's Go to Birmingham" for Black history month and then discussing tolerance issues with students. Teachers also described lessons about government practices and processes such as the origins of democracy, the election process, the balance of

power between three branches of government, the meaning of the Constitution, and the rights and responsibilities of citizens. In addition to Social Studies lessons, teachers reported using Science lessons to promote civic engagement, particularly by learning about environmental conservation. According to one teacher, "students learned about limited fresh water supply, how to conserve the water we have". Another teacher described an ecology/conservation unit that was connected to science standards where students created posters to promote environmental awareness and conducted "home energy and water usage surveys". Social Studies and Science lessons were the most frequently cited civic activity category among teachers.

Community service. In addition to formal lessons, numerous teachers (n = 12) also reported using *community service* activities to promote civic engagement among students. Community service activities included both charity activities (e.g., canned food drives, raising money for military families) and environmental clean-up efforts at the school (e.g., daily recycling, trash pick-up at the school). For example, one teacher described participating in a "stuffed animal and sock drive in conjunction with collecting food for holiday baskets for the needy" while another explained that "we recycle every day and students take containers to the recycling center at school". Many of these activities seemed to be school-wide, though some teachers did report classroom activities as well. For example, one teacher described creating volunteer opportunities in her classroom by allowing students to volunteer their lunch time to tutor students in a lower grade while another used "coins for a cause" where students did chores at home to raise money for a charitable cause voted on by students in the classroom.

Current events monitoring. Six teachers reported *current events monitoring* to promote civic engagement. This includes requiring students to keep up with current events and political issues (e.g., watching election debates and write reflections) as well as teachers brining in current

event topics or news stories to discuss with students. Some teachers reported using news articles in *Time for Kids Magazine* to promote civic discussions among students, while others described brining in additional news resources. For example:

> I use current events articles from the newspaper and the radio- always NPR which I listen to most mornings. If I hear something in the morning I will often replay it over the computer or print it up from the website and read it, then discuss it with class first thing in the morning.

Political simulation. Six teachers also reported using simulations of political participation to promote civic engagement. *Political simulation* activities included student council elections or having students develop or sign a school or classroom petition. Additionally, one teacher described how students worked together to change playground regulations by discussing pros and cons of the change and writing persuasive essays to the principal.

Community building. Four teachers reported using *community building activities* to promote civic engagement among students which included practices that reinforce positive social behavior and cohesion among classmates. For example, one teacher described how early in the school year, students work together to decide on expectations for classroom behavior and discuss what is needed for the class to function productively. Another teacher described having a student of the month (decided on by the teacher) based on character traits and discussing how character traits are exemplified. One teacher used a "trust walk" where students are partnered and one is "blindfolded and has to trust their partner to get them from point A to point B".

Other. One additional civic activity reported was categorized as *other*. A teacher described inviting guest speakers to help inform students about community issues and "broaden my students' civic awareness". She then specifically explained how "one parent presented a solar

cooker used in Africa to help villagers". This activity seemed conceptually distinct from the other civic activities described above, and was therefore categorized as other.

Study 4: Discussion

Results from Study 4 show that some teacher socialization practices in the classroom are especially relevant for children's civic outcomes in the upper elementary grades. Specifically, greater civic learning opportunities in the classroom which included service learning experiences, keeping up with current events, meeting people who work to make society better, or learning about things in society that need to be changed, were positively associated with children's sense of responsibility to people. Research with adolescents (e.g., Kahne & Sporte, 2008) has shown that various types of school-based civic learning experiences are associated with adolescents' civic outcomes, and the current study shows similar associations at a younger developmental period. However, classroom-based civic learning opportunities were not associated with children's civic values or children's sense of responsibility to the community. Perhaps in the upper elementary grades, when students are just beginning to demonstrate abstract thought and reasoning (Seifert & Hoffnug, 1997), children are better able to link these civic experiences to people because it is a more concrete association as compared to their responsibility to the community more broadly or to general civic values.

Also unexpectedly, general civic discussion in the classroom was not associated with any child civic outcomes. Research shows that discussion of current events and political issues in high school classrooms is associated with youth civic engagement, though a lack of significant findings in the upper elementary grades may again reflect children's cognitive limitations in middle childhood. Given that adolescents are capable of formal operational thought which includes complex and abstract reasoning (Seifert & Hoffnug, 1997), they may have an easier

time linking classroom-based civic discussions to broader sociopolitical issues. Upper elementary students may still require concrete representations to support their learning and may have more trouble with abstract thought so this link may prove more challenging at a younger developmental level.

Findings from the current study also provided initial evidence of the types of civic learning activities teachers use in the upper elementary grades. As expected, teachers reported using both formal lessons and community service activities to promote civic engagement among students. In fact, formal lessons were the most commonly reported civic activity, and these lessons tended to focus on U.S. history, government structures and processes, or environmental conservation, all of which are topics reflected in California state standards (California DOE, 2000). More than half of the sample also reported using community service activities with their students. Research has shown that 55% of elementary schools include community service activities (Skinner & Chapman, 1999), and the current study produced identical findings. The civic activities described by teachers tended to involve school clean-up efforts or charity drives, and there was little evidence that any were true "service learning" experiences. Additional civic activities reported by teachers included monitoring of current events, political simulation, and community building activities. While current events discussions and political simulation activities have been shown to have an impact on adolescent civic engagement (e.g., Gould, 2011; McDevitt & Kiousis, 2006), future work should examine the effects on younger populations.

It is also important to mention that fewer significant findings in the school context may reflect a lack of opportunity to really engage in effective civic learning experiences in elementary classrooms. Given the climate created by NCLB, civic learning may not be prioritized by teachers. In regards to student performance on standardized tests, no participating schools had

entered "Program Improvement"[1] status which might potentially affect time allocated to civic education. However, research has shown that teachers spend less time on Social Studies to focus on high-stakes subjects (Center on Education Policy, 2006). Even the civic learning activities described by teachers in the current study seem to be intermittent rather than a program of continuous, meaningful civic education. Future work should include measures of opportunity to engage in civic education to better understand these effects.

[1] Schools and districts receiving federal Title I funding enter Program Improvement (PI) if they do not make AYP for two consecutive years in the same content area (ELA or mathematics) or on the same indicator (API or graduation rate). After entering PI, schools and districts advance to the next level of intervention with each additional year that they do not make AYP.

DISSERTATION DISCUSSION

The purpose of my dissertation was to examine children's emergent civic identity, parent and teacher practices that promote children's civic engagement, and how these processes differ based on demographic characteristics. Findings across Studies 1 through 4 showed that civic identity exists in middle childhood and that both parents and teachers and their context-specific socialization practices matter for children's civic outcomes. Differences in these processes based on SES, however, also emerged indicating that children's civic orientations and the processes promoting civic engagement are also affected by macroeconomic conditions. A discussion of study themes and practical implications follows.

Parents and Teachers Matter for Children's Civic Outcomes

According to Ecological Theory, parents and teachers are two of the most influential figures within a child's proximate environment and therefore exert a powerful influence on children's development. Study findings support this notion in regards to children's civic outcomes as well, and offer credence for using this theoretical perspective in work on children's developing civic engagement. Specifically, results indicated that parents' sociopolitical values and civic beliefs are related to children's civic outcomes and these values/beliefs are transmitted to children through civic-related socialization practices. Given that families, particularly parents, are one the most influential and enduring socializing agents during childhood (see Maccoby, 1992), it is not surprising that their values, beliefs, and practices matter for children's civic identity. Interestingly, parents' general belief in the trustworthiness and goodness of others was a particularly strong predictor of children's civic outcomes, and this finding was consistent across diverse race/ethnic and SES groups. Research overwhelmingly shows that greater social trust leads to civic engagement among adults (e.g., Uslaner, 2002), and many scholars (e.g., Flanagan,

2003; Putnam, 2000) argue that trusting other people in general is necessary for participation, cooperation, and support in a functioning democracy. Finding that parents' social trust is also related to their children's civic values and sense of civic responsibility provides further evidence of the power and importance of social trust in sustaining a democratic society and promoting civic engagement among successive generations. This relationship implies a "top-down" approach to children's civic development that has been criticized by some scholars (e.g., Haste, 2010) because of the implied passivity of youth. However, the current study also includes children's perceptions of parent socialization practices to better account for their role in actively constructing knowledge for themselves and drawing meaning from these parent-child interactions. Furthermore, findings do not imply that parents are the only influence on children's civic outcomes, though they are indeed an important one, particularly during childhood.

In addition to parents, teachers also matter for children's civic outcomes in the elementary grades, though observed effects were not as pronounced when compared to the family. Past work with adolescents has shown that school-based civic learning experiences are more powerful predictors of future civic engagement ($\beta = .57$, $p < .001$, effect size = .41) when compared to parent discussion of current event and politics ($\beta = .17$, $p < .001$, effect size = .12) (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). Although parent and teacher effects are not examined simultaneously in the current study, parents do seem to have a stronger and more consistent impact on children's civic outcomes in the upper elementary grades. Perhaps this reflects a shift in the developmental processes promoting civic identity over time. Parent values/beliefs and home-based socialization experiences may be more impactful during early/middle childhood, though as children reach and progress through adolescence and begin to establish greater autonomy and independence from parents and families (see Eccles, 1999, for review), school-based experiences become more

important. Even children's exposure to and interpretation of media coverage of civic issues will be largely directed by parents and the political culture in the home during the elementary school years (Chaffee & Yang, 1990; Moore et al., 1985), so parents are especially important to consider during this developmental period.

Similarities and Differences among Different SES and Race/Ethnic Groups

Family SES and children's civic outcomes. Findings across studies also showed that family SES mattered for children's civic outcomes in multiple ways. Research examining the effect of SES on youth civic engagement has produced somewhat mixed results, though numerous scholars do report a "civic learning gap" based on family income. Indeed, individuals from low-income backgrounds tend to demonstrate lower levels of political knowledge from the 4th grade on as well as less participation in politics and community activities in adulthood (see Levinson, 2010). Findings from the current study, however, showed that children from low-income families are more likely to feel a sense of civic duty to their community (when compared to children from middle income or affluent families), so the foundation for future civic engagement is present. At the same time, past research has shown that low-income youth are less likely to experience high-quality civic learning opportunities in school (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008) and have fewer civic role models in their communities (Hart & Atkins, 2002). Furthermore, one's civic/political efficacy decreases as income decreases (Verba et al., 1995). Even though children from low-income families show a greater sense of civic responsibility, these additional factors may lead to lower rates of participation over time. This sense of civic responsibility could also lead to behaviors that are not captured by traditional measures of civic engagement. Research has shown that Latino immigrants are more likely to be involved in civic activities that benefit their ethnic group and often use bilingual skills to support community

members (Jensen, 2010). Perhaps individuals from low-income groups also provide support to family/neighbors (for example, child care) that is not captured by traditional measures of civic engagement.

Study findings also showed that parent government mistrust was predictive of children's civic outcomes, but only for children low-income families. (There was no relationship between parent government trust and children's civic outcomes for middle income and affluent families.) Given that political power is unequally distributed in the United States with low-income individuals generally having less power (Bartels, 2008), it is not surprising that they are more mistrustful of the government. What is most interesting here, however, is that this government mistrust among parents leads to greater civic values and social responsibility among low-income children. These findings show that certain parent beliefs and socialization experiences promoting civic engagement are unique to families experiencing economic hardship and that family processes may operate differently in different contexts. A more nuanced examination is needed to better understand these findings and socialization processes specifically for low-income families, as it is beyond the capabilities of the current study given the limited size of the low-income sample. Findings also provide further support for using Ecological Theory as a theoretical lens to understand the ways in which multiple layers of the environment influence civic outcomes in middle childhood and throughout the lifespan.

Race/ethnicity and children's civic outcomes. Another finding across studies that warrants attention is the lack of significant findings regarding children's race/ethnicity. Research has shown that all ethnic groups tend to be civically engaged, just in different ways, so the finding that race/ethnicity was not predictive of children's civic values and civic responsibility was not surprising, especially given that these broad notions of civic engagement are

hypothesized precursors to various types of participation. What was surprising, however, was the lack of moderation by race/ethnicity for associations between parent values and beliefs and children's civic outcomes, which suggests that similar processes promote these civic identity outcomes among Whites and Latinos during middle childhood. In contrast, research with adults and adolescents has revealed racial/ethnic differences in the socialization experiences promoting civic engagement. For example, Zaff, Malanchuk, and Eccles (2008) found that civic engagement among African American adolescents was predicted by parents' ethnic socialization practices (e.g., discussions about racial discrimination, studying racial history/traditions, celebrating one's racial group) whereas civic engagement among Whites was more strongly predicted by earlier civic participation. Research has also shown that civic participation of Latino youth is influenced by experiences of discrimination (Stepick & Stepick, 2002; Stepick et al., 2008). In qualitative work, Stepick et al. (2008) found that Cuban youth report becoming involved (e.g., protesting) in response to felt discrimination during the Elian Gonzalez controversy in Miami which heightened their political awareness and understanding of differential political power related to race. Thus, for ethnic minority youth, the socialization experiences promoting civic engagement are explicitly informed by race/ethnic membership. However, similar effects were not seen among Latino children in the current study. Although analyses were not included in my formal dissertation manuscript, I also examined parents' ethnic socialization practices expecting these practices to predict civic identity among Latino children. However, results of hierarchical multiple regression analyses and tests of moderation indicated no main effect of parent ethnic socialization practices or significant race by parent ethnic socialization interactions (see Appendix D). These findings may reflect developmental trends regarding ethnic identity in middle childhood and adolescence. According to Quintana (1998;

2008), children's understanding of their ethnic group begins to include socially-constructed meanings associated with ethnic group membership (e.g., status) in late childhood, though ethnic identity does not emerge until adolescence. Although more recent work (e.g., Brown, Spatzier, & Tobin, 2010) does show evidence of ethnic identity in late childhood, parents' race/ethnic socialization experiences may be more impactful with older youth populations when ethnic group consciousness and identity are more salient. Including a measure of ethnic identity in future studies would be helpful in better understanding these effects. Additionally, Stepick and colleagues (2002; 2008) found that Latino college students reported becoming civically involved in response to direct and indirect racial/ethnic discrimination experiences. Perhaps explicit measures of personal experiences of discrimination (rather than general parent-child discussions) would be a better measure to include in future studies.

Practical Implications for Home and School

The importance of parent civic modeling and civic discussion. Practical implications for the home context can be drawn from study findings as well. Results from both studies show that parents' civic values/beliefs are partly transmitted to children by parent civic modeling. In other words, parents who have greater social justice values and are more trusting of others are also more likely demonstrate civic engagement themselves by being active in the community or volunteering. Children see these parent behaviors and then themselves also feel a greater sense of civic responsibility and greater civic values. Parent values/beliefs are also transmitted to children through general political/civic discussion in the home which includes talking about current events and encouraging children to express their own opinions. Research with adolescents consistently shows that parent civic modeling and parent-child political/civic discussions are associated with adolescent and young adult civic engagement (Andolina et al., 2003; Dalhouse &

Frideres, 1996; Keeter et al., 2002; Pew Research Center, 1997; Verba et al., 1995). Furthermore, when parents engage their adolescent children in discussions around controversial issues and encourage them to form their own opinions about political topics, youth demonstrate higher levels of civic knowledge, civic/political interest, and tolerance of diverse groups (see Flanagan & Faison, 2001, for review). The current study provides evidence of similar processes among elementary aged children. These findings also lend support to Social learning theory (Bandura, 1986), as results show that parents serve as behavioral models of civic engagement. Thus, parent civic participation and more frequent civic discussion creates a civic culture in the home that fosters children's civic engagement. These findings suggest that any efforts to increase child or youth civic engagement should also involve parents. This may be particularly important during childhood (given the powerful influence parents have during this developmental period) though parent engagement likely has implications for adolescent engagement as well. A key step in increasing rates of civic engagement among marginalized youth may be to help facilitate their parents' civic engagement. Strategies might include community outreach programs or recruiting parents to participate in community improvement projects, as school and community leaders should work together to support these efforts.

The importance of civic learning opportunities in school. Practical implications can also be drawn from findings in the school context. The present study showed that in classrooms where teachers reported using greater concrete civic learning opportunities (e.g., service learning experiences, keeping up with current events), students felt a greater sense of responsibility to people, while general civic discussion was not associated with any child outcomes. In contrast, research with adolescents has shown that both types of activities (civic experiences and discussions) are associated with youth and young adult civic engagement. These findings suggest

that concrete civic learning experiences are particularly important for teachers to use in the elementary grades. According to John Dewey, "there is an intimate and necessary relation between the processes of actual experience and education" (1938, p. 7). Dewey maintained that education is a social process and children must have experiences and opportunities to interact with the curriculum in order to learn. The current study shows the importance of hands-on-learning and concrete experiences in civic education.

Unfortunately, the open-ended reports of teachers' civic activities showed that the most common type of activity used by teachers in the upper elementary grades to promote civic engagement was formal lessons. Research with adolescents has shown that formal government lessons may increase political knowledge and activity, but does little to promote other forms of civic engagement (McIntosh et al., 2007). While approximately half of the teachers reported using community service activities, most of these activities (e.g., holiday food drives, school clean-up efforts) seem to lack the continuity or quality recommended by Dewey (1938) to be effective learning experiences. However, these intermittent community service activities could be transformed into high-quality service learning by incorporating them into the curriculum, including learning goals and an opportunity for reflection, addressing community needs, and implementing them school-wide. Seeing teachers report use of political simulation activities was also encouraging. Research with adolescents has shown that that political simulation experiences where students actually participate in government processes in school or community contexts (e.g., student council, voter outreach) are particularly effective ways to promote civic engagement (McDevitt & Kiousis, 2006; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Although research is needed to systematically examine the effect of political simulation experiences with younger children,

this kind of hands-on-learning could be incorporated into existing Social Studies lessons on government processes and implemented school-wide.

Given the recent "Call to Action" from the U.S. Department of Education to promote civic values and positive citizenship through improved civic education, these types of hands-on civic learning experiences should be better incorporated into elementary school curriculum. Because of the pressure many teachers report feeling to raise student test scores in language arts and mathematics (Stecher & Hamilton, 2006), teachers should also be encouraged to integrate civic learning experiences with these high-stakes subjects. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) maintain that helping students develop active civic participation skills and teaching students to question social issues are effective civic practices and more likely to result in positive social change. Thus, lessons to improve civic skills such as public speaking, debating, and persuasive writing should also be included. This kind of training in civic learning and education should become a key component of teacher preparation programs. Additionally, in-service teachers should be offered professional development courses or opportunities to watch teacher exemplars effectively incorporate civic experiences into their curriculum. According to Dewey (1938), continuity is critical to experiential education, so these civic activities should receive school-wide support so that civic learning goals are reinforced at each grade level.

Study Limitations & Future Directions

Study findings should be considered in light of certain limitations. In considering the generalizability of findings, a few issues regarding study population warrant attention. First, all data were collected in Southern California and while the study sample was ethnically diverse (White, Latino, Asian, Multiracial), it largely reflects the ethnic representation of this geographic region. Give that various groups, particularly African Americans, were largely underrepresented,

generalizability of results to all populations is limited. Second, most participating students came from suburban schools. Future work should examine children's civic engagement in various regions and neighborhood settings across the United States to get a better sense of how the processes promoting children's civic outcomes vary based on contextual factors such as local culture and urban, suburban, or rural settings. Third, almost half of the participating students had at least one foreign born parent and while immigrant status was not associated with children's civic outcomes in the current study, this could have resulted from having such a diverse immigrant sample. A more nuanced examination of how different immigrant experiences lead to differences in children's civic engagement would be helpful in furthering the field, particularly given that immigrants constitute one of the fastest growing segments of the U.S. populations (Hernandez et al., 2008).

In addition, all data were collected at one point in time which limits the ability to infer causation between parent and teacher practices and children's civic outcomes. While conceptually I argue that parent and teacher reported practices represent past behaviors that accumulate over time (and data collection was deliberately scheduled after the fall semester to ensure students had spent adequate time with teachers), data collection at multiple time points is needed to further substantiate study claims. Furthermore, methodologically sound (e.g., control group design, pre- and post-tests, etc.) experimental studies are also needed to better understand how parents and teachers can effectively promote civic engagement among elementary-aged children. In their "Call to Action" to improve civic education, the U.S. Department of Education recommends numerous strategies though most are practices that have only been shown to be effective with adolescents. Well-designed experimental studies in elementary schools evaluating the impact of various types of civic activities (e.g., political simulations, service learning) on

children's civic, social, behavioral, and academic outcomes are crucial so that all teachers have research-based strategies to meet this goal.

Furthermore, the current study does not fully capture the bi-directional nature of parent-child interactions. Parents who discuss civic issues with their children may simply be responding to their child's interest in civic topics such as current events, politics, or volunteering. Longitudinal work would help researchers better understand the degree to parent practices or child interest is driving this relationship. I used child reports of parent socialization practices to better capture children's interpretation and understanding of these experiences. However, the child reports of parent socialization items were similar in nature to some of the child civic values and social responsibility items, and children completed all survey measures in one session. Thus, some of the strong associations between child reports of parent socialization practices and children's civic outcomes and high effect sizes could have been due to a priming effect or respondent bias. Future work should consider other ways to measure parent-child socialization experiences including observations of parent-child interactions and combined parent-child reports. Overall, effect sizes of parent values and civic beliefs were somewhat low, so future work should consider additional parent and teacher variables to explore as well.

The current study also examines the home and school contexts separately and does not account for the ways in which school-home civic experiences interact to promote civic outcomes. McDevitt and Kiousis (2006) found that a school-based civic engagement program in high school led to greater political discussion in the home which was associated with voting two years later. Future work should examine the home and school contexts simultaneously to better understand interactions between contexts, additive effects, and whether or not high quality civic experiences in one context can make up for limited experiences in the other.

Finally, in the present study, children's endorsement of civic values and feelings of civic responsibility are hypothesized to be precursors to future civic engagement, though whether or not these civic notions actually correspond to civic participation later in adolescence and adulthood remains untested. Again, longitudinal work is needed to better understand the ways in which civic engagement evolves and builds over time and whether or not certain types of experiences are more or less impactful at different developmental periods. Given that children reported civic values and notions of social responsibility in middle childhood, it's likely that children's civic identity begins to develop even earlier so future work should also explore emergent civic engagement /identity during early childhood. Researchers have examined civic engagement throughout adolescence and adulthood, though in order to truly gain a developmental perspective of civic engagement and civic identity over time, research should begin at an earlier developmental period and continue throughout the lifespan.

Conclusion

Most of the research on civic engagement from the last two decades has focused exclusively on adolescents and adults, though results presented here provide evidence of a civic identity in middle childhood showing the importance of examining civic engagement in the elementary grades. Furthermore, children's civic values and notions of social responsibility are informed by experiences in both the home and school contexts. While results showed some similarities with research on adolescent/adult civic engagement, evidence pointed to key developmental differences in the processes promoting civic outcomes during middle childhood. Specifically, findings suggest that children learn to become socially conscious citizens by watching and modeling their own parents' civic values, beliefs, and practices. Furthermore,

teachers' use of direct or concrete civic learning experiences is particularly important in the elementary grades. Longitudinal work examining how civic engagement changes and develops from early childhood throughout the lifespan is needed for a better developmental understanding of these processes, and experimental studies will also be critical in understanding the impact of civic learning experiences in elementary classrooms. Findings from the current study have only scratched the surface of civic engagement in middle childhood though results do provide initial insights into the home- and school-based experiences promoting civic outcomes in the upper elementary grades.

Appendix A

Intra-class Correlation Coefficients (ICC's)

VARIABLE	ICC SCHOOL	ICC CLASSROOM
Parent Values & Beliefs		
Empathetic Concern	.02	
Social Justice Values	.07	
Social Trust	.00	
Government Trust	.01	
Child Reported Parent socialization		
Civic Directives	.03	.07
General Discussion	.02	.06
Civic Modeling	.01	.05
Child Outcomes		
Civic values	.05	.08
Responsibility to Community	.04	.08
Responsibility to People	.00	.02

Appendix B

Study 2 Moderation Results (Non-Significant)

Table B.1

Parent Values and Values by Gender Interactions Predicting Child Civic Outcomes (N=334-336)

	Child Civic Values						**Child Responsibility to Community**						**Child Responsibility to People**					
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Covariates																		
Affiliation	**.17****	.06	**.10**$^{+}$	.06	**.10**$^{+}$	.06	**.20****	.06	**.14****	.06	**.13***	.06	**.27*****	.04	**.19****	.05	**.19****	.05
Low-income	.04	.08	.02	.08	.02	.08	**.13***	.09	**.11***	.09	**.11***	.09	.03	.07	.01	.07	.01	.07
Main Effects																		
Gender			**.24*****	.07	**.24*****	.07			**.26*****	.07	**.26*****	.07			**.24*****	.05	**.24*****	.05
Parent Social Justice			.10	.06	.10	.08			**.11***	.06	**.17**$^{+}$	.09			.07	.05	-.01	.07
Parent Empathetic Concern			.04	.07	.02	.10			.02	.08	-.05	.11			**.10**$^{+}$	.06	**.11**$^{+}$	.08
Interaction Effects																		
Social justice x Gender					-.01	.11					-.07	.12					.12	.09
Empathetic concern x Gender					.03	.14					.10	.15					-.01	.11
R^2	.10		.17		.17		.11		.19		.19		.09		.16		.16	
Change R^2	.03**		.06***		.00		.06***		.07***		.00		.07***		.07***		.00	

*Notes: *p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 ; Parent value variables are centered; Interaction terms were created from centered variables; All models include school dummy codes at baseline*

Table B.2

Parent Values and Values by Race Interactions Predicting Child Civic Outcomes, Latinos & Whites only (N=227-229)

	Child Civic Values						**Child Responsibility to Community**						**Child Responsibility to People**					
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Covariates																		
Gender	**.21*** **	.08	**.22*** **	.08	**.22*** **	.08	**.25*** **	.09	**.25*** **	.09	**.26*** **	.09	**.21*** **	.07	**.22*** **	.07	**.22*** **	.07
Affiliation	**.14***	.07	**.12**+**	.07	**.12**+**	.07	**.19****	.07	**.17****	.07	**.17****	.07	**.21*** **	.05	**.18****	.05	**.19****	.06
Low-income	.08	.10	.06	.10	.07	.10	**.20****	.10	**.17***	.11	**.17***	.11	.02	.08	-.00	.08	.01	.09
Main Effects																		
Latino			.00	.10	-.00	.10			.04	.11	.04	.11			.03	.08	.02	.08
Parent Social Justice			**.13**+**	.07	**.19**+**	.07			**.15***	.07	**.19***	.11			.08	.06	.10	.08
Parent Empathetic Concern			.04	.09	-.05	.12			-.00	.09	-.04	.13			.09	.07	.01	.10
Interaction Effects																		
Empathetic concern x Race					-.05	.14					-.04	.15					.00	.12
Social justice x Race					.12	.18					.05	.19					.11	.15
R^2	.18		.20		.21		.24		.26		.26		.14		.15		.16	
Change R^2	.08***		.02		.01		.15***		.02		.00		.11***		.01		.01	

*Notes: *p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 ; Parent value variables are centered; Interaction terms were created from centered variables; All models include school dummy codes at baseline*

APPENDIX C

Study 3 Moderation Results (Non-Significant)

Table C.1

Parent Trust, Maternal Ed x Government Trust Interaction, and Child Civic Outcomes (N = 311- 313)

	Child Civic Values						**Child Responsibility to Community**						**Child Responsibility to People**					
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Covariates																		
Gender	**.24*** **	.07	**.23*** **	.07	**.23*** **	.07	**.26*** **	.08	**.26*** **	.07	**.26*** **	.07	**.24*** **	.06	**.23*** **	.06	**.23*** **	.06
Affiliation	**.15** **	.06	**.17** **	.06	**.17** **	.06	**.19*** **	.06	**.19*** **	.06	**.19*** **	.06	**.25*** **	.05	**.26*** **	.05	**.26*** **	.05
Low-income	.03	.09	.03	.09	.03	.09	**.12***	.09	**.14***	.09	**.14***	.09	.01	.07	.03	.07	.03	.07
Main Effects																		
Maternal Ed			.03	.07	.03	.07			.07	.08	.07	.08			.07	.06	.07	.06
Social trust			**.26*** **	.05	**.26*** **	.05			**.18*** **	.05	**.18*** **	.05			**.17** **	.04	**.17** **	.04
Government trust			-.08	.04	-.10	.06			-.00	.05	-.02	.06			-.06	.04	-.07	.05
Interaction Effect																		
Mom Ed x Gov trust					.03	.09					.03	.10					.02	.07
R^2	.17		.23		.23		.19		.23		.23		.16		.19		.19	
Change R^2	.09***		.06***		.00		.14***		.04**		.00		.14***		.03*		.00	

*Notes: +p ≤ .10 *p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001 ; Parent government trust variable is centered; Interaction term was created from centered variable; All models include school dummy codes at baseline*

Table C.2

Parent Trust, Race x Government Trust Interaction, and Child Civic Outcomes, Latinos and Whites, only (N = 227- 229)

	Child Civic Values						**Child Responsibility to Community**						**Child Responsibility to People**					
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Covariates																		
Gender	**.21*** **	.08	**.20*** **	.08	**.19*** **	.08	**.25*** **	.09	**.24*** **	.09	**.24*** **	.09	**.21** **	.07	**.20** **	.07	**.19** **	.07
Affiliation	**.15***	.07	**.17** **	.07	**.16** **	.07	**.19** **	.07	**.20*** **	.07	**.19** **	.07	**.22*** **	.06	**.23*** **	.06	**.23*** **	.06
Low-income	.08	.10	.08	.10	.07	.10	**.20** **	.11	**.18** **	.11	**.17** **	.11	.02	.08	.01	.08	.00	.08
Main Effects																		
Latino			.02	.10	.02	.10			.07	.11	.07	.11			.03	.08	.03	.08
Social trust			**.29*** **	.06	**.28*** **	.06			**.18*** **	.06	**.18*** **	.06			**.16***	.05	**.16***	.05
Government trust			-.10	.05	-.06	.07			-.01	.06	-.06	.07			-.11	.05	-.07	.06
Interaction Effect																		
Latino x Gov trust					-.06	.11					.03	.12					-.07	.09
R^2	.18		.25		.25		.24		.27		.27		.14		.17		.17	
Change R^2	.08***		.07***		.00		.15***		.03*		.00		.11***		$.03^{+}$		.00	

*Notes: +p ≤ .10 *p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001 ; Parent government trust variable is centered; Interaction term was created from centered variable; All models include school dummy codes at baseline*

APPENDIX D

Parent Ethnic Socialization Results

Parent ethnic socialization practices. Parents reported the frequency of cultural socialization (e.g., done things to celebrate the history of your child's race or ethnic group?) and preparation for bias (e.g., told your child that people might treat him/her unfairly because of their race or ethnicity) on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*) (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Parents completed seven items. Exploratory factor analysis yielded two separate factors (see Table D.1). Factor 1 explained 37.85% of variance and included five items measuring parents' cultural socialization practices and preparation for bias. Factor 2 explained an additional 21.45% of the variance and included two items: "how often have you told your child that race is no longer a problem" and "told your child that race does not matter". Items loading strongly onto Factor 1 reflect cultural pride and awareness of discrimination, both of which have been shown to predict civic engagement among ethnic minority youth (Stepick et al., 2008; Zaff et al.,2008). Therefore, only the items loading onto Factor 1 were included in analysis. These items were averaged with higher scores reflecting more frequent ethnic socialization. Parent ethnic socialization practices revealed adequate reliability ($\alpha = .79$).

Table D.1

Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Parent Ethnic Socialization Practices

Items	Factor 1 Cultural Socialization & Preparation for Bias	Factor 2 Ignoring Race
In the past, how often have you…		
Encouraged your child to read books about history of ethnic group	**.73**	
Done things to celebrate the history of child's ethnic group	**.77**	
Talked with your child about how people can be discriminated against because of ethnicity	**.69**	
Told your child that people might treat him/her unfairly because of their race or ethnicity	**.68**	
Taken your child to cultural events about their racial or ethnic group	**.75**	
Told your child that race is no longer a problem in society		*.82*
Told your child that race doesn't matter- everyone has the same opportunities to succeed		*.84*
Eigenvalues	2.65	1.50
% of Variance	37.85	21.45
Cumulative %	37.85	59.3

Note: Factor loadings ≤ .40 are not shown. Items loading onto Factor 2 were not included in the composite measures of parent ethnic socialization measures. They are shown here for descriptive purposes. Items omitted from composites are in italics. Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization.

Results

Parent report of ethnic socialization practices (M = 2.94, SD = .89) was negatively correlated with being White (r = -.17, p < .001) and positively correlated with being Latino (r = .14, p = .01). It was not significantly correlated with any other race/ethnic groups. Additionally, parent ethnic socialization practices were positively correlated with child-parent communication about civic issues (r = .22, p < .001), communication about civic responsibility (r = .22, p < .001), and all child outcomes including civic values (r = .12, p = .02), responsibility to community (r = .20, p < .001), and responsibility to people (r = .12, p = .02).

Parent ethnic socialization and child civic outcomes. Last, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the degree to which parent reported ethnic socialization practices predicted children's civic identity and whether or not these associations were stronger for Latinos. This analysis only included Latino and White children/parents because "Asian", "Multiethnic", and "Other" race/ethnic groups did not have sufficient sample size for group comparisons. After controlling for school and child/family characteristics, parent ethnic socialization practices and race/ethnicity (Latino) were entered in Step 2 of the Model. Results indicate no main effect of parent ethnic socialization strategies and race/ethnicity predicting children's endorsement of civic values, responsibility to the community, or responsibility to people (see Table D.2.). To test whether parent ethnic socialization practices were differentially predictive based on one's race/ethnic group, a race by parent ethnic socialization interaction term was entered in Step 3 of the model. Surprisingly, results indicated no significant race by parent ethnic socialization interactions for children's civic outcomes. The interaction term added less than 1% of variance to children's civic outcomes.

Table D.2

Parent Ethnic Socialization Practices and Child Civic Outcomes, Latinos & Whites only (N=227- 229)

	Child Civic Values						**Child Responsibility to Community**						**Child Responsibility to People**					
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**	
	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*	β	*SE B*
Covariates																		
Gender	**.21*** **	.08	**.22*** **	.09	**.22*** **	.09	**.25*** **	.09	**.26*** **	.09	**.26*** **	.09	**.21*** **	.07	**.22*** **	.07	**.22*** **	.07
Affiliation	**.14***	.07	**.13***	.07	**.13***	.07	**.19****	.07	**.17****	.08	**.17****	.08	**.21*** **	.05	**.20****	.06	**.20****	.06
Low-income	.08	.10	.07	.10	.07	.10	**.20****	.11	**.17****	.11	**.17****	.11	.20	.08	.01	.09	.01	.09
Main Effects																		
Latino			.00	.10	.01	.10			.04	.11	.05	.11			.03	.08	.03	.08
Parent ethnic socialization			.05	.05	.11	.07			.07	.06	.15^{+}	.07			.03	.04	.07	.05
Interaction Effect																		
PES x Latino					-.09	.10					-.12	.10					-.06	.08
R^2	.18		.18		.18		.23		.24		.25		.14		.14		.14	
Change R^2	.08***		.00		.00		.14***		.01		.01		.10***		.00		.00	

*Notes: *p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 ; Parent socialization variable is centered; Interaction term was created from centered variable; All models include school dummy codes at baseline.*

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