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**American Indian Culture and Research Journal**

**Title**

Political Learning Among Members of a Racial-Ethnic Minority

**Permalink**

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4373p059>

**Journal**

American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 3(2)

**ISSN**

0161-6463

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**Publication Date**

1979-03-01

**DOI**

10.17953

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## Political Learning Among Members of a Racial-Ethnic Minority

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Although there is now a sizeable body of substantive knowledge concerning the political socialization of children in the United States, until recently research in this area focused primarily on white, suburban, middle-class children or on sex or social class differences in the political learning process. In addition to providing a foundation for later research these earlier studies point to the need for investigation of the political socialization process among children from other subcultural backgrounds.

In the past few years race has emerged as the principal new area of socialization research. However, this research has been concerned largely with differences in the political socialization of Black and white adults (Olsen, 1970; Orum, 1966; Sears, 1969) or Black and white children (Green, 1972; Greenberg, 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c; Jaros, 1967; Orum and Cohen, 1973). With the exception of one study involving Mexican-American high school students (Messick, 1970), other racial-ethnic groups have been ignored. The present study increases our understanding of childhood political development through an investigation of aspects of the political learning process among a sample of Native American children.

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## PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Much of the research on the socialization of children to politics has been directed toward assessing the influence of three major variables: sex, social class and race. Because this research is extensive, only those findings directly relevant to the present study will be reviewed.

### Sex

The influence of the sex of the child on the acquisition of political attitudes has received considerable attention, but the findings in this area remain somewhat inconclusive and contradictory. For example, both Greenstein (Dennis, 1973:276) and Hess and Torney (1968:25) report that boys are more interested in political matters and more involved in political activity than girls. But other studies have reported little or no difference in the political attributes of male and female children. In a study of Black school children, Lyons (1970) found that sex differences did not appear before high school; Greenberg (1970b) found no significant differences between the sexes, except with respect to trust of the police; and, more recently Orum *et al.* reported only minor differences. In still other studies the pattern is reversed. Hirsch (1971:124,140), for example, found that the Appalachian female is more politically oriented than the Appalachian male.

### Social Class

Social class variations reported in the literature are not as pervasive as might be expected on the basis of research on adult political socialization. Hess and Torney (1968:195) found little difference between children of different class backgrounds in basic attachment to the nation or general acceptance of law and authority. They did find, though, that a sense of political effectiveness is greater in children of high social status (1968:71) and that the tendency to attribute beneficial actions and policies to one's own political choices is greater among children of higher social status. In addition, they found that children from the working class tend to favor the Democratic Party while middle and upper class members tend to favor the Republican Party. Greenstein (1969:96) found that the party preferences of upper status children are better

grounded in information and that "...wherever consistent class differences appeared they showed that upper-status children exceed lower-status children in capacity and motivation for political participation (1969:94)." Perhaps the lack of more extensive social class differences can be accounted for, at least in part, by Jaros' conclusion (1968:63) that, *in general*, children appear to be favorably disposed toward political objects and see the government as "...benevolent, worthy, competent, serving and powerful."

### Race

Recent studies consistently show political differences between Black and white adults (Olsen, 1979; Orum, 1966; Sears, 1969). Blacks have been found to be more active in politics, while at the same time experiencing lower feelings of political effectiveness. A number of studies have disclosed parallel trends among Black children (Green, 1972; Greenberg, 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c; Lyons, 1970; Jaros, 1967; Orum and Cohen, 1973). Almost without exception, Black children have been found to be more disaffected about government and political figures, with these differences appearing as early as the fourth grade and remaining almost constant among children in the higher grades. Black children, like their adult counterparts, tend to be more involved in political discussion and participation than white children and are clearly more partisan on measures of political preference. In sum, a substantial body of research suggests that Black adults and Black children are more cynical and more disaffected yet more active politically than are whites.

### THE PRESENT STUDY

The research reported here attempts to determine whether the patterns of political disaffection which characterize Black children are also manifested by children of another minority group, Native Americans. The question is complicated by recent studies which challenge the premise of personal instability and low levels of self-esteem among blacks (Cummings and Carere, 1975; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). The source of feelings of lower personal and political efficacy is problematic. If the source is lower socio-economic

status or familial instability then we would expect the Native American children to exhibit greater disaffection than their white peers. The socio-economic deprivation and social malaise of Native Americans is well documented (Farris and Farris, 1976). On the other hand, if the source of political disaffection stems from experience, then this pattern might be less pronounced among children. Although Native American children residing on reservations attend schools administered and taught predominantly by whites, they remain a numerical majority and are relatively more insulated from mainstream culture than the Black urban student.

It is recognized, of course, that the generality of these findings to other native American populations is necessarily limited. Nevertheless, the research does contribute to the ongoing controversy over the relative merits of cultural deprivation, experiential and structural explanations of low self esteem among minority populations (Cummings and Careere, 1975) and thus may help to direct future research on childhood political socialization.

## RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Questionnaires were administered to 480 children representing the fifth through eighth grade enrollment of four elementary schools. Three of the four schools are located within the boundaries of the Wind River Indian Reservation in west central Wyoming; the fourth school is in close proximity to the Reservation.

### Sample

The sample consists of the entire fifth through eighth grade enrollment of the four schools. One small reservation school was not included. The sample is divided nearly equally by sex, with 235 boys and 245 girls. The distribution of the sample by grade level is: grade five, 107; grade six, 118; grade seven, 117; and grade eight, 138. Differences in the distribution of students by sex and grade are not statistically significant. Other sample characteristics will be examined in greater detail.

### Social Class

Social class is often determined by combining measures of income, occupation and education. In the present case, however,

income was obtained from secondary sources since it was felt that young children would not have an accurate conception of family income. Although both the white and Indian students are representative of a life style that is western, rural and agricultural-ranching in orientation, family income levels differ considerably. The mean income of white families in this area was approximately \$10,000 a year whereas the mean income for Indian families on the reservation was about \$4,500 a year. Approximately \$3,000 of this total derived from per capita payments made to each enrolled member of the Arapahoe and Shoshone Tribes from such sources as fishing permits, oil and gas leases, and timber concessions.

Information on the educational and occupational levels of heads of households was obtained from the research instrument. Social class was determined by the use of Hollingshead's *Two Factor Index of Social Position* (1957). Of the Indian children, 8.4% were from Class I-III families, 52.9% from Class IV families and 39.1% from Class V families. Of the whites, 14.3% were from Class I-III families, 77.2% from Class IV families, and 7.5% from Class V families. The difference in the distribution of Indian and white children by social class is significant at the .005 level.

In previous studies social class has been found to be associated with many of the dependent variables. For this reason, and because of the difference in the distribution of Indian and white students by social class, the effects of social class will be controlled statistically in the data analysis.

## School

All four of the schools included in this study are public and are under the jurisdiction of the State of Wyoming. The schools differ in two important respects: racial composition and curriculum. The students enrolled in the Pavillion School are predominantly white (82.2%), while the students enrolled in the Arapahoe, Mill Creek and Fort Washakie schools are, respectively, 72.7, 77.6 and 92.0% Indian.

The Arapahoe School differs from the other schools in terms of curriculum. This school has adopted an innovative educational program with nontraditional classrooms. Part of the impetus for this experiment was to create an educational climate more conducive to the cultural and personal development of the Indian children. Obviously, such a program might also influence the political

attitudes of these children. Therefore, in the data analysis the effects of school will be controlled either physically or statistically.

### **Race**

Of the total sample, 297 students are Indian, 174 are white, and 9 are of other racial backgrounds. These nine students were eliminated from the data analysis to provide a more accurate comparison between Indian and white children. The Indian subsample consists of two principal tribal affiliations: Arapahoe and Shoshone. Of the 297 Indian students, 52.9% are Arapahoe; 32.0% are Shoshone; 10.1% are mixed Arapahoe/Shoshone; and 5.1% are members of some other tribe. Despite their joint occupation of the reservation, the two tribes are culturally distinct. An analysis of variance was computed for tribal differences on several political dimensions, but differences were not significant. Therefore, tribal affiliation will not be statistically controlled in the data analysis.

The composition of the Indian enrollment in the three schools that are predominantly Indian is remarkably homogeneous. Of the Indian students attending Fort Washakie, 90.3% are Shoshone or Shoshone/Arapahoe; 91.2% of the Indian students attending Mill Creek are Arapahoe or Arapahoe/Shoshone; and 96.4% of the students attending Arapahoe are Arapahoe or Arapahoe/Shoshone. A greater mix of tribal affiliation characterized the Indian students attending Pavillion, but they represent only 17.8% of the 135 students included from that school.

### **Research Instrument**

The questionnaire is a composite of questions used in previous political socialization research plus additional original questions. It contains items dealing with the general background of the students, political efficacy, political trust, political partisanship, political participation and citizen duty, ethnocentrism and other-nation conception, socialization agents, and political knowledge.

Because space limitations preclude examination of all findings, the following discussion is limited to three key dimensions. These dimensions parallel the tripartite distinction of the political culture set forth by Almond and Verba (1963:15) and others: the affective dimension (feelings), the evaluative dimension (values), and the

cognitive dimension (knowledge). Within the first two dimensions, subcategories will be examined.

## DATA ANALYSIS

### Political Affect

Political affect represents the child's expressed feelings about political institutions and persons and about his own role in the political process. This examination of differences in political sentiments will focus on two discrete aspects: political efficacy and political trust. Regarding both, it is hypothesized that the Indian children will exhibit greater disaffection than their white classmates.

*Political Efficacy.* Political efficacy has been the subject of considerable research. Massialas (1972:4) refers to political efficacy as "... a person's ability to understand the functioning of the government and to feel that it can be changed; the efficacious person feels that he or other citizens have the power to influence political decisions."

In view of the lower sense of efficacy characterizing minority children found in previous research, it is hypothesized that the Indian children in this study will manifest a lower sense of efficacy than the white children. To test this hypothesis, the responses to six Likert-type items, representative of questions used in previous attitude surveys, were scaled.<sup>1</sup> An analysis of variance was computed to determine the relative contributions of race and school to political efficacy, with social class as a covariate. The results of this analysis are summarized in Table 1. As can be seen, race, controlling for social class, has a significant effect on level of efficacy as do the main effects of race and school, controlling social class. The effect of school, controlling for the other independent variables, is also significant, but the interaction effects of race and school, controlling for social class, are not.

In order to learn more about the direction of the relation, partial correlation coefficients were computed for race and efficacy within each school, controlling for social class (Table 2). The signs of the correlation coefficients indicate that the Indian children are more efficacious in all the schools except For Washakie; within the Arapahoe and Mill Creek schools these differences are statistically significant. Therefore, the hypothesis that Indian children will manifest a lower sense of efficacy than white children is rejected.



Table 1. Analysis of Variance: Efficacy by Social Class, Race and School

	Efficacy	
	F	Significance
Social Class	2.42	.12
Race and School (social class)*	5.01	.001
Race (social class)	6.22	.013
School (social class and race)	4.61	.003
Interaction of Race and School (social class, race and school)	2.24	.083
Explained	3.65	<.001
*Variables in parentheses have been statistically controlled.	N = 454	

Table 2. Mean Scores and Partial Correlations for Efficacy by Race and School, Controlling for Social Class

School	Efficacy			Partial Correlation
	White	Indian	Total	
Arapahoe	2.78 (21)	2.50 (56)	2.57 (77)	-.22*
Pavillion	2.43 (105)	2.30 (24)	2.41 (129)	-.09
Mill Creek	2.60 (33)	2.30 (103)	2.38 (136)	-.25**
Fort Washakie	2.19 (9)	2.36 (103)	2.34 (112)	.10
Total	2.60 (168)	2.39 (286)	2.46 (454)	*p = .029 **p = .002

*Political Trust.* A second affective dimension is political trust. Political trust refers to the feeling of confidence (or lack of it) that one develops toward the government and government officials (Massialas, 1972:4). It is indicated by the "...willingness of a child to believe that the government and government officials are honest and have the individual's welfare at heart (Glenn, 1972:52)."

It is hypothesized that the Indian students will exhibit lower levels of trust than the white children on the basis of findings for other racial-ethnic minorities. To assess political trust four items were scaled, all of which have been used in previous research.<sup>2</sup> As is shown in Table 3, social class, the main effects of race and school controlling for social class, and the effects of race and school controlling for each the effects of the other and social class, are significantly related to political trust.

Table 3. Analysis of Variance: Trust by Social Class, Race and School

	Trust	
	F	Significance
Social Class	8.74	.003
Race and School (social class)*	5.58	< .001
Race (social class)	11.62	< .001
School (social class and race)	3.56	.014
Interaction of Race and School (social class, race and school)	.39	.760
Explained	4.03	< .001

\*Variables in parentheses have been statistically controlled.

N = 447

Again the partial correlations and the mean scores by race and school, controlling for social class, were computed in order to determine the direction of the relationship (Table 4). The hypothesis is rejected because the Indian students display the higher level of trust. This finding contrasts with the lower levels of trust found to characterize other racial minority children, e.g., Blacks and Mexican-Americans.

Table 4. Mean Scores and Partial Correlations for Trust by Race and School, Controlling for Social Class

School	Trust			Partial Correlation
	White	Indian	Total	
Arapahoe	2.81 (21)	2.44 (55)	2.55 (76)	-.21*
Pavillion	2.64 (105)	2.45 (24)	2.60 (129)	-.10
Mill Creek	2.48 (29)	2.24 (105)	2.29 (134)	-.13
Fort Washakie	2.64 (9)	2.48 (99)	2.50 (108)	-.07
Total	2.63 (164)	2.38 (283)	2.47 (447)	*p = .033

Another unexpected finding is the surprisingly low trust displayed by the Wind River area children. For example, on one scale item only 57.7 percent of the respondents indicate that the government can be trusted. Although this amounts to over half of the students, the percentage is well below levels of trust discovered in most other studies (Abramson, 1972).<sup>3</sup> The Indian students are, however, significantly more trusting than the white students.

In conclusion, the Indian and white students differ significantly on measures of political efficacy and political trust, but not as anticipated. The responses of the Indian students to the efficacy items appear less realistic than the responses of the white students in the political context of Wind River life. These differences suggest greater naivete and/or immaturity on the part of the Indian students. Low levels of trust relative to other studies characterize the entire sample and perhaps more adequately reflect the political climate. The Indian students appear naive only in relation to the white students.

### Political Evaluation

Political evaluation involves the child's assessment of political persons and institutions in moral terms and judgment of the relationship of one political system to another or to an abstract ideal. The tendency to attribute beneficence to one's own political system indiscriminately is characteristic of political immaturity (Merelman, 1969).

*Ethnocentrism.* In this context ethnocentrism refers to the perception of one's nation in its relationship to the world community. Although little research has focused on this facet of political evaluation, on the basis of lower levels of nation-identification among Blacks, it is hypothesized that the Indian children will identify less positively with the nation than will their white classmates. As members of an often disadvantaged minority they would be expected to evaluate the United States less favorably in comparison with other nations.

Responses to two items measuring ethnocentrism were scaled.<sup>4</sup> A statistically significant relation between race and ethnocentrism is indicated by an analysis of variance (Table 5). Partial correlations between race and the dependent variable were computed within each school, controlling for social class (Table 6). The direction of the correlation requires rejection of the hypothesis. The Indian students are more ethnocentric than the white students in every school.

Table 5. Analysis of Variance: Ethnocentrism by Social Class, Race and School

	Ethnocentrism	
	F	Significance
Social Class	.09	.762
Race and School (social class)*	3.42	.009
Race (social class)	7.39	.007
School (social class and race)	2.10	.100
Interaction of Race and School (social class, race and school)	.75	.520
Explained	2.00	.044

\*Variables in parentheses have been N = 456 statistically controlled.

Table 6. Mean Scores and Partial Correlations for Ethnocentrism by Race and School, Controlling for Social Class

School	Ethnocentrism			Partial Correlation
	White	Indian	Total	
Arapahoe	3.86 (21)	3.40 (55)	3.53 (76)	-.12
Pavillion	3.52 (109)	3.46 (24)	3.51 (133)	-.03
Mill Creek	3.94 (32)	3.44 (107)	3.55 (139)	-.11
Fort Washakie	3.89 (9)	2.99 (99)	3.06 (108)	-.21*
Total	2.20 (171)	1.93 (285)	2.03 (456)	*p = .014

In response to one scale item, 87 percent of the students indicated that they are "always proud to be Americans." This finding is consistent with previous research (Hess and Torney, 1968). On the basis of these data, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Wind River area children positively evaluate their country in relation to other countries, and that this identification is significantly greater for Indian than white students.

*Political Partisanship.* Political partisanship refers to the degree of identification (or lack of identification) with political parties. Greenstein (1969:72) has suggested that children take on the party loyalties of their parents even before they learn relevant supporting information. In his New Haven study more than 60 percent of the fourth grade children stated a party preference, yet only half of the eighth grade respondents could describe any difference between the two major parties (Greenstein, 1969:71, 77).

Building upon Greenstein's research, the following analysis will consist of a comparison of the Indian and white children in terms of (1) their political preferences; (2) the influence of adults on their

political preferences; and (3) their evaluation of conflict between the two major political parties. In terms of political identity it is hypothesized that the Indian students will be more politically partisan than their white classmates.

*Political Preferences.* The students were asked a series of questions which required them to distinguish between the two major political parties in terms of benevolent motives. In this assessment a slightly higher percentage of both Indian and white students selected the Republican Party. Responses to this series of questions and one political preference question were scaled.<sup>5</sup> The items were coded for each respondent on the basis of either partisan political preference (selection of Republican or Democratic Party) or political independence (selection of remaining options).

Partisanship varied significantly by race, with social class controlled (Table 7). The mean scores for the scale by race and school, controlling for social class, are shown in Table 8 along with partial correlations computed for race and partisanship within each school. The Indian students are significantly more likely to express a partisan political preference than the white students, and the tendency of the entire sample toward political independence is greater than it appeared in previous investigations of political partisanship.

Table 7. Analysis of Variance: Partisanship by Social Class, Race and School

	Partisanship	
	F	Significance
Social Class	.04	.845
Race and School (social class)*	2.99	.019
Race (social class)	11.31	< .001
School (social class and race)	.22	.880
Interaction of Race and School (social class, race and school)	.77	.511
Explained	1.79	.077

\*Variables in parentheses have been statistically controlled. N = 424

Table 8. Mean Scores and Partial Correlations for Partisanship by Race and School, Controlling for Social Class

School	Partisanship			Partial Correlation
	White	Indian	Total	
Arapahoe	1.62 (21)	1.44 (55)	1.49 (76)	-.24*
Pavillion	1.58 (93)	1.41 (23)	1.55 (116)	-.20**
Mill Creek	1.56 (29)	1.49 (93)	1.51 (122)	-.10
Fort Washakie	1.51 (9)	1.49 (101)	1.49 (110)	-.03
Total	1.58 (152)	1.47 (272)	1.51 (424)	*p = .019 **p = .010

A closer examination of the last item of the scale discussed above indicates that the Wind River area children, as a whole, manifest low levels of loyalty to traditional political parties in contrast to the high degree of partisanship manifested by the children in Greenberg's study (Table 8). Racial variation is significant with the white subsample showing a greater inclination toward independent political preferences and the Indian subsample more frequently admitting that they do not know the meaning of the words "Republican" and "Democrat." In terms of partisan preferences both the white and the Indian students show a slight preference for the Democratic Party in contrast to a slight preference for the Republican Party on the other items.

*Adult Influences.* Two questions were used to assess the extent to which the Wind River area children take on the party loyalties of their parents and believe it is important for adults to belong to a political party. Fewer than half (48.7%) of the total respondents agreed with the statement that "it is best for young people to hold the same political beliefs as their parents." However, the Indian

Table 9. Percentage Distribution by Race of Responses to the Question: "If you could vote, which of the following would you be?"

Party Preference	Indian	White	Total
Republican	15.8	14.6	15.4
Democrat	20.8	15.2	18.8
Sometimes Republican, Sometimes Democrat	16.2	28.7	20.8
Other	5.3	11.6	7.6
It Doesn't Make Any Difference	11.6	15.9	13.2
Don't Know the Meaning of Republican and Democrat	30.3	14.0	24.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1
Number	284	164	448

$X^2 = 19.43, 5df, p < .005$

respondents are significantly more likely to agree with this statement (51.1% as compared to 44.7%;  $p < .03$ ). This suggests, again, that these students exhibit considerable independence in political matters.

Furthermore, fewer than half (46.7%) of the respondents agreed with the statement that "it is important for adults to belong to a political party." This is contrary to an assertion by Hess and Torney (1968:96) that "...the belief that it is important for adults to belong to a political party is widespread and changes very little with age."

*Partisan Political Conflict.* Finally, one question was asked concerning the value of conflict between the major political parties.<sup>6</sup> Both Indian and white students tend to perceive disagreement as being injurious to the nation. This perception is consistent with findings by Hess and Torney (1968:95) which they interpret as demonstrating "...the child's need to see the political world as one in which unity and harmony prevail." In the present study, the



Indian students are significantly more likely to perceive disagreement between the parties as "good for the country."

From these data it appears that the Wind River area students show considerable independence in political preference, do not readily adopt the political loyalties of their parents, and perceive disagreement between the two major political parties as being harmful to the nation. On all measures of partisanship the Indian students are more partisan than their white classmates.

### Political Knowledge

Political knowledge refers to the cognitive understanding that one has of the operation of the political system and to one's capacity to evaluate critically the system's effectiveness (Massialas, 1972:4). Such cognitive orientations determine one's ability to analyze and interpret data about political institutions or behavior. On the basis of previous research, it is hypothesized that the Indian students will be less knowledgeable in political matters than the white students.

Responses to ten questions were used to assess levels of basic political knowledge (Table 10). The most clear and consistent finding is a very low correct response rate regardless of race, with the exception of naming the President. As might be expected, Indian children gave a significantly higher percentage of correct answers to the two questions pertaining to tribal government. The correct response percentage is significantly higher for white students in three instances: knowing the number of senators from Wyoming, naming at least one of those senators, and naming the President of the United States. Variation on the remaining questions is minimal, with a very low percentage of correct responses characterizing both Indians and whites.

Correct responses to the ten questions were summed for each respondent. The mean correct scores for each race, controlling for school and social class, are reported in Table 11. In terms of total correct answers provided, there is literally no difference in the political knowledge of white and Indian students. Within schools, however, there is a statistically significant difference between whites and Indians in the Arapahoe and Mill Creek schools. In one case (Arapahoe) the Indian students are more knowledgeable; in the other (Mill Creek) the white students are more knowledgeable. Therefore, the hypothesis that there is a difference in the knowledge levels of white and Indian students must be rejected.<sup>7</sup>

Table 10. Percentage Distribution by Race of Correct Response to the Following Questions:

Question	Indian	White	Total	Z	p*
Who is the Arapahoe Tribal Chairman?	16.8	2.9	11.7	4.60	.005
Who is the Shoshone Tribal Chairman?	3.7	0.6	2.5	2.06	.05
Who is the Governor of Wyoming?	35.0	36.8	35.7		
Who is the President of the United States?	80.7	94.3	85.7	4.05	.005
How many U.S. Senators does Wyoming have?	8.4	17.2	11.7	2.91	.005
What are their names?***	2.4	9.8	5.1	3.52	.005
How many U.S. Representatives does Wyoming have?	3.9	5.7	4.2		
What is his name?	1.7	1.7	1.7		
How many years does a U.S. Senator serve?	4.7	6.3	5.3		
How many members are there on the U.S. Supreme Court?	10.1	8.0	9.3		

\*Significance determined through the difference of proportions test.

\*\*Percent naming at least one Senator.

Table 11. Mean Scores and Partial Correlations for Political Knowledge by Race and School, Controlling for Social Class

School	Political Knowledge			Partial Correlation
	White	Indian	Total	
Arapahoe	2.05 (21)	2.78 (46)	2.55 (67)	.31*
Pavillion	1.88 (105)	2.00 (22)	1.90 (127)	.07
Mill Creek	2.03 (33)	1.51 (95)	1.64 (128)	-.17**
Fort Washakie	2.44 (9)	2.02 (94)	2.06 (103)	-.03
Total	1.96 (168)	1.96 (257)	1.96 (425)	*p = .005 **p = .03

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Our findings are generally contrary to what we had anticipated. Previous research on Black/white differences in political socialization had led us to expect the Native American children to be less efficacious and trusting than their white peers; instead they are more trusting and efficacious.<sup>8</sup> There are at least two possible ways of accounting for these findings.

One plausible explanation is found in the work of Paul Abramson (1972:1246-48). He found that in investigations conducted prior to 1967 Black children were also more trusting and efficacious than white children. But following the widespread riots in major urban areas in the summer of 1967, Black children began to display greater cynicism and feelings of political ineffectiveness. Abramson suggests that "experience," together with the growth of "black consciousness," accounts for these changes. Greenberg's (1970:491) discovery that the most perceptive Black youngsters — those recognizing that Blacks and whites are not treated alike — display the greatest cynicism and lowest efficacy adds support to this view.

A closely related explanation is that the Native American students are less politically mature than their white classmates. Political immaturity has been characterized by a greater sense of efficacy and trust, idealization of political figures, lack of supporting information for partisan political loyalties, and low levels of concrete political knowledge (Merelman, 1969). The Native American students exhibit most of these qualities.

Political inexperience and/or immaturity are logical explanations in view of the feeling of alienation that characterizes the adolescent and adult Native Americans in the Wind River Reservation area. Regardless of what interpretation is applied to the data, however, the fact remains that substantial differences in political attributes do distinguish the Native American children from their white classmates.

## NOTES

1. Responses to the following items were used to assess efficacy:
  - 1) It is important for adults to belong to a political party.
  - 2) People in government care a lot about what people like your family think.
  - 3) If you write the President, he cares a lot about what you think.

- 4) Do citizens have a chance to say what they think about the government?
- 5) How much does the average person decide which laws are made.
- 6) When you grow up, you could become an important person in the government.

A reliability coefficient of .47 was computed. The item mean was 2.34 and was based on 463 valid cases.

2. Responses to the following statements were used to assess trust:

- 1) Does the government make a lot of mistakes?
- 2) Can the government be trusted?
- 3) Are people who try to get elected very honest?
- 4) Are people who try to get elected people who keep their promises?

A reliability coefficient of .55 was computed. The item mean was 2.52 and was based on 447 valid cases.

3. The questionnaires were administered before the major Watergate disclosures.

4. Responses to the following statements were used to assess ethnocentrism:

- 1) Is America the best country in the world?
- 2) I'm always proud to be an American.

A reliability coefficient of .53 was computed. The item mean was 3.33 and was based on 456 valid cases.

5. Responses to the following statements were used to assess political partisanship:

- 1) Which party does more for rich people?
- 2) Which party does more to keep us out of war?
- 3) Which party does more to help people without jobs?
- 4) Which party does more to protect the rights of citizens?
- 5) Which party does more for your family?
- 6) Which party does more for the country?
- 7) If you could vote, which of the following would you be?

A reliability coefficient of .72 was computed. The item mean was 1.48 and was based on 431 valid cases.

For all seven items responses were coded as partisan if the respondent selected either the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. Responses for the first six items were coded as nonpartisan if the respondent selected the "about the same" option. Responses to item seven were coded as nonpartisan if the respondent selected the "sometimes Republican, sometimes Democrat," "other," or "it doesn't make any difference" options. The "don't know the meaning" option was treated as a missing value.

6. "If Republicans and Democrats disagreed on important things it would be (1) bad for the country; (2) make no difference; (3) good for the country. The percentage of Indian and white children giving each of these responses is: Indian, 53.2 percent, 27.3 percent, 19.4 percent; white, 69 percent, 22.8 percent, and 8.2 percent ( $p < .005$ ).

7. A reader of an earlier version of this article suggested that it would be important to know what relationship, if any, exists between political knowledge and the other variables. Pearson Correlation Coefficients were computed for the relationship between political knowledge scores and political partisanship, political trust, political efficacy and ethnocentrism scale scores. The correlations are,

respectively,  $-.070$ ,  $.076$ ,  $.004$  and  $.047$ . None of these rather low correlations are significant at the  $.05$  level. Thus we must conclude that, at least for the sample studied, there is no correlation between political knowledge and these other variables.

8. In this study the emphasis has been on isolating differences in the outcome of the political socialization of Native American and white children. Thus the effects of social class and school have been controlled throughout the data analysis in order to isolate more precisely the effect of race on political affect, political evaluation and political knowledge. One might have expected consistent differences between Pavillion and the other schools because of differences in racial composition of students, or between Arapahoe and the other schools because of differences in organization and curriculum. Nevertheless, an examination of the data presented in Tables 1 through 11 indicates that the effect of school is not consistent. Indian children are significantly more efficacious at Arapahoe and Mill Creek, more trusting at Mill Creek, more ethnocentric at Fort Washakie, more likely to express a partisan political preference at Arapahoe and Pavaillion, and are more knowledgeable at Arapahoe. On the other hand, white children are significantly more knowledgeable at Mill Creek. Further research would be necessary to pinpoint precisely the differences among these schools that have specific effects on the political socialization process and how these effects differ for Native American and white children.

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