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A Mixed-Methods Investigation on Contributing Factors to the Political Efficacy of Eighth Grade Students in a Suburban School District in Missouri

by

Colette Edson

A Dissertation submitted to the Education Faculty of Lindenwood University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Education

School of Education

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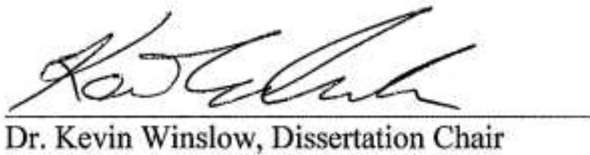

Dr. Kevin Winslow, Dissertation Chair — 3/10/17 Date

Dr. Farhad Jadali, Committee Member — March 10, 2017 Date

Dr. John Long, Committee Member — 3.10.17 Date

Declaration of Originality

I do hereby declare and attest to the fact that this is an original study based solely upon my own scholarly work here at Lindenwood University and that I have not submitted it for any other college or university course or degree here or elsewhere.

Full Legal Name: Colette Elizabeth Edson

Signature: Colette E. Edson Date: 3/10/17

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the support and expertise of the members of my dissertation committee. Dr. Kevin Winslow, my Dissertation Chair, spent countless hours with me ensuring that I was on the right track with statistical analysis of the data. Dr. John Long, who served as both committee member and doctoral advisor, was always available to answer an endless stream of questions and offer feedback as I progressed. Dr. Farhad Jadali, the Assistant Superintendent of Research and Evaluation at the Ferguson-Florissant School District, provided access to anything I needed from the district to conduct my study and guidance in my professional aspirations. I appreciate the unconditional support and patience of my husband, Kevin. It was an added bonus to be married to someone with extensive research and Excel prowess; I cannot imagine persevering in this work without him. My lovely daughters, Emaline, Audrey, and Jocelyn, also encouraged me and showed that they were proud of my achievements. Finally, I am eternally blessed for the time I spent with the students of the Ferguson-Florissant School District. These young people are truly wise beyond their years, and there are so many things I learned from them. Most importantly, they bring me hope for the future.

Abstract

This study investigated the relationship between the political efficacy and expected civic engagement of eighth grade students in the Ferguson-Florissant School District, Missouri and demographic factors, reading ability, and parental attitudes. Data on students' attitudes on topics such as citizenship, trust in institutions, opportunities, political efficacy, school efficacy, and political engagement were analyzed. The 180 students who completed the questionnaire demonstrated lower trust and assessment of access to opportunities and higher youth political engagement than the participants in the 1999 International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IAE) Civic Education (CIVED) study. Tests to determine the impact of student variables on political attitudes revealed differences by gender, race, reading ability, and the proximity of students to two Ferguson protests areas in 2014. The few discrepancies between boys and girls refuted previous research on the gender gap in political efficacy and political engagement. Black participants had lower external political efficacy and trust, but were more likely to engage at the community level through participation in youth groups and volunteering. Lower reading ability negatively impacted internal efficacy and expected adult engagement. Close proximity to protest areas affected students' political views, and increased some elements of internal efficacy and youth engagement. Questionnaire results revealed a positive relationship between parental and adolescent political attitudes, and qualitative data supported the essential role of parents and other adults in political socialization. Focus group and interview findings suggested that young people were politically engaged in a variety of ways, and students expressed a strong desire to have their voices heard through political discussion and action. It is recommended that

educators and community leaders offer opportunities for increased exposure and participation in political activities while students are in middle school, and continue this through high school.

Key Words: political efficacy, expected civic engagement, adolescent, political socialization, Ferguson

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Chapter One: Introduction

On Saturday, August 9, 2014, a White police officer shot and killed an unarmed Black teenager in Ferguson, Missouri, just after noon. The St. Louis Post Dispatch broke the story online early Saturday afternoon. The following day, protesters filled the streets at the scene of the shooting, near the Canfield Apartments, in Ferguson, and along West Florissant Road (McLaughlin, 2014). The events that unfolded over the next several weeks exploded on social media and flooded national, and sometimes even international, news sources.

The Michael Brown shooting, the reaction of the Black community in Ferguson and beyond, and the response of the authorities started a national conversation about race, local policing, local governance, inequality, civil rights, the First Amendment, and the militarization of law enforcement in America. Why did this particular police shooting capture the attention and outrage of millions of Americans? What were the circumstances in Ferguson that sparked protests? According to a scathing U.S. Justice Department Report released in March of 2015, "the Ferguson Police Department and the city's municipal court engaged in a 'pattern and practice' of discrimination against African-Americans, targeting them disproportionately for traffic stops, use of force, and jail sentences" (Perez, 2015, para. 1). In great detail, the report described systemic injustices by police, courts, and local government over many years.

While this dissertation was not a study of the Mike Brown shooting, the climate that precipitated it, or the events that transpired in the days and months that followed it, cannot be separated from how young people in the area perceived their experiences. While countless studies and scholarly articles may emerge from the issues

that Ferguson laid bare, this study sought to uncover the political attitudes of young people in this community, as well as their expectation to engage in political action as adolescents or adults. My goal was to determine to what extent young people consider whether they were willing, now or in the future, to act as political agents in their communities to in order to make positive change.

In *The Unheavenly Chorus*, Scholzman, Verba, and Brady (2012) declared that, "Among the requirements for a functioning democracy are mechanisms for the free expression of political voice." (p. 2). The authors also stated that "citizens in American democracy who wish to have an impact on politics have a variety of options for exercising political voice by acting on their own, with others, or in formal organizations" (p. 2). I planned to investigate the political attitudes of young people in the Ferguson-Florissant community to determine whether they would be willing to engage in the political process. While this study focused on young people who were not yet in a position to be politically active in electoral politics, their intentions to be involved as adults were relevant to issues central to a sustaining American democratic institutions. The following overarching questions provided a philosophical framework for the work. Were all Americans utilizing their political voices equally? Did all people have the equal perception that they could have participated in the political system to enact change or have their needs and concerns met? Did all citizens believe that the political system worked for them and people like them? To what extent did all people engage in the political process, or to ask in the reverse, which citizens were opting out, leaving a power structure in place that was not representative of all constituencies? What was the

response of citizens when they experienced injustice? In times of strife, how did they use political action to attempt to have their voices heard?

This study investigated one group of citizens, eighth grade students in the Ferguson-Florissant School District, to determine what factors may have contributed to their political attitudes and views about civic engagement. Just four years from voting age, these adolescents were the future political actors, choosing to opt in or to opt out of the political process. How they responded to the questions posed here may well determine the road ahead for Ferguson and other similar communities.

Purpose of the Dissertation

The purpose of this study was to investigate the possible relationship between the political efficacy and expected civic engagement and factors including demographics, reading ability, and parental attitudes of middle school students in a suburban school district in Missouri. This study generated information regarding students' attitudes on topics such as citizenship, trust in institutions, opportunities, political efficacy, school efficacy, and political action, as measured by a questionnaire combining sections from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement Civic Education (AIE CIVED) Student Questionnaire (Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, & Nikolova, 2002) and the International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). The study also compared parent/guardian responses on an abbreviated questionnaire, with the purpose of determining whether parental attitudes were a factor influencing the attitudes of the adolescents. I conducted focus groups with a representative sample of students and parents/guardians to identify possible common themes related to political efficacy and

civic engagement. In addition, I conducted interviews with community leaders and community activists as an additional indicator of the political attitudes and actions of young people in the Ferguson-Florissant School District. This study was different from the AIE CIVED in the following ways: that study analyzed the relationship between civic knowledge and political attitudes and expected civic engagement, compared the responses of 14-year-olds and 18-year-olds within countries, and compared students' responses across countries and regions. This study was different from the ICCS Study because that study compared students' responses within countries to responses in the earlier CIVED Study, to compared students' responses across countries and regions, and investigated the role of instruction of civics in schools on students' responses. Neither of those previous studies included a qualitative component with focus groups or interviews conducted in person with students.

Rationale

Political efficacy, defined by Morrell (2003) as the "sense of powerfulness (or powerlessness) in the political realm" (p. 589) has been studied extensively since it was first discussed by Campbell, Gurin, and Miller in 1954. Researchers have shown that high levels of political efficacy, which included internal efficacy, or a person's confidence in their own ability to navigate the political system, and external efficacy, the perceived responsiveness the political system, can drive higher levels of political participation, even in the face of inequality (Sohl, 2014).

Studies, including the IAE CIVED Study and others using secondary data from that 2001 study, which generated information on 90,000 students in 28 countries, have examined political efficacy and expected civic engagement of adolescents to determine

what factors contributed to higher or lower levels of those constructs (Amadeo et al., 2002; Schulz, 2005; Sohl, 2014). Researchers have studied the development of political efficacy and civic engagement of young people more generally, without differentiating between different groups (Amna, Ekstrom, Kerr, & Stattin, 2009; Beaumont, 2010; Condon & Holleque, 2013; Levy, 2011b). In addition, there was a great body of knowledge on the impact of inequality, including the relationships that existed between race, socioeconomic status, and inadequate educational opportunities, on political efficacy and political participation (Beaumont, 2011; Hankins & Becker, 2014; Schlozman et al., 2012). That work primarily focused on adults, rather than adolescents.

This study used a previously validated instrument to investigate the political attitudes of a previously un-tested population. The Ferguson-Florissant School District served over 11,000 K-12th grade students, 80% of whom were African-American and 75% of whom were eligible for free and reduced lunch (Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2014, pp. 1-2). This community had also been the site of civil unrest in recent months. The circumstances that precipitated unrest included low levels to trust in political institutions, notably local government and police, and lack of conventional civic engagement, which resulted in unequal representation in local government (Fausset, 2014; Fund, 2014; Schaffner, Van Erve. & LaRaja, 2014). Communities in Ferguson and surrounding areas had been plagued by inequality, endemic of deep seated problems in the greater St. Louis metropolitan area (*Where we stand*, 2014). An extensive study of the political attitudes of this group of adolescents offered a unique perspective on one group of citizens who were old enough to have

developed political attitudes, but not yet old enough to engage fully in conventional politics.

The new information generated by this study could be used to identify specific areas of strength and deficit in political efficacy and expected civic engagement that could be generalized to similar populations. School districts can use the findings from this study to guide the development of civic curricula and educational/extracurricular programs outside of school that might increase positive political attitudes and political action of adolescents and young adults. Community leaders and policy makers, likewise, could use this information to inform decisions as to how to involve young people and encourage them to become more politically engaged. This study was significant because information about the political attitudes and expected civic engagement of these adolescents could lead to programs and policies to promote higher levels of political participation, necessary to the functioning of our democracy (Dewey, 1937), and ultimately combat racial and socioeconomic inequality.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

The null hypotheses for this mixed-methods study are as follows:

H1: There is a difference between the results of Ferguson-Florissant student participants on the survey and the results of American students who took participated in the AIE CIVED Study.

H2: One's perception of political efficacy is dependent of gender.

H3: One's perception of political efficacy is dependent of race.

H4: One's perception of political efficacy is dependent of socioeconomic status (SES).

H5: One's perception of political efficacy is dependent of literacy level.

H6: One's perception of political efficacy is dependent of location within the district.

H7: One's perception of political efficacy is dependent of parental attitudes.

The research questions for this study are as follows:

RQ1: What are adolescents' perceptions of their own political efficacy, including trust in institutions, attitudes about political systems, and equality of opportunities?

RQ2: What are adolescents' perceptions of citizenship and civic participation?

RQ3: What are adolescents' perceptions of their own school efficacy?

RQ4: What is the extent of adolescents' expected political participation?

RQ5: What aspects of student personal and social background, such as gender, race, socioeconomic background, and literacy level, are related to adolescents' political efficacy?

RQ6: How do parental attitudes about political efficacy/civic engagement impact students' perceptions of their own political efficacy?

Limitations

There were a number of limitations to this study. I will discuss several of these in Chapter Four as I describe findings from the quantitative and qualitative data collection. The reader must be cognizant that the analysis of data based on the factor of race raised potential problems. The Ferguson-Florissant School District served a predominantly Black population, however this is not to say that findings from the data should be generalized to conclude that student participants responded the way they did because they were Black. Students of diverse racial backgrounds completed the questionnaire. Although there were different ways to categorize racial groups, I relied on the categories used by the Missouri Department of Secondary and Elementary Education, which was

how the Ferguson-Florissant School District maintained student records: Asian, Black, Hispanic, Mixed Race, and White students. Students from each racial group also participated in focus groups. I caution the reader from drawing general conclusions about student responses based on race, with the exception of the hypothesis I tested specifically pertaining to differences in questionnaire responses between Black students and students who were not Black.

The method for determining socioeconomic status (SES) posed challenges. The AIE studies relied on the parent/guardian educational level and the approximate number of books in the home. This was part of their original student questionnaire. Schlozman et al. (2012) contended that this method was flawed because it did not include income. I elected not to use it at all. My intention was to ascertain SES though the parent questionnaire: parents were given income ranges and asked to state the family income. Identifying income quintiles was a better indication of SES (Schlozman et al, 2012), but the information gained through the parent responses was limited by the number of parents who participated. In the end, I could only report the free and reduced lunch (FRL) percentage for the district, which gave context to the sample, but did not allow for analysis of SES of participants as a factor that contributed to student responses.

The choice of the Ferguson-Florissant School District presented another limitation, namely, that political events in the year of the study could have affected results. Students' own experiences during the 2014-15 school year and two weeks prior to the start of school could have made them more politically aware or more politically active. Likewise, trust in institutions or external political efficacy, could have been lower than would have otherwise been the case. Reactions to events in Ferguson were not

confined to that region and the incident that initiated the events that unfolded was, unfortunately, not uncommon. A study that compared students within the Ferguson-Florissant School District with a similar population in a different city would address that limitation, but that was outside the scope of this study. This study did seek, however, to determine whether location within the Ferguson-Florissant School District was a significant factor contributing to political attitudes of participants. Students' proximity to the two areas in Ferguson that were the sites of the most significant protest activity was analyzed when disaggregating data.

The instrument was another limitation. I developed the student questionnaire by combining the AIE CIVED questionnaire with the AIE ICCS questionnaire. These instruments were used in those studies with 90,000 and 38,000 students, respectively. That does not mean that they were not without flaws. Measurement of political efficacy has been contested among political scientists, with little consistency across studies. Measurement of expected civic engagement was also problematic. Perhaps the most effective means of determining the validity of that portion of the instrument was to wait four years and have the same students respond to the questionnaire again. This type of longitudinal approach was not possible in the IAE CIVED and ICCS Studies and was not possible in this study. The data collection period for this study was one year. Finally, my methods of sampling and the administration of the questionnaire did not replicate those employed in the CIVED Study. This created a limitation in my ability to make a direct comparison between the Ferguson-Florissant students and the adolescents who completed the questionnaire in that study.

Definition of Terms

Civic engagement – "knowledge, values, attitudes and behaviors related to involvement in local community and broader society" (Guillaume, Jagers, & Rivas-Drake, 2015, p. 321).

Collective efficacy – the perception of connectedness for a community and the confidence within the group that members would be willing to intervene for one another (Ansari, 2013; Smith, Osgood, Caldwell, Hynes, & Perkins, 2013).

External Efficacy - beliefs about the responsiveness of governmental authorities and institutions to citizen demands (Neimi, Craig, & Mattei, 1991).

Internal efficacy - beliefs about one's own competence to understand, and to participate, effectively in politics (Niemi et al., 1991).

International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement Civic Education (IAE CIVED) Study – an investigation into civic knowledge, attitudes, and engagement of 90,000 14-year-olds in 28 countries; 2,811 students in the United States participated in this study (Amadeo et al., 2002, p. 13).

International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) – a 2009 study built on the IAE CIVED Study conducted in 38 countries to generate information to improve civics education worldwide; data was gathered from 140,000 students with an average age of 13.5 (Schulz et al., 2010, p. 9).

Political efficacy - "Citizens' perceptions of powerfulness (or powerlessness) in the political realm" (Morrell, 2003, p. 589).

Political participation – In this dissertation, political participation and political engagement are used interchangeably. Political participation is an "activity that has the

intent or effect of influencing government action - either by affecting the making of implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people those policies" (Brady, Verba & Schlozman, 1995, p. 38).

Political socialization - the process by which citizens develop the knowledge, skills, and will to participate in political activities.

Reading level - for the purpose of this study, reading level was determined by performance on a STAR Reading benchmark exam developed by Renaissance Learning. The "Grade Level Equivalent" (GLE) was used; quintiles were identified among participants to compare political efficacy and expected civic engagement with reading levels (The Research Foundation for STAR Assessments, 2014).

Self-efficacy – "The ability to define a goal, persevere, and see oneself as capable" (National Association of School Psychologists, 2010, p. 1).

School efficacy - the perception that one can make a difference in one's school through political action

Social capital – "A community stock of trust . . . embedded in social networks that facilitates collective actions" (Ansari, 2013, p. 76)

Socioeconomic status - used in the literature "Interchangeably with *social class* and identified by its abbreviation, SES. . . [social class] invariably refers to one position in the social and economic hierarchy. The measure of socioeconomic status . . . [is] a combination of the respondent's level of educational attainment and family income" (Scholzman et al., 2012, p. 7)

Youth activism - "Behavior performed by adolescents and young adults with a political intent" (Hart & Gullan, 2010, p. 67).

Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate the possible relationship between the political efficacy and expected civic engagement and factors including demographics, reading ability, and parental attitudes of middle school students in the Ferguson-Florissant School District in Missouri. This study generated information regarding students' attitudes on topics such as citizenship, trust in institutions, opportunities, political efficacy, and political action. The data collected on the political efficacy and expected civic engagement of these adolescents shed light on the views of a group of citizens that had not been considered in other studies. The following chapter contains a review of relevant literature.

Chapter Two: The Literature Review

Introduction to the Literature Review

A study of political efficacy and political engagement of adolescents must be placed in the context of academic literature rooted in the fields of Political Science, Psychology, Sociology, and Education. Political efficacy, including internal political efficacy, external political efficacy, trust, and other components of involvement of adults and young people in the political realm were areas studied primarily by political scientists. School efficacy and self-efficacy were often studied by psychologists and sociologists.

Other literature discussed in this chapter explained the research on cultural and social capital and community factors, which impacted which groups of people were most likely to be politically engaged and to effectively use collective voices to advocate for their community's concerns. Finally, the academic work in the areas of political socialization and expected civic engagement of adolescents was reviewed. The purpose of this study was not related to the political socialization of the students in the sample. The results of the study, however, shed light on their political attitudes and expected civic engagement at the time of their participation. These were indications of the extent of the political development of these young people. More importantly, the results of this study lent valuable insight into how educators and community leaders could take steps in the future to build upon the political socialization of young people through a number of recommendations that arose from the qualitative data gathered and analyzed. For this reason, the literature on civic engagement and political socialization concluded the chapter.

Part One: Political Efficacy

In 1954, Campbell, Gurin and Miller originally defined political efficacy as follows:

> The feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process, i.e., that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties. It is the feeling that political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change. (p. 187)

Since then, political efficacy has been a constant in the discussion of political attitudes and political participation. Morrell (2003), in his argument for more standardized measures of political efficacy, defined it simply as "citizens' perceptions of powerfulness (or powerlessness) in the political realm (p. 589). Sohl (2014) contended that researchers have agreed on the value of strong political efficacy as a resource for the citizen that is "one of the driving forces in political participation" even in the face of inequality (p. 13).

Internal efficacy, external efficacy, and political trust. Political efficacy was a psychological construct in two parts: internal political efficacy and external political efficacy. Campbell et al. (1954) introduced the concept of both parts by describing a person's competence to act in the political sphere, as well as that person's determination of how responsive the political system was likely to be. Someone who had a strong sense of internal efficacy believed he or she understood how to take part in politics and was not intimidated by the political arena. Someone who had a strong sense of external efficacy believed that political system was open and responsive, and would react when citizens put pressure on it (Valentino, Gregorowicz, & Groendyk, 2009).

Internal efficacy was defined as “beliefs about one’s own competence to understand, and to participate, effectively in politics” (Niemi et al., 1991, p. 407). Goodman and Cocca (2013) explained this political self-confidence: when citizens felt they could impact change, the likelihood that they would actively participate in politics increased. In 1977, Bandura suggested that internal efficacy was positively influenced by “the experience of mastery arising from an effective experience” (p. 191). He noted that citizens who were more confident in their ability were more likely to participate and the act of participating would reinforce confidence. Research has supported that theory, as scholars continued to find that internal efficacy positively was related to political engagement (Valentino et al., 2009; Vecchione, Caprara, Caprara, Alessandri, Tabernero, & Gonzalez-Castro, 2014).

Internal efficacy could be impacted by citizens’ experiences. For example, emotions, specifically anger, could play a role in increasing internal efficacy, which resulted in greater probability of participation in the future (Valentino et al., 2009). Likewise, internal efficacy could be boosted by political deliberation, or the ability to discuss and make decisions about politics (Morrell, 2005), as well as civic education (Beaumont, 2011; Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010; Sohl, 2014). It followed that political participation could be positively affected by efforts to raise the internal efficacy of citizens, particularly those groups of citizens who were less likely to have political self-confidence.

External efficacy was defined as “beliefs about the responsiveness of governmental authorities and institutions to citizen demands” (Neimi et al., 1991). People with strong external efficacy are convinced that the political system reacts

when citizens make demands of it (Valentino et al., 2009). External efficacy was often influenced by experiences, suggesting that perceptions of government responsiveness was changeable, while internal efficacy was more stable (Schulz, 2005). This was evidenced by decreases in external efficacy among citizens in response to political environment or events. Denemark and Niemi (2012) explained that a decrease in external efficacy was linked to decreased political engagement, including voter turnout, accessing political information, participating in campaign activities, and belonging to political parties. Suggesting that this pattern was not limited to small segments of the population, Chamberlain (2012) noted a decline in the perception that the government listens, responds, and enacts policies that benefit citizens that was consistent across different groups and cultures.

The research on trust in political systems or government institutions was extensive and experts commonly related it to external efficacy (Niemi et al., 1991). Political trust was defined as an evaluation of the government's responsiveness to citizen's expectations (Southwell, 2012). Distrust of government institutions has resulted in widespread external inefficacy and increasing cynicism due to negative perception of the government responsiveness and tied to a decline in political participation (Denemark & Niemi, 2012). Although greater trust was associated with greater participation, high levels of political efficacy could be found to lessen the negative impact of distrust on political involvement (Hooghe & Marien, 2013).

There were several variables that impacted trust in political systems and different groups of Americans demonstrated divergent levels of trust. Those citizens who were highly educated and reported partisanship, or association with a political party, were

more trusting in government institutions and political leaders (Southwell, 2012). According to Denemark and Niemi (2012), young people were more apathetic about the political process, which was clear from a lower level of participation in electoral politics. Bynner and Ashford (1994) suggested that poor education and low family income resulted in greater political cynicism of young people, which included disinterest in politics and the intention not to vote. The trust/participation connection was corroborated by an analysis of data from the 2009 ICCS study of eighth graders in 22 countries: there was a positive correlation between political trust and participation in organizations. The study revealed that political trust of the adolescents who participated in the study was not impacted by gender, parents' educational level, or parents' occupation status, suggesting the variables of gender and socioeconomic status did not factor into attitudes about government institutions or people in general (Siisiäinen & Kankainen, 2015), which contradicted the previous study.

Denemark and Niemi (2012) worried that the legitimacy and stability of government systems were at risk due to declining trust, low political efficacy, and a lack of participation. Mierina (2014) called this a vicious cycle, because without participation, it was unlikely that the quality political systems would improve or government institutions become more effective. A 2013 Gallop poll of 1,500 Americans confirmed fears about declining trust: trust in both politicians and American citizens to make political judgments through the political system was below or near the lowest since the organization had begun measuring political trust in 1972 (Jones, 2013). The relationship between decreasing political trust and low political engagement, particularly

among young people, is cause for alarm, given that democracy depends on citizens' participation in the political process.

Measuring Political Efficacy

Measurement of political efficacy using surveys has been contested since the construct of political efficacy was introduced. Researchers concerned with valid and reliable measures of political efficacy agreed that there are a number of problems in historical measurement of the political efficacy (Caprara, Vecchione, Capanna, & Mebane, 2009; Chamberlain, 2012; Morrell, 2003; Niemi et al., 1991;). A variety of question items have been used over time, with the earliest measures of political efficacy combining questions related to confidence in one's self to partake in politics (internal efficacy) and perception of government responsiveness (external efficacy), which were two different dimensions.

Morell (2003) reviewed the history of measuring political efficacy and argued for a consistent approach that distinguished between internal and external efficacy. His research supported the work of Niemi et al. (1991) who advocated for the use of four items (I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics, I would do as good of a job in public office as others, I have a good understanding of political issues, and I am well-informed about politics) to measure internal efficacy in surveys. Two other items commonly used (people like me don't have a say in government and public officials don't care) measured external efficacy (Morrell, 2003; Niemi et al., 1991). Caprara et al. (2009) recommended a measurement tool that connected internal efficacy with self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), calling the concept "perceived political self-efficacy," although they acknowledged limitations to their study and called for more research on the

relationship between Bandura's social cognitive theory and political efficacy. Bouche (2010) advanced an identity-based political efficacy and argued that identity negated previous measures. Unfortunately, measurement of internal efficacy was inconsistent across different studies (Caprara et al., 2009; Morrell 2003), which created a problem for comparison.

Just as there were challenges with measuring internal efficacy, the same was true with the measurement of external efficacy. Wood and Bishop (2009) noted the differences in results depending on the ordering of the questions in the survey, the inclusion of an additional question that many researchers chose to omit, or methods used in interviewing respondents. He found, however, that trust in government and education to be the greatest stable predictors of external efficacy, which supported earlier research (Niemi et al., 1991). Chamberlain (2012) tested whether perceptions of government responsiveness (external efficacy), as measured by "No Say" and "Don't Care," was impacted by government performance or political climate over time, and found that it was not, which seemed to be counter-intuitive and needed to be addressed in future studies.

Political Efficacy and Demographic Factors: Gender, Race, SES, education

Gender and political efficacy. Demographic factors affected political efficacy of citizens. In the body of literature on gender and political efficacy, there was consensus that women had lower political self-confidence and demonstrated lower levels of political participation than men, even when resources and qualifications were equal to men. Women were significantly less interested in politics (Preece, 2016), demonstrated lower political knowledge (Barabas, Jerit, Pollock, & Rainey 2014; Ondercin, Garand, & Crapenazano, 2011), or tended to underestimate their own political knowledge (Marshall,

Thomas, & Gidengil, 2007). Because women often experienced negative reactions from others during political discussions, they enjoyed participating in political deliberation less than men. This was particularly true of minority women, who were met with dismissiveness and low affirmation of their contributions to discussion (Mendelberg, Karpowitz, & Oliphant, 2014). Women were also less likely to run for political office due to lower levels of confidence that they had the skills or traits to be a successful candidate or the ability to run a campaign (Fox & Lawless, 2011). In addition, there were fewer female candidates in a political campaign because of lack of recruitment in both major political parties, but particularly among Republicans (Fox & Lawless, 2010).

The research on the political efficacy and gender extended to young women and girls. Schulz (2005) looked at demographic factors when he analyzed the 1999 AIE CIVED study of 14-year-olds, and found that internal and external efficacy were considerably lower in girls. From data collected 15 years later, Fox and Lawless (2014) also found a difference between adolescent and college-aged women and men and found that 35% of young women had considered running for political office, compared to 48% of men, with the gap more significant for female respondents in college than those in high school (p. 9). In a 2014 Girl Scout Research Institute study of over 1,000 girls between the ages of 11-17, 37% of girls were interested in being a politician, which echoed the results of the Fox and Lawless study (p. 1). Furthermore, only a third of girls believed that society encouraged women to enter politics and nearly three-quarters thought that they would have to work harder than men if they pursued a political career. On a positive note, the Girl Scouts' study revealed some indications of political self-confidence that contradicted other research about women's efficacy: 67% of girls were interested in

politics and 93% indicated that they were civically engaged in some sort of political or leadership activities inside or outside of school (p. 2). Admittedly, the sample was taken from young women already active in the Girl Scouts organization, which actively promoted leadership activities and did not reflect the attitudes and experiences of all middle school and high school female students.

A number of scholars found that interventions could mitigate the factors that led to decreased political efficacy in women. Ondercin et al. (2011) demonstrated that the American presidential campaign significantly reduced the gender gap in political knowledge. Also, positive feedback during political discussions resulted in an increase of women's interest in politics, which positively impacted political efficacy (Preece, 2016). Additionally, Mendleberg et al. (2014) discovered that women were positively impacted with greater representation of women in the group engaged in political deliberation, or when there was an expectation of consensus even in groups with a smaller number of women. Mendelberg et al. (2014) and Barabas et al. (2014) agreed that the discrepancies in political knowledge between men and women were reduced or erased on question items that were relevant to women, suggesting that measures of political knowledge should be more inclusive. Finally, Marshall et al. (2007) found that exposure to political activity in childhood or adolescence positively impacted political self-confidence of women.

American women have experienced a relentless cycle: lower political self-confidence and the perception that the political system is unresponsive to the needs of women has resulted in significantly fewer women entering politics (Marshall et al., 2007). Consequently, it seemed likely that the gender gap in political participation would

perpetuate the lack of equal gender representation in political life, and the continued shortage of women contributing to laws and public policy (Fox & Lawless, 2010, 2011, 2014). Therefore, it was reasonable to conclude that the historical patterns of gender inequality and marginalization of women in the United States would be extended until the trends produced by the gender gap in political efficacy and participation were closed.

Race and political efficacy. The research on political efficacy and race has contributed mixed results, with some studies showing that African-Americans showing higher levels of internal efficacy than white citizens, and others indicating the opposite was true. A 1996 study from Mobile, Alabama, did not find a significant difference of political participation among blacks and whites, but determined that black participants had higher levels of political efficacy, trust, and involvement in the community (Emig, Hesse, & Fisher, 1996). Williamson and Scicchitano (2015) found race to be a factor in political efficacy levels, with African-Americans more likely to attend public meetings and to report higher political efficacy than Whites. A different study revealed that whites had higher efficacy levels than black respondents on three indicators that measured both internal and external efficacy, and noted a negative difference particularly when trust was a factor (Merolla, Sellers, & Fowler, 2013). Nunnally (2012) also described trust as an issue for political attitudes of African-Americans and referenced scholarship about the potential of increased political efficacy and descriptive representation to positively impact participation and government policies to improve outcomes for this group of citizens.

Descriptive representation occurs when a political candidate for public office matches the gender, race, geographical area of birth, or other characteristics of the voter.

It was found to boost political efficacy in some groups of people. African-Americans who were represented by members of their own race in local and national politics demonstrated greater knowledge, trust, and positive perceptions of government leaders, which was corroborated by results following the election of Barack Obama in 2008 (Merolla et al., 2013). In fact, that presidential election resulted in higher internal efficacy of African-Americans and Latinos, who were strong supporters of the winning candidate (Southwell, 2012). In the research of Sanchez and Sanchez-Youngman (2012), descriptive representation of Latinos boosted external political efficacy and resulted in higher approval ratings of Congressional representatives. Because of the strong link between political efficacy and political participation, it followed that descriptive representation was a factor in voter turnout, as groups of people experienced higher levels of political empowerment when a candidate was a member of their race. This was true of African-Americans and White voters in city council elections, although a variety of factors contributed to those findings (Vanderleeuw & Sowers, 2007). The literature on descriptive representation suggested that it could positively affect political efficacy and participation of citizens from different racial groups.

Socioeconomic status (SES) and political efficacy. Socioeconomic status was another factor that impacted political efficacy. Higher political efficacy was tied to higher levels of income, education, and social status (Merolla et al., 2013). Beaumont (2011) noted that low socioeconomic status and lack of civic resources resulted in civic disempowerment. However, Sohl (2014) argued that political efficacy was less rigid than socioeconomic status, and measures could be taken to positively impact political efficacy, despite economic inequality. This was supported by Valentino et al. (2009), who found

that while initial participation in politics was linked to the resources of parents/grandparents, the habit of participation was impacted by experiences of early political activity.

For youth, however, the relationship between socioeconomic status of families and political efficacy was questionable. Schulz (2005), analyzing the CIVED study of eighth graders from ten countries, found that educational and cultural background of parents did not affect external or school efficacy, and the effect on internal efficacy was weak. In addition, neither the average socioeconomic status of students in schools, nor the expected educational attainment of students, impacted either internal or external efficacy, according to Schulz. While Sohl (2014) did find that students from less advantaged households who attended vocational schools were less likely to be politically efficacious than adolescents from advantaged homes who attended academic programs, she suggested that schools could close that gap. Beaumont's (2011) work also supported the idea that early political learning could boost political efficacy, despite economic disadvantages. Because lower political efficacy was linked to lower political participation, at least for adults, promoting political efficacy among youth who lacked resources could positively impact equality through political engagement later in life.

Education and political efficacy. There was a body of research on the relationship between level of education, which was an indicator for socioeconomic status, and political efficacy and engagement. Certainly, well-educated citizens were more politically active (Schlozman et al., 2012). In the past, this link was assumed to be causal (high levels of education caused people to be more politically efficacious), however, more recent studies suggested that other factors connected to education played a part,

such as family socioeconomic status, cognitive ability, social networks, or public policy resulting in disenfranchisement (Berinksy & Lenz, 2011; Campbell, 2009; Chevalier & Doyle, 2012). Education was consistently found to be the greatest indicator of political knowledge, as education can be used to promote interest in politics, cognitive ability, and mastery of specific political content (Barabas et al., 2014). Political knowledge was a component of political efficacy, which affected political engagement.

Literacy level and educational attainment were related, but not one and the same. When investigating the political efficacy and expected civic engagement of adolescents, the level of education (no high school diploma, high school diploma, some college, college degree, post-graduate education, or terminal degree) was not a meaningful comparison. The quality of K-12 education, a topic in Section Two of this literature review, and the effectiveness of schools to ensure that students enrolled in schools were literate could impact political efficacy and participation. While literacy level of adults had relevance in studies of political efficacy, I did not uncover studies that delved into how youth literacy levels impacted political attitudes.

Researchers on adult literacy and political efficacy did discover a link between poor literacy and reduced political efficacy. An extensive study by the Literacy Trust (Dugdale & Clark, 2008) found that adults with low literacy skills were much more likely to report not being interested in politics at all and were more likely to be cynical about politics. Interest in politics is an indicator of internal efficacy, while political cynicism is related to external efficacy. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Skills Outlook directly studied literacy levels and social outcomes (trust, political efficacy, volunteering, and health) and found that adults with the lowest

literacy skills had the lowest social outcomes; specifically, they were more than twice as like to report lower political efficacy (OECD, 2013). Political efficacy was affected by the interconnected factors of socioeconomic status, educational attainment, and quality educational outcomes as reflected by literacy levels.

Political efficacy of young people. The research on political efficacy was not limited to adults. Political efficacy of youth was also studied in depth. Scholars in this field have concluded that political efficacy was developed early in life and was a strong predictor of political behavior (Beaumont, 2011; Brady, Verba & Scholzman, 1995; Caprara et al., 2009; Sohl, 2014). There have been some questions as to the stability of political efficacy (Schulz, 2005), with some evidence that efficacy could be influenced by outside factors, such as exposure to political behavior at home and at school (Beaumont, 2011; Sohl, 2014). Political efficacy of young people was tied to self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977, 1997), trust (Denemark & Niemi, 2012), and political socialization (Beaumont, 2010, 2011).

Researchers have suggested that political attitudes, including internal efficacy, external efficacy, and trust, were formed in childhood and early adolescence (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011) or late adolescence and early adulthood (Denmark & Niemi, 2012; Niemi & Klinger, 2012). In fact, Bandura (1986) contended that political attitudes of young people were stable and well established by fourteen years of age. For example, Hooghe and Wilkenfield (2008) found a strong correlation between the political attitudes, specifically trust in government institutions, of young people at 14-years-old, 18-years-old and young adults. In their study, however there was a disconnect between the intention to vote and actual voting behavior, which supported the view that factors within

the formative years of adolescence and early adulthood could impact the decision to become politically active (Hooghe & Wilkenfield, 2008). Parents, schools, and the media were all factors that influenced political efficacy and expected political engagement.

There were decades of research on the impact of parents in the development of political attitudes or the political socialization of young people. Analyzing data from a 1965 survey of over 1,600 high school seniors and their parents, Jennings & Niemi (1974) found a strong relationship between the political attitudes of young people and their parents, usually despite a lack of direct effort to focus on political learning in the home. Another study determined that parental conflict impacted the political efficacy of adolescents, showing that home experiences that were not political in nature could still contribute to political development (Šerek, Lacinová, & Macek, 2012). In these studies, parental influence did not appear to be deliberate, yet exposure at home still impacted the political efficacy of young people.

Exposure to politics at home did result in increased political efficacy, which was strongly correlated to future civic engagement. Beaumont (2011) found that the baseline political efficacy was strongly influenced by a politically active home environment. Intentions to be politically active, including increased political ambitions, were fostered by family upbringing and environment. Participants in one study were over 40 percentage points more likely to be interested in running for office if they were encouraged by family members than young people who were not encouraged (Fox & Lawless, 2014, p. 22). This was corroborated by Sohl (2014), who found that parental encouragement contributed to political efficacy of adolescents.

Other studies supported the role of parents to impact political development of young people, although there was disagreement as to whether the views of young people in political active household would match or deviate from their parents' views. A 2005 Gallop poll supported the view that the political attitudes of young people were strongly influenced by parents: seven in ten adolescents indicated that their political ideology matched those of their parents, but this poll did not address the confidence of teenagers in the political realm or intention to be political active as adults (Lyons, 2005). Another perspective came from the work of Dinas (2013), who conceded that young people raised in households in which politics was important to the parents were more likely to be politically socialized from an earlier age. However, his research revealed they were also more likely to stray from their parents' political leanings as they grew older and had their own political experiences. This suggested that the influence of parents to develop political views might not have extended to sharing the same views, but it did impact the confidence of their children to seek out their own political path of engagement.

Some studies demonstrated efforts to increase youth political efficacy through schools and extracurricular activities in order to prepare young citizens to be politically active as adults. Schools could play an important role the development of political efficacy for young people, and had a responsibility to in support low-income students, who were less likely to engage in political activity as adults (Sohl, 2014). Levy (2011a) reported that completing civic advocacy projects in a high school civics course boosted students' political efficacy by facilitating the development of political knowledge and skills and encountering challenges in a safe setting. Gordon (2011) pointed to promising practices at an urban charter school that made a commitment to intentionally promoting

democratic citizenship through school-wide culture and activities. Hooghe and Wilkenfield (2008) contended that efforts to impact political attitudes through civic education was insufficient and advocated for exposure to real-life political experiences in schools that may actually change future political behaviors. There was also some evidence that political efficacy of youth could be increased through a school and home connection. In a study of 361 high school students in four New Jersey schools, Vercellotti and Matto (2009) described how the practice of reading and discussing political articles both at home with parents and in social studies classes at school increased internal political efficacy. This was not true of the students who only read and discussed the articles at school or who did not participate in these activities at all (Vercellotti & Matto, 2009). The consistent message in this brief review of the research on the role of schools on political efficacy was that exposure to political activities as a means of promoting civic learning and increased efficacy and participation was worthwhile in the classroom and school environment.

In addition to the role of parents and schools, exposure to various media, including campaign messaging, internet resources and the creation of digital media positively impacted youth political efficacy. Young people generally reported lower levels of political knowledge, but could increase political information efficacy through how they responded to campaign messages, which was different from how older citizens were affected by the same information (Lee Kaid, McKinney & Tedesco, 2007). Accessing political information online boosted internal efficacy more than reading about politics in the newspaper, partly because of the chance for young citizens to share and discuss political information (Moeller, de Vreese, Esser, & Kunz, 2014). Goodman and

Cocca (2013) considered how to use new technologies to boost efficacy among young people when they analyzed the Educational Video Center (EVC) to teach low-income youth in New York City to make documentaries on the stop and frisk police tactics utilized by the NYPD. According to the authors, the goal of increasing political efficacy among these young people was successful, as evidenced by the students' appraisal of their ability to make a difference through their work. All three studies found that youth political engagement was positively influenced by efforts to boost political efficacy through exposure to media and activities related to technology.

Self-efficacy. Self-efficacy was defined by the National Association of School Psychologists (2010) as "an ability to set a goal, persevere through challenges to attaining it, and ultimately view oneself as capable" (p. 1). The concept of self-efficacy was credited to Bandura (1977), who posited that people tended to participate in activities when they see themselves as capable of carrying them out and avoided situations in which they felt less confident. Twenty years later, Bandura linked his theory of self-efficacy to politics (Bandura, 1997), however the relationship between self-confidence and political efficacy dates back to Lane (1959). He suggested that a person's general feelings of control and mastery reinforced by society could be generalized into a perception of political effectiveness (Lane, 1959). The idea that self-efficacy could overcome any number of disadvantages was supported by research on political efficacy and political participation (Bandura, 1997; Condon & Hollesque, 2010; Valentino, et al., 2009). This suggested that people with higher self-efficacy were more likely to engage in political activities they may have otherwise avoided due to a lack of exposure.

School efficacy. School efficacy, defined here as the perception that one can make a difference in one's school through political action, was linked to political efficacy of young people. Some schools committed to developing democratic processes in an effort to build students' beliefs that they could have influenced school matters. In these schools, students participated in voting in school elections, running for office in student government, or a host of other political activities. Bandura (1997) linked political self-efficacy to school efficacy and noted that students' efficacy in the political sphere may have been influenced by their involvement in activities to impact decisions made in schools. Schulz (2005) pointed out that future political participation might have been affected by students' sense of whether political action in the school setting was worthwhile. The meaning of the phrase "school efficacy" seems to have changed in the research, with many scholars using it more recently to refer to principals', teachers', or adults' confidence in schools, rather than students' perception that they could make a difference in their schools. Nevertheless, the idea that students' political self-confidence can be positively associated with participation in school-related political activities was evident.

Part Two: Community Factors Related to Political Efficacy and Engagement

Political efficacy, as discussed in Part One of this chapter, focused on the individual. While many factors could influence a person's sense of confidence in the political realm or the extent to which he or she felt it was worthwhile to participate in politics, the role of efficacy of a community was a different topic. Part Two considers the role of communities and the circumstances that impacted how members of groups do or do not engage in politics. This begins with descriptions of social capital and collective

efficacy. It then delves into the factors of race and socioeconomic status in terms of access and outcomes of political participation. This includes a discussion of inequality in the American political system with specific focus on the St. Louis metropolitan area. Finally, I discuss how community ties related to religion, race, and media can impact collective efficacy and political participation of groups and members of groups.

Social capital, collective efficacy, and community engagement. Bourdieu (1986) described social capital in terms of a social structure determined in large part by distribution of resources, so that some groups were at an advantage due to social, cultural, or economic conditions that would increase the potential to achieve desired outcomes. Two years later, Coleman (1988) agreed with the social structure component of Bourdieu's theory, but argued that motivated people could tap into the collective resources of a group of people who built relationships and worked together for the public good. Putnam (1993) defined social capital as "features of social organizations, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p. 35) and suggested that social capital was inherently tied to political involvement, thus a necessary component of a functioning democracy. Tzanakis described numerous theories, but regardless of the strength of the definitions, it seemed that social capital could be both a cause and a result of systems of inequality (Tzanakis, 2013).

More recently, scholars have defined social capital as informal norms or rules in a group that allows it to cooperate for the common good (Anderson, 2010; Ansari, 2013; Greene, 2013). Social capital was a concept that crossed over many fields, but had significance in political science. Communities with a high social capital had certain advantages to ensure effectiveness of collective action in the forms of networks, ties, and

institutions built up to protect their interests (Ansari, 2013). Social capital was potentially valuable in creating a sense of empowerment for communities and members of communities (Greene, 2013). This empowerment could compensate for other factors that served to inhibit political participation for some groups of people.

In the literature, there was a relationship between social capital and collective efficacy (Ansari, 2013). Collective efficacy was the perception of connectedness for a community and the confidence within the group that members would be willing to intervene for one another (Ansari, 2013; Smith et al., 2013). Collective efficacy was tied to political efficacy and could be increased through participation in community organizations, which resulted in an increased sense of belonging. Anderson (2010) explained that individuals with a low sense of community felt unimportant or isolated, which negatively impacted efficacy and trust, whereas a greater sense of community had positive effects on internal and external efficacy.

Families and communities impacted youth development, and could serve to instill a sense of collective efficacy of young people from different racial and socioeconomic backgrounds (Smith et al., 2013). In a study of African-American parents in a low-income neighborhood, Greene (2013) found that parents could positively impact the development of their children through providing support, building self-esteem and resilience, advocating for them, and instilling a sense of hope, even when disadvantaged by a relative lack of assets. Likewise, positive youth development and collective efficacy of young people could be increased through after-school opportunities (Smith et al., 2013).

The idea of the role of families, communities, and particularly schools to promote democracy through participation is not new. In 1937, Dewey highlighted the importance of social institutions to foster cooperation and collective action, but expressed concern that "incapacity to assume the responsibilities involved in having a voice in shaping policies is bred and increased by conditions in which that responsibility is denied" (p. 267). Citizens who lacked certain resources to engage in politics, which Schlozman et al. (2012) defined as time to take part in political activities, money to contribute to causes, and civic skills, were less likely to be politically engaged. Often, these citizens were also hindered because they were not motivated or empowered to become politically active, nor did they have the social networks that would spur them into action (Verba, Schlozman & Brady, 1995). In conclusion, community factors, such as social capital, collective efficacy, and resources of members within groups served to facilitate or inhibit political participation.

Community factors impacting political participation. As discussed above, social capital, collective efficacy, and community engagement were group factors that contributed to how, or whether, people engaged in politics. The internal efficacy, external efficacy, and trust of individual members of groups contributed to the likelihood that those people would be political active. However, not all groups participated in the political system at equal levels. Those citizens who regularly exercised political voice were heard by politicians. Those groups who were the least likely to participate were also the least likely to reap the benefits of a political process that best served older, well-educated wealthy Americans who successfully used the resources at their disposal to influence public policy. Some of the factors that influenced political participation were

socioeconomic status, level of education, and racial segregation. These group factors were mutually reinforcing and were both cause and consequence of systems of inequality that threatened the stability of American democracy.

Politics of participation: Socioeconomic status. "Democracy rests on the notion of the equal worth of each citizen. The needs and preferences of no individual should rank higher than those of any other" (Brady et al., 1995, p. 10). According to a comprehensive report by the American Political Science Association (ASPA) Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy in 2004, the American political system was characterized by unequal voices, evidenced by the fact that the economically privileged participated more and made more demands of government, resulting in the fact that political leaders were more responsive to the wealthy than average or less privileged citizens. As a result, poor and lower-income voices were lost. Growing disparities between economically advantaged and disadvantaged Americans had resulted in significant income gaps and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. Consequently, patterns of government responsiveness emerged in which the politicians were incentivized to pay attention to the concerns of those able to make campaign contributions, as well as special interest groups (American Political Science Association [APSA], 2004). This became an ongoing cycle that perpetuated inequality.

In their 2012 book, *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*, Schlozman et al. (2012) outlined the fundamental threat to equality in the United States: the economically privileged participated more and made demands of government, government leaders were more responsive to wealthy citizens than to those with average or low incomes, therefore the

least advantaged Americans' voices were lost. People with money and status were heard by politicians (APSA, 2004; Weeks, 2014,). The income gap between the poor and wealthy in America expanded due to policy decisions enacted by politicians who promoted the needs of the wealthy at the expense of the poor (Bartels, 1999; Schlozman et al., 2012). American public policy exacerbated income inequality and disparities in socioeconomic status, especially compared to other industrialized nations (APSA, 2004). Significant disparities in wealth and income resulted in a legislative agenda that served to perpetuate a pattern that benefited some citizens at the expense of others. Goodman and Cocca (2013) stated that income inequality resulted in widening gap of political participation - those who feel shut out by the political system were less likely to engage in it. A sense of hopelessness that political participation would have a positive impact had left poor citizens behind.

Fulwood (2014) agreed with the link between hope and participation. He declared that "voting is an expression of hope, a belief that a citizens' input into the system will yield social dividends" (Fulwood, 2014, para. 6). He noted that affluent citizens who had experienced the benefits of a political system that worked for them were more likely to vote. This was not true for disadvantaged citizens. Additionally, low-income and minority Americans faced obstacles to voting, including long waits, voter identification laws, and reduced access to absentee ballots designed to discourage participation (Logan, Darrah, & Oh, 2012). Voting was one form of political participation that was curtailed by income inequality. Low-income Americans were less likely to make political contributions, join a political party, or participate in political

discussions (Southwell, 2012). This was supported by the data on percentages of people who were political active among high and low income groups in Table 1.

Table 1

Percentage Active in Various Activities: High and Low Income Groups

Political Activity	$75,000 and over	Under $15,000
Voting (presidential elections)	86%	52%
Campaign Work	17%	4%
Campaign Contributions	56%	6%
Contact	50%	25%
Protest	7%	3%
Informal Community Activity	38%	13%
Board Membership	6%	1%
Affiliated with Political Organization	73%	29%

Note. (Verba, Schlozman, Brady, 1995, p. 190).

Politics of participation: Education. In *Democracy and Education*, Dewey (1922) said, “a government resting upon popular suffrage cannot be successful unless those who elect and who obey their governors are educated” (p. 101) and further explained that democracy was a way of life necessary for the general welfare and the development of humans as individuals. In 1965, Milbrath noted that a poorly educated person was less likely to feel compelled to engage in political activity, and that environmental influences were not likely to bolster participation (as cited in Condon & Holleque, 2013). Likewise, poor quality of education could affect reading ability. Dugdale and Clark (2008) showed that low literacy skills, along with negatively impacting political efficacy, also led to decreased political participation, since reading was a prerequisite skill for attaining political knowledge, filling out forms, researching candidates, and voting. Fundamentally, education provided the motivation and skills necessary to engage in the political process and benefit from it.

Political participation and its benefits had often been based on resources: those citizens who were well educated and wealthy were more politically active and informed, and in turn, were better represented. The relationship between political participation and education was well documented (APSA, 2004; Berinsky & Lenz, 2011; Patterson, 2012; Southwell, 2012). Brady et al. (1995) claimed that education increased participation and helped people learn the skills needed to communicate with political leaders. While Patterson (2012) argued that those with higher levels of education felt obligated to engage in political activities, Berinsky and Lenz (2011) disagreed that education was a cause of political participation, finding that the type of people who were motivated to be politically active were also well-educated. To illustrate this point, Fulwood (2014) pointed out a 2014 Pew Research Study in which nearly twice the percentage of midterm election voters had completed some college, with fewer than 40% of those who had not attended college likely to vote. Higher education levels positively correlated to higher voter turnout.

People were influenced by their parents' level of education. Parental education was the highest predictor for political participation, due to the fact that well-educated parents of high socioeconomic status passed on resources to their children that facilitated involvement (Flanagan & Levine, 2010). When parents were in the highest quintile of level of education, 70% of offspring were politically active, whereas only 44% of offspring of parents in the lowest quintile engaged in two or more types of political acts. Exposure to politics at home also affected the political participation of offspring at nearly the same percentages (Schlozman et al., 2012, p. 185). Education, whether the

cause or effect of greater wealth and resources, was inexorably linked to political participation.

Politics of participation: Race and segregation.

> Four decades after the crowning legislative achievements of the rights revolution, racial and gender inequalities continue to hamper educational attainment, employment prospects, income, and other factors critical to the distribution of the skills and resources that generate political participation. (ASPA, 2004, p. 18)

Race and socioeconomic status in the United States were often linked, with Black Americans more likely than White Americans to be economically disadvantaged. According to the American Political Science Association (ASPA) Task Force, the median White household earned 62% more income and held 12 times more wealth than the median Black household. Another metric with clear discrepancies along racial lines was financial assets: almost two-thirds of Black households and half of Hispanic household had no financial assets, compared to a quarter of White households. Even among dual income families, Black couples had 80% less net worth than White couples (ASPA, 2004, p. 3). These differences in income and wealth extended to children: almost 40% of Black children lived below the poverty line, which was more than three times higher than the percentage of White children living in poverty, at 12% (Hankins & Becker, 2014, p. 11).

Lower socioeconomic status impacted equal housing opportunities. The ASPA Task Force (2004) reported that 62.3% of Black households spent more than 30% of their income on rent, while 45.6% of White household spent that much (p. 4). Home ownership rates were also significantly different. Among White men, 77.6% owned their home, whereas the homeownership rate for Black men was 42.8% (p. 4). There was also

a disparity in the value of homes. The median value of homes (in dollars) owned by Black households was $93,800 and the median value of homes owned by white households was $164,300 (ASPA, 2004, p. 4). Lack of access to affordable housing in economically viable neighborhoods led to unequal access to high quality schools and job opportunities (Hankins & Becker, 2014).

School segregation was another factor that perpetuated inequality. The landmark Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Board of Education*, may have resulted in physical desegregation of schools in some areas, but often failed to do even that. Certainly, distributive justice in the allocation of equal educational opportunities and resources was not achieved (Hughes & Snauwaert, 2010). A 2013 report by the Leadership Conference Education Fund about the impact of race and poverty on the right to education for American children and adolescents declared that school segregation in the 21st Century was a product of the legacies of slavery and institutionalized racism, and has resulted in lower outcomes for students. In the report, the authors used the term “supermajority-minority” to describe schools with high percentages of high poverty and minority students, also called “double segregation.” (Still Segregated, 2013, p. 7) These schools often had lower levels of funding, lower teacher quality, higher dropout rates, and a less demanding curriculum. In all but one state, schools were financed through local funding, which stripped schools in low-income areas of the same level of per pupil expenditure of those in affluent communities. Policies for funding public education made it difficult to remedy these obstacles to high quality education for black children who live in poverty and attend segregated schools.

Due to the relationship between poverty and race, many students from low-income families attended under-funded, racially segregated schools, which Hankins and Becker (2014) insisted has led to an education system in the United States that was both separate and unequal. In 2010, students were as racially isolated as they were at the time of the Civil Rights Movement, with 74.1% of Black students attending majority-minority schools, only a two percentage point decrease since 1968 (Still Segregated, 2013, p. 6). The educational outcomes for low-income and minority students in the United States were significantly and consistently worse than for more affluent or white students. Economically disadvantaged Black and Hispanic students had higher dropout rates, lower graduation rates, lower achievement on standardized tests, lower literacy rates in reading and vocabulary acquisition, lower college attendance and completion rates, and higher unemployment rates as adults (Still Segregated, 2013).

Despite these disparities, the United States government did not effectively respond through new policies or appropriate enforcement of existing policies to address the issues of school segregation and school funding (Still Segregated, 2013). The consequence of inequality was a lack of interest or participation of disadvantaged and minority youth in the political system. These young people had fewer resources that would serve to facilitate political action (Condon & Holleque, 2013). Goodman and Cocca (2013) described low-income young people of color to be disengaged from political discourse or activity. Because social status, civic resources, and political socialization influenced the political development and behavior of youth, some groups of youth were less likely to have the resources necessary for engagement.

Case study: Inequality in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area. The impact of systems of inequality on political participation has been well documented over several decades. National trends related to race, socioeconomic status, and the role of segregation to perpetuate inequality were discussed in previous sections of this chapter. Data specifically related to the state of affairs in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area in 2014 supported the broader consensus of research on inequality. It also provided a valuable lens into the circumstances under which many of the adolescents in this study might have framed their own political attitudes, particularly in the areas of access to opportunities, trust, and external efficacy.

In the St. Louis area, patterns of racial inequality mirrored those of the rest of the nation. A quarterly publication called "Where We Stand" (WWS) tracked and disseminated data on racial disparity and segregation in the St. Louis region relative to 34 other Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs). In the September 2014 update to the sixth edition, the publication noted that St. Louis was the sixth most segregated compared to other regions in the United States and had a wider gap between Black and White residents on a range of indicators. According to the report, minorities in segregated communities in the St. Louis area tended to live in communities with unequal opportunities that were more likely to have underperforming schools, limited access to basic services, and environmental problems (*Where We Stand*, 2014). This was confirmed by the Fair Housing Equity Assessment (Metropolitan St. Louis Equal Housing and Opportunity Council, 2013) which found that Black people in the St. Louis region were "significantly more likely to live in high poverty and high unemployment neighborhoods and to live in underperforming school districts" (p. 6). The authors of the

WWS (2014) report stated that, in 2012, Black people were three and a half times more likely to live in poverty than White people in the region, with almost one third of Black families living below the poverty line. Likewise, unemployment of the Black labor force was also three and a half times higher than the White labor force, at 12.7%, a rate higher than the national average for black unemployment, which was 9.9% (*Where We Stand,* 2014, p. 1). Some of these disparities are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Racial Disparity, St. Louis Region, 2012

Indicator	Whites	Blacks
Poverty Rate	9.2%	30.6%
Unemployment Rate	5.1%	12.7%
Percent Adults without High School Diploma	8.4%	17.3%
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)	4.3%	15.8%
Pay more than 30% of Income of Housing	27.2%	46.3%

Note. ("Where We Stand," 2014, p. 1).

Finally, among St. Louis residents in the labor force, there were substantial differences in median income, with the income gap increasing since 2000. In 2012, the gap between the median income of Whites and Blacks was $28,562, with White workers earning nearly double the income of Black workers (WWS, 2014, p. 9). This is shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Income Inequality, St. Louis Region, 2012

Year	White Median Income	Black Median Income	Difference
1990	$57,786	$32,274	$25,513
2000	$63,884	$36,731	$27,153
2012	$59,041	$30,479	$28,562

Note. ("Where We Stand," 2014, p. 9).

Politics of participation: Power of group dynamics to promote political participation. In this section, I have discussed factors that have historically contributed to

increased or decreased political participation. Of these, low socioeconomic status was the greatest indicator for depressed political participation in electoral politics and other types of political activity. While well-educated, wealthy White Americans were more likely to be politically active and have their concerns addressed by politicians, membership in a group, which promoted collective efficacy and community engagement could mitigate the negative effects of socioeconomic or racial inequalities on political engagement. Membership in a religious organization, political empowerment of minorities through descriptive representation, and connectedness through internet usage and social media could diminish the negative impacts of poverty and inequality on political participation. Membership in other groups could also have similar effects.

Religion played a role in civic engagement among adults. According to the American Political Science Association Task Force (2004), religious organizations were good for democracy for two reasons: participation developed the skills and habits necessary for political participation and could offset bias within a political system that often rewarded wealthy citizens. The authors found that church related community engagement acted as a bridge to other political involvement and that those who attended religious services were more likely to vote. Also, political confidence was increased by the social contacts, political discussion, and sense of moral obligation woven into participation in religious organizations (Marshall et al., 2007).

One reason for the relationship between religion and political participation was the role of clergy in leading political discussions that increased political efficacy and engagement. Brown (2011) determined that encouragement from church leaders had greater effect on Black and Latino congregations, and did not motivate White people to

be more politically engaged. Writing about Christian churches in the United States, Speers and Norris (2015) noted that the inherent political nature of the role of politics in religious organizations perpetuated deep partisan divides, particularly among far-right conservatives, but also among those people with beliefs associated with the far-left. Regardless of race or political leaning, membership in a church increased political efficacy and participation.

Another way in which membership in a group positively impacted political participation was related to race. While the relationship between race and low socioeconomic status resulted in decreased political participation for many disadvantaged minorities, once education and income levels were accounted for, there was virtually no statistical difference between the likelihood of White, Black, and Hispanic citizens to be politically active (Scholzman et al., 2012). In fact, increased Black political participation was sometimes the result of political empowerment associated with voting for a Black candidate or belonging to a religious organization (Harris, 1994; Logan, Darrah, & Oh, 2012). Descriptive representation, discussed in Section One in this chapter as a factor in increasing political efficacy of individuals, also increased political engagement of groups. It was consistently true that descriptive representation increased voter turnout for African-Americans, and sometimes evident for Hispanics (Uhlander & Scola, 2016). Spence and McClerking (2010) agreed in the power of collective efficacy when they found that Black residents of predominantly Black cities with Black mayors had higher levels of participation.

Descriptive representation also positively impacted voter turnout in the 2008 presidential election between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney: 65.3% of eligible

African-Americans voted, an increase of almost five percentage points from the previous election. White voter turnout that year was 66.1%, which was less than three percentage points higher than Black turnout (Merolla et al., 2013). When McDonald, an expert in voter turnout, excluded people who did not respond to the 2000 census, he discovered that the Black turnout rate in 2008 was 76.6%, compared to 73.6% for White eligible voters. He expected similar results for the 2012 when the corresponding census data came out, and pointed out that the dip in overall participation that year did not extend to Black voters (as cited in Weiner, 2013, para. 3). According to data released by the Brookings Institute (Frey, 2013, para. 10), the Black voter turn-out was higher than the White voter turn-out for the first time in American history in the 2012 presidential election, with 66.2% of eligible Black citizens voting (not adjusted for census reporting). Weeks (2014) reported that people in the lowest two quintiles for household income voted at rates of about 50% (under $30,000) and just over 60% ($30,000 to $49,999) in the 2012 election (para. 15). Given the documented relationship between race and socioeconomic status, with a higher percentage of Black Americans living in poverty, it was notable that the Black voting rate in the 2008 and 2012 elections was so high. This may have been the result of community factors that propelled greater participation.

Exposure to media, particularly in the age of increased access to internet resources, played a part in the political participation of citizens. Internet usage could be considered an individual act, as in the case of reading about politics, or a community act, as in the case of connecting with others via social media. Some scholars argued that the internet promoted democratic participation, however political information was disproportionately accessed by wealthy, well-educated white citizens, which served to

widen disparities, rather than close the political participation gap (ASPA, 2004). Corrigall-Brown and Wilkes (2014) attested to the role of the media to impact voting behavior because it increased political knowledge, but found that the relationship between the media and protest activity was primarily tied to perceptions of government responsiveness. This contradicted the research of the New York University's Social Media and Political Participation (SMaPP) laboratory, citing the integral role of social media in protest activity from Ukraine to Turkey to Ferguson. They contended that social media was essential to organizing and executing protests because it facilitated collective action by providing timely access to information and motivating groups (Tucker, 2014). Denemark and Niemi (2012) suggested that social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter served to promote democratic participation. The role of media, especially through internet access and social media, was ever-changing and the potential to increase activism, if not conventional political activity, was evident. This was particularly true when internet usage contributed to connectedness within a virtual or actual community. In conclusion, connections made through belonging to groups, even if those relationships are forged in a virtual world, positively impacted political participation.

Part Three: Youth Engagement and the Habits of Participation

In this review of the literature, I have discussed political efficacy and the community factors that impacted political participation. In the final section, I address youth political engagement and the habits of participation. The field of study on political socialization was so vast that I could not do it justice here. My study on the political efficacy and expected civic engagement of adolescents stopped short of considering the

role of civic education and political socialization of youth, although that would be a logical next step for investigation. This section addresses types of political engagement, pathways for youth civic engagement, ways in which young people were politically engaged, and the role of adults in helping youth develop habits of political participation.

Types of political engagement. Political engagement took many forms from the conventional to the unconventional, legal to illegal. Noted multiple times in this chapter, the survival of a political system rooted in democracy depended on an active, engaged citizenry (Hinchey, 2010; Sherrod et al., 2010). Despite the constitutionally protected right to voice assent and dissent, the freedom to participate in the political process in this country was not always awarded to all Americans. Additionally, political participation in a democracy is a right and responsibility of citizens, but not an obligation. As McIntosh and Youniss (2010) noted, Americans were not compelled to become politically engaged until they were convinced that it was relevant and worth the effort, due to the inherently voluntary nature of political participation in this country.

Often when people thought about political engagement, they referred to electoral politics. Electoral politics was comprised of voting, researching candidates, joining a political party, participating in a campaign, raising or contributing money to a campaign, running for public office, or otherwise engaging in activities directly related to the election of government representatives (Schulz, 2005). Participation of citizens in a representative democracy through the electoral process was essential to the health of any democratic country. Most citizens 18 and older had the right to vote. The United States Constitution sets age limits for running for public office, as do states. Although children

and adolescents were restricted from these political activities, they had the ability to participate in other forms of electoral politics prior to meeting those age requirements.

The survey used in this study used to measure political attitudes and expected civic engagement divided political engagement activities into two categories: expected adult engagement and youth engagement (Amadeo et al., 2002; Schulz, 2005). Ways that adults could take part in political life were primarily related to electoral politics: vote in local elections, vote in national elections, get information about candidates before voting in an election, help a candidate or party during an election campaign, join a political party, join a union, or be a candidate in local elections. The questionnaire contained 14 political actions that a young person could take. These were divided into Social Movement Activities (volunteer time to help people in the community, collect money to support a cause, collect signatures for a petition, or participate in a peaceful protest or rally), Protest Behavior (spray-paint protest slogans on walls, block traffic as a form of protest, or occupy public buildings as a form of protest), Political Activities (writing to a newspaper about a political issue, wearing a badge or t-shirt expressing your opinion, contacting an elected representative, choosing not to buy certain products, talk to others about your views on political issues, join an organization for a political cause, or contribute to an online discussion forum about political issues). These types of political engagement included a variety of conventional and unconventional political activities, some of which were not expressly related to governmental function. While the list of ways adults and youth participated in political life cited in the survey seemed extensive, it is not exhaustive.

Pathways to political engagement. Political socialization is the process by which citizens developed the knowledge, skills, and will to participate in political activities. Sherrod et al. (2010), who published a nearly 800 page volume entitled the *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement*, summarized the academic work on political development of youth from a variety of disciplines, including political science, education, psychology, and sociology. As Schulz (2005) noted, the development of political efficacy was essential to the process of political socialization of children and adolescents. I will narrow my focus to the development of youth political efficacy and discuss the work of a few prominent scholars on this topic.

One prominent perspective of political socialization was the life-span or life-course theory which suggested that political development grows and changes over the course of a lifetime, and may take a variety of developmental paths for different people (Sherrod et al., 2010). Much of this work began in the 1970s. This work was useful for considering youth as a developmental period for political socialization. Some researchers noted that early adolescence was an essential period for the development of civic engagement (Guillaume et al., 2015; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011), while others have said that late adolescence and early adulthood were formative periods for the development of political attitudes and habits of political participation (Denemark & Niemi, 2012; Niemi & Klinger, 2012). Both perspectives were valid.

The link between political efficacy and political engagement, coupled with the idea that adolescence and young adulthood were periods in which political attitudes and behaviors were formed, necessitated investigation into how young people became politically efficacious and, therefore, more likely to become politically engaged.

Beaumont (2010) described four pathways to a sense of political efficacy. Studying college students, Beaumont determined that young people became skilled and confident through participating in political experiences. Their development depended on observation and interaction with role models who were politically engaged. Additionally, young people benefited from encouragement and connectedness to political communities. Finally, young people needed to feel empowered and believe that they could make a difference, leading to a positive outlook about political action. Beaumont's work supported the earlier research of Bandura (1977, 1997) and his work on the relationship between self-efficacy and political confidence. Amna and Zetterberg (2010) authored a study that found that Nordic 14-year-olds reported a low expectation of political participation, yet the actual political participation of adults in those countries was relatively high. The authors surmised that 18-year-olds were actively encouraged to become engaged, thus the perception of being needed motivated them to act. This suggested that citizens who were not expressly asked to engage would remain withdrawn from political life.

Another approach to the development of youth engagement was the Positive Youth Development (PYD) framework, which came from research in the 1990s that argued that political development was promoted by internal and external assets, or strengths of youth to participate in the political realm, that was influenced by families, schools, or communities (Sherrod et al., 2010). In this approach, efficacy and participation were mutually reinforcing components of political development on the road to civic engagement. McIntosh and Youniss (2010) contended that participation in political discussion and other political cooperative activities were effective means of

political socialization. The authors proposed a theory of political socialization for school-aged adolescents that included situated learning with three components: students learned by doing, adults supported or scaffolded the learning, and students engaged in perspective-taking of diverse viewpoints.

Political engagement of adolescents. The following researchers have concluded that adolescents were engaged in a variety of political activities. Much of that scholarship was consistent with the Positive Youth Development (PYD) approach and supported the contention that political behavior could influence political efficacy and promote habits of participation. The impact of early exposure to political activity in childhood or adolescence significantly impacted political self-confidence (Marshall et al., 2007). Investigating the link between political attitudes and political behavior, Quintelier and van Deth (2014) found that political behavior of young people had a greater effect on political efficacy, interest, and ideas about citizenship than these attitudes had on political participation. The act of participating, according to the authors, increased efficacy, resulting in the formation of the habit of participation (Condon & Holleque, 2013; Valentino et al., 2009). In one study that reinforced this theory, Fox and Lawless (2014) showed that college students who regularly visited political websites were two times more likely to have political ambitions. Also, running for student government or participating on the debate team increased a student’s interest in running for office. According to this theory, lack of participation of young people could be a result of political apathy, but could also be contributing it. Researchers frequently expressed concern over political apathy of youth, citing a decline in newspaper readership, voter registration, voting, or participation in political organizations (Denemark & Niemi, 2012,

McVicker, 2014). The Pew Research Center (2012) found that fewer young people were registered to vote or interested in following the 2012 presidential campaign, and of those who were registered to vote, fewer young expressed an intention to vote.

However, youth apathy could be countered by different models of youth political action. Youth activism was defined as "behavior performed by adolescents and young adults with a political intent" (Hart & Gullan, 2010, p. 67). McVicker (2014) noted that young people were redefining what political engagement would look like, which she called "political subjectivity." Evidence of youth activism included advocacy related to climate change, LGBTQ rights, gay marriage, global social justice initiatives, internet freedom, privacy rights, and the Occupy movement. Despite signs of hope for youth engagement and activism, the threat of apathy and political cynicism continued to be significant.

Role of adults in youth political development. In this section, I have outlined a number of ways in which young citizens became politically engaged. In some situations, young people took the lead in creating spaces to express their political voices. Most of the time, political engagement was supported by the actions of adults, either through inadvertent adult modeling of political behavior or through deliberate exposure at home, at school, and or in the community. Some of these efforts were addressed in the discussion on the impact of parents and schools on political efficacy of young people in the first part of this chapter.

Civic education was one way to teach young people how to develop the knowledge and skills associated with citizenship. Civic education, which normally took place in schools, but was not limited to formal educational institutions, often focused on

civic knowledge. Traditional instructional strategies for teaching civics and government mirrored traditional strategies for teaching a range of other subject area content in middle and high schools, where the emphasis was on attainment of content knowledge, possibly with the culmination of study coming in the form of a test. Another approach for civic education was participatory in nature, consistent with the Positive Youth Development (YDP) framework that suggested that political engagement, ideally authentic, resulted in habits of political participation. In other words, schools could promote participation through civic education that exposed young people to the types of political activities they would likely encounter outside of school as youth, or in adulthood.

The 1999 CIVED study included the perspectives of 14-year-olds on their experiences of civic education in their schools. The National Center for Education Statistics published the results from the surveys of 2,811 American participants. These respondents believed that students who worked together could promote positive change in their schools, which was school efficacy (Baldi, Perie, Skidmore, Greenberg & Hahn, 2001). They indicated that their schools did not place much emphasis on the importance of voting. One fourth of the American students felt encouraged to voice their opinions about political topics, but one fourth said this rarely or never happened. American students in the study performed better on the civics skills portion of the test and similarly to the international average on the civic content portion. In terms of instructional strategies in civic education, close to 90% of American students reported reading from a textbook or filling out worksheets, and fewer that 50% of them reported participating in authentic civic learning like debates (45%), role play/mock trials (40%), visits from leaders (31%), or writing opinion letters (27%) (Baldi et al., 2001, p. 33). This study was

15- years-old at the time of this writing, and there was not a more recent comprehensive study of American students' experiences of civic education in schools.

In 2013, Martens and Gainous described the effect of four teaching approaches to civics education and building democratic capacity, which combined political knowledge, efficacy, and the intention to vote. They found that fostering an open classroom environment by encouraging student input, when combined with traditional teaching, active teaching, or video teaching, was most effective. However, they discovered that the combination of methods that positively impacted political efficacy were not the same as those that increased knowledge. Similarly, a study of Belgian adolescents revealed that classroom instruction in civics and active learning (student council or group projects) were positively related to political attitudes and behavior, whereas an open classroom climate was positively correlated to political trust (Dassonneville, Quintelier, Hooghe & Claes, 2012). Helfenbein and Shudak (2009) recommended that schools incorporate participatory approaches to promoting political socialization through civic education and cited democratic education as a promising approach. There was no indication that a single method for civic education was optimal, active approaches that encouraged participation and an open climate appeared to yield positive results.

Some scholars in the field of civic education identified middle school as an ideal period for the development of civic attitudes and behaviors. Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2011), both of whom authored the original AIE CIVED Study in 1999, introduced a framework entitled "emergent participatory citizenship" in their research on civic engagement of middle and high school students. In the absence of the ability to vote, young people could participate in civic actions and foster attitudes that benefited others

as a means of acquiring the skills and dispositions to be politically active as adults. Schools, as well as other community organizations, could contribute to this process by exposing students to the type of participatory and deliberative environments that would encourage civic behavior. Using this framework, Guillaume et al. (2015) found that positive school climate, participation in decision-making, perceptions of democratic culture, and safety in schools, impacted connectedness to school and civic behavior in school and community settings. The growing body of research in this area of civic education showed promise for identifying the role of schools and other settings in promoting civic engagement in youth.

Summary

Political efficacy, a citizen's level of confidence to participate in politics and perception that participation was worthwhile, was best measured when the construct was divided into internal and external political efficacy. Demographic factors, including gender, race, socioeconomic status, and age, impacted an individual's political efficacy. Political efficacy was a strong predictor for political participation, therefore efforts to increase efficacy levels could result in increases in political involvement. Adolescence was a critical time for the development of political efficacy and attitudes, and exposure to politics at home, at school, in the community, or through media, could boost political efficacy of young people and positively impact the likelihood that they would be politically active as adults.

Community factors played a role in promoting or hindering the political efficacy or political participation of members of groups. Social capital, which was often tied to greater access to resources, could perpetuate systems of inequality, because groups of

people with high levels of social capital could effectively advocate for their interests, sometimes at the expense of others. Collective efficacy, the perception of connectedness within a community, was tied to political efficacy and could be increased through participation in community organizations, which resulted in an increased sense of belonging. Some community factors impacted the level of political participation of different groups of citizens, resulting in a political system in which the needs of some groups of Americans did not have equal voice in representation or policies than impacted them. Lower socioeconomic status, educational attainment, literacy levels, and racial segregation negatively affected political participation. There were some circumstances that could improve collective efficacy, notably belonging to a religious organization, descriptive representation or empowerment of minority groups, or technology that promoted connections to a real or virtual community.

As the topic of this study is specifically related to the political efficacy and expected civic engagement of young people, this review of literature included some of the research on political socialization, of the development of the knowledge, skills and will in participated in politics. Beyond electoral politics, which were primarily reserved for adults, young people could engage in a variety of political activities. There were different pathways to political socialization, but most involved exposure and participation in political activities, or learning by doing. To this end, adults played an essential role in facilitating and supporting young people to engage in politics through high quality civic education. This would serve to increase political efficacy of youth and encourage future political participation.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate the possible relationship between the political efficacy and expected civic engagement and factors including demographics, reading ability, and parental attitudes of middle school students in a suburban school district in Missouri. This study generated information regarding a student's attitude on topics such as citizenship, trust in institutions, opportunities, political efficacy, school efficacy, and political action. In this chapter, the site of the study, participants, methods, research instruments, and data collection and analysis are discussed.

The Research Site

The Ferguson-Florissant School District (FFSD) served 11,206 K-12th grade students in the 2014-15 academic year. The "economic deprivation" percentage of students during that year was 75%, based on the formula used by the Missouri Department of Secondary and Elementary Education (2014). Due to the high number of students living in poverty, 100% of students in the school district received free breakfast and lunch. In the district, 80.7% of students were Black, 12.0% were White, and there were fewer than 5% of any other race reported for the district, according to the Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (2014, pp. 1-2). At the time the study was conducted, I was a teacher at Ferguson Middle School in FFSD for the duration of this study. I informed the students that participation was voluntary; there were no consequences for choosing not to participate. I obtained permission from FFSD to conduct this study in the fall of 2014 (Appendix E).

Recruitment and Instruments

Students (questionnaire): Social Studies teachers in each of three middle schools in FFSD offered eighth grade students the opportunity to participate in the study. Teachers briefly explained the purpose of the study and passed out consent forms. Consent forms, written in clear language, outlined the purpose of the study, possible risks, and potential benefits to society. Parents were notified that a paper copy of the student questionnaire was available upon request. The district reviewed consent forms before distribution.

Parents (questionnaire): Students also brought home parent consent forms inviting parents/guardians to participate in the study. Teachers collected all forms over the course of one week.

Students (focus group): Students who completed the questionnaire received consent forms for voluntary participation in focus groups on the same topic. Parents/guardians signed consent forms outlining the topics, purpose, procedures, risk, and benefits of this component of the study.

Parents (focus group): I invited parents/guardians who completed the adult version of the questionnaire, through email or phone call, to participate in a parent focus group at a school site on a Saturday morning.

Community leaders, community activists, educators (interview): I contacted a diverse group of 15 community leaders and invited them to participate in interviews related to political attitudes and civic engagement of young people they had encountered in their work. My goal was to interview six to eight people for this study.

Student Questionnaire

The Student Questionnaire was adapted, with permission from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (AIE) and the authors, from selected sections from the Civic Education Study (CIVED) Student Questionnaire and the International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) Student Questionnaire (see Appendix E.) The [CIVED] assessment covered three core content domains. These were democracy (including views on rights and citizenship), national identity and loyalty, and social cohesiveness and diversity. There were five types of items in the student instruments:

• Civic content items (Type 1) assessed knowledge of key civic principles and pivotal ideas (e.g., key features of democracies) measured by multiple-choice items.

• Civic skills items (Type 2) assessed skills in using civic-related knowledge through multiple-choice items (e.g., understanding a brief political article or a political cartoon).

• Survey items measured students' concepts of democracy, citizenship, and government (Type 3); attitudes toward civic issues (Type 4); and expected political participation (Type 5) (Baldi et al., 2001, p. 6).

The instrument used in the ICCS Study was similar to the CIVED Study, but not identical. In the assessment framework, there were four domains of student perceptions pertaining to civics and citizenship. There were value beliefs, attitudes, behavioral intentions, and behaviors.

- Value beliefs: these relate to fundamental beliefs about democracy and

citizenship; they are more constant over time, more deeply rooted, and broader than attitudes.

- Attitudes: these include self-cognitions related to civics and citizenship, attitudes toward the rights and responsibilities of groups in society, and attitudes toward institutions.
- Behavioral intentions: these refer to expectations of future civic action, and they include constructs such as preparedness to participate in forms of civic protest, anticipated future political participation as adults, and anticipated future participation in citizenship activities.
- Behaviors: these refer to present or past participation in civic-related activities at school or in the wider community (Schulz et al., 2010, p. 18).

Parent Questionnaire

The Parent/Guardian Questionnaire was an abbreviated form of the Student Questionnaire, and focused on political efficacy, perceptions of citizenship, civic engagement, trust in institutions, and role of religion. Some sections of the student questionnaire were not included in the adult version. In addition, there was a question in “Part A: Demographic Information” that asked for annual household income that was not on the Student Questionnaire.

Focus Group Questions

I wrote the focus group questions, and did not refer to any published source. These questions were inspired by the sections in the questionnaires (adapted from the AIE studies). The focus group questions served to lend perspective to the quantitative data acquired through the questionnaire responses. The focus group questions also

allowed me to confirm the validity of the questionnaire, through comparison with the results of the quantitative component of the study.

Interview Questions

I wrote the interview questions, and did not refer to any published source. I designed the interview questions to mirror the sections in the Student Questionnaire, to the extent appropriate, with far less detail. Questions included topics such as adult participants' perceptions of young people's outside of school activities, internal efficacy, external efficacy, views on opportunities, trust in groups and institutions, youth engagement, and expected political engagement. I also asked interview participants to consider whether young people's political attitudes and engagement depended on age and whether they had noticed changes in young people's political attitudes and engagement in the time since August of 2014, the month of Michael Brown's death and subsequent civil unrest.

Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

I compared data collected from the student questionnaire to the American student responses from the 1999 AIE CIVED study. An additional phase of the AIE CIVIC study, the ICCS study, conducted in 2009, did not include American students in the data collection, therefore I did not use the results from the more recent study.

In the United States, 2,811 students participated in the IAE CIVED study. Ninth grade students enrolled at 124 public and private schools nationwide completed the comprehensive civics education assessment and student questionnaire of political attitudes in October of 1999. CIVED conducted the study with ninth grade participants, because most American ninth grade students were 14-years-old at the time of the

assessment. “The assessment was not designed to measure knowledge of a particular country's government but instead was developed through expert consensus to measure knowledge and understanding of key civic principles that are universal across democracies” (Baldi et al., 2001, p. XV). I conducted this study with eighth grade participants, because most students enrolled at Ferguson-Florissant middle schools were 14-years-old at the time teachers administered the questionnaire in May of 2015.

In addition to comparing the entire group of FFSD student responses to the CIVED results, I linked individual student responses on the questionnaire to student demographic data: gender, race, reading ability, and location within the district. Students identified their gender and race on the Student Information portion of the Student Questionnaire. I crosschecked this information, when necessary, with the district’s student information system, with permission from the school district. Students also identified the elementary school they attended, which gave reasonable indication as to their location within the school district, as each elementary school has a specific attendance area. Some participants who attended eighth grade at one of three middle schools within the district marked “Other elementary school.” In those cases, I accessed student addresses using the district’s student information system in order to identify the elementary school they would have attended. With this information, I could determine which students lived within the attendance areas of the elementary schools in the southeast portion of the school district, near the two primary protest areas. Once I linked student responses to location inside or outside the protest area, I de-identified the data.

In order to analyze whether there was a relationship between political attitudes and civic engagement and student reading ability, I accessed information about students’

reading levels. For the purpose of this study, reading ability was determined by performance on a STAR Reading benchmark exam developed by Renaissance Learning. (The Research Foundation for STAR Assessments, 2014). I divided the Grade Equivalent (GE) scores from the May of 2015 administration of the STAR Reading Benchmark into two groups: at or above reading level (8.0 and above) and below reading level (7.9 and below). The school district granted access to STAR Reading scores. Once I linked reading scores to individual students, I de-identified the data.

Student participants completed the questionnaire using desktop computers in computer labs or laptops in classrooms at each of the three school sites. Selected Social Studies teachers facilitated the process of administering the questionnaire according to clear directions for administration. All students elected to complete the questionnaire online, although teachers had paper questionnaires available for students who preferred to not to take it online. Once I had collected all consent forms, I gave teachers administering the questionnaire a random identification number for each participant. Students entered this number into the appropriate field in the Student Information section of the Student Questionnaire after they opened the secure link. After I linked all demographic information analyzed in the hypotheses of this study, as described above, I removed student names on my spreadsheet, leaving only the identification numbers for disaggregation of data.

Parent/guardian participants completed the abbreviated adult questionnaire at home. Most parent/guardian participants elected to complete the questionnaire online. In those cases, I emailed them a secure link to the questionnaire, along with an identification number that matched the identification number of their child. Some parent/guardian

participants requested a paper questionnaire, sent to them by mail. They returned completed questionnaires in pre-addressed envelopes. I linked the responses of adult participants to their children through identification numbers.

I held focus groups of student participants outside of school hours, with the cooperation of administrators and the permission of the school district. In the original design of the study, I intended to hold a focus group at each of the three middle schools. Due to a lack of interest and scheduling conflicts, I was only able to hold focus groups at one school site, however, there were enough students who volunteered to participate to hold three focus groups. As I did not plan to compare quantitative or qualitative results between the three sites, this did not pose a significant problem. Demographically, the students who participated in the focus groups were representative of the sample of the questionnaire participants. I had intended to hold focus groups of parent/guardian participants, however, there were not enough parent volunteers. I conducted interviews of community leaders, community activists, and educators in person at mutually agreed upon locations.

Student and parent participants completed questionnaires in May of 2015, following standardized testing, as per the agreement with the school district. I held focus groups the week after teachers administered the questionnaire. I conducted interviews with community leaders, community activists, and educators in the summer and fall of 2015. Transcripts of the student focus groups did not contain participants' names or identifying information. I substituted aliases for interview participants' names on the transcripts and in the text of this dissertation. Individual results of this study remained confidential and anonymous.

Protecting Participants, Benefits/Risks, Dissemination of Results

Students, parents, and other adult participants had no direct benefit from participating in the study, other than the knowledge that they had used their political voices to express their views about pertinent topics that affected their communities. I provided adult participants information regarding the results of the study when it was completed. Teachers shared some general results of the student questionnaires with students prior to the end of the 2015-16 school year.

There were some potential benefits to society. The new information generated by this study could have been used to identify specific areas of strength and deficit in political efficacy and expected civic engagement. School districts could have used findings from this study to guide the development of civics curricula and educational/extracurricular programs to increase positive political attitudes and political action of adolescents and young adults. Community leaders and policy makers, likewise, could have used this information to inform decisions as to how to involve young people and encourage them to become more politically engaged. This study was significant because information about the political attitudes and expected civic engagement of these adolescents could lead to programs and policies to promote higher levels of political participation. Ultimately, greater political participation of all groups of citizens could serve to combat racial and socioeconomic inequality in the United States.

Students may have received credit or extra credit from their teachers for participation in the student questionnaire. In addition, they may have been awarded "Comet Cash" or other school-based currency that could have been used to purchase an

item from the snack bar (at the discretion of each site leader). Snacks and drinks were available to participants of the focus groups.

Student or adult participants may have felt uncomfortable responding to certain questions related to political attitudes, trust in institutions, views about access to opportunities, or civic engagement. Although neither the questionnaire, nor the focus group or interview questions, specifically referred to events in Ferguson or factors precipitating conditions there, participants could have made their own connections to their experiences, causing stress or discomfort. I collected data related to potentially sensitive topics: information about political attitudes, possible participation in political protest, involvement in a religious group, and income (adults only). Consent forms clearly stated that participation was voluntary and students and adults could withdraw at any time. Likewise, participants could have skipped questions on the questionnaire or refrained from responding to questions in focus groups or interviews.

I took measures to protect participants' confidentiality, explained in the "Statistical Procedures" section of this chapter. In summary, I assigned a unique identification number to each student participant who completed the questionnaire. Parent/guardian participants used the same identification number, so that I could link their responses to their children. After I verified student demographic information and entered STAR Reading scores, I removed student names from the spreadsheet containing the questionnaire data results. I stored the document with the names and identification numbers, as well as all consent forms, in a separate location. I kept names of participants in focus groups and interviews separate from the data gathered from those sessions. I

stored research notes and other non-electronic documents in a locked file cabinet off district property. Electronic data was password protected on a personal computer.

I made results of the research available to Dr. Farhad Jadali, Assistant Superintendent of Research and Evaluation, who approved the study on behalf of the Ferguson-Florissant School District, prior to the publication of the dissertation. I also informed Dr. Paulina Koršňáková, Director of the IAE Secretariat, Dr. Wolfram Schulz, Civics Education researcher and an author of the ICCS Student Questionnaire, and Dr. Judith Punta-Torney, Civics Education researcher and an author of the IAE CIVED Study Student Questionnaire of the completion of the study. I provided these people with an abbreviated description of purpose and results. I sent an email to interview participants with the same information.

Null Hypotheses and Research Questions:

H_0 1: There is no difference between the results of Ferguson-Florissant student participants on the survey and the results of American students who participated in the AIE CIVED Study.

H_0 2: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of gender.

H_0 3: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of race.

H_0 4: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of socioeconomic status (SES).

H_0 5: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of literacy level.

H_0 6: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of location within the district.

H_0 7: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of parental attitudes.

RQ1: What are adolescents' perceptions of their own political efficacy, including trust in institutions, attitudes about political systems, and equality of opportunities?

RQ2: What are adolescents' perceptions of citizenship and civic participation?

RQ3: What are adolescents' perceptions of their own school efficacy?

RQ4: What is the extent of adolescents' expected political participation?

RQ5: What aspects of student personal and social background, such as gender, race, socioeconomic background, and literacy level, are related to adolescents' political efficacy?

RQ6: How do parental attitudes about political efficacy/civic engagement impact students' perceptions of their own political efficacy?

Statistical Procedures: Mixed-Methods Approach

I employed an explanatory mixed-methods approach, thus I used the qualitative data collected through focus groups and personal interviews to explain the quantitative results from the student questionnaire. I ran a series of statistical tests to determine differences between groups of students, in fulfillment of answering the hypotheses outlined in this chapter. The qualitative methods in the design of the study were not intended to influence the results of the quantitative portion, but to support or refute data gleaned through those processes, as well as investigate some of the underlying themes that influenced student responses (Fraenkel, Wallen & Hynn, 2011). In Chapter Five, I triangulated the results of the different components of the research design and expounded upon possible implications of this work.

Quantitative methods. I performed a series of parametric and non-parametric tests to determine if there was a difference in responses and means. To compare the

Ferguson-Florissant School District (FFSD) participants' responses to those of the CIVED Study participants, I used the *z*-Test of Proportions and chi-square Goodness of Fit Test. The *z*-Tests of Proportions revealed whether the proportions, or percentages, of respondents with positive responses were the same between the two groups. The Goodness of Fit contingency table tests considered the entire range of responses (i.e. 'Strongly disagree,' 'Disagree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree') of the FFSD students (observed values) to determine whether responses were a "good fit" with the CIVED participants (expected values) for each question.

In order to test whether or not one's perception of political efficacy was independent of student demographic variables (gender, race, literacy level, and location in relation to the protest areas), I ran a series of *z*-Tests of Proportions and chi-square Tests of Independence. I elected to run both tests for each question to elicit richer results. The *z*-Tests of Proportions allowed me to see if the proportions of those answering questions in the affirmative was the same between the two groups that I was comparing. The chi-square Tests of Independence offered additional information by also taking into account the intensity of responses for each question. Together, these two series of tests offered a comprehensive picture of the differences between the demographic groups in student responses to the questions.

Finally, to determine whether one's perception of political efficacy is independent of parental attitudes, I used Goodman and Kruskal's Gamma Statistic, which allowed me to find correlations of ordinal data between students and their parents. More detailed explanations of each statistical procedure are found below.

Test of proportions. In preparing the data to run the *z*-Tests of Proportions, I combined the different levels of positive responses for each group I was comparing to come up with a count for each. For instance, in the question "People should have the right to express opinions," I grouped responses of 'Agree' and 'Strongly agree' together to get an overall count of those who answered the question positively. Doing this for both groups allowed me to calculate a percentage of each that answered positively, and these were the proportions that I tested using the *z*-Test of Proportions.

Test of independence. To run the chi-squared Tests of Independence, I used the whole spectrum of data, keeping the different levels of responses distinct. For instance, most of the questions had four levels of responses: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. I ran the Tests of Independence using contingency tables with columns for each of those four responses. This allowed me to investigate whether or not there were differences in the levels of responses between the two groups I was comparing, rather than whether or not they both answered positively to the questions.

Goodness of fit test. I used the chi-square Goodness of Fit test to determine how well the responses of FFSD students on the CIVED student questionnaire matched those of the 2,811 American students who participated in the original CIVED Study. Again, I used the whole spectrum of the data, including the various levels of responses. The Goodness of Fit test uses the distribution of responses in a sample and compares it to an expected distribution – in this case, the historical responses of the CIVED. The differences between these distributions are calculated and the test allowed me to determine whether or not the two distributions were statistically different.

Gamma statistic. In order to determine how well the students' views on political attitudes matched those of their parents, I needed a test that would allow me to analyze ordinal data for such a correlation, and so the Pearson Product Moment Correlation was inadequate. I chose to use the Gamma statistic, which Goodman and Kruskal developed to accommodate non-parametric data. This test computes the degree to which the responses of two subjects – in my case, a student and his or her parent – are in line with each other. It does so by utilizing a cross-tabulation of the responses and calculating the number of agreements and inversions among the responses. These sums fold into the Gamma statistic, which ranges from -1 (perfect inverse correlation) to 1 (perfect correlation).

Qualitative methods. I chose to use a mixed methods approach to this study because I hoped to validate and further explain the quantitative results from the student questionnaire. The qualitative component of this work included student focus groups and adult interviews.

Focus groups – Students. Students volunteered to participate in focus groups, therefore, the sampling was self-selective. The 16 focus group participants were representative of the demographic breakdown of the questionnaire participants, which is to say the racial and gender make-up of the groups were similar. Focus group participants also represented varying reading levels and locations within the district relative to the protest areas in Ferguson. Some students who returned consent forms could not participate due to scheduling conflicts.

The focus group questions were open-ended and the process of conducting the focus groups was semi-structured. After I asked the first question, student discussion

guided the order of questions and follow-up questions, with each group of students touching upon every component of the research questions. Each focus group completed the discussion of topics in approximately one hour. Eight students participated in the first focus group and four students participated in each of the two focus groups that followed. I held focus groups the week following completion of the questionnaire on three separate days during school hours.

I recorded the discussions using an audio recording device and a scribe took notes. I transcribed the recordings of the focus groups, categorized data into analytic files or themes, synthesized the information to answer the research questions, and coded the results. Once I divided the research material into themes, I pulled out relevant quotations and short exchanges that offered meaning to students' attitudes and perceptions. Finally, I interpreted the focus group results within the broader scope of the study (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

The results of the focus groups served, in large part, to validate the student questionnaire I used in this study. AIE researchers had previously employed this instrument in more extensive studies with far more participants, and I had no reason to believe it was not a valid and reliable assessment. My primary purpose in including focus groups in the design was the collection of data that provide insight into the point of views of young people that I could not obtain in great depth through a questionnaire. As an additional benefit of the focus groups, I was able to determine the extent to which student responses in discussion with one another aligned to the responses of the entire sample of 180 students who participated in the questionnaire.

Interviews – Adults. I contacted community leaders, community activists, and educators with direct experience working with young people in North St. Louis County and St. Louis City. Six of these adults agreed to participate in the study. This purposive sample served to confirm results from the student questionnaire and student focus groups. In instances in which adults shared assumptions about students' attitudes and perspectives did not align to student responses on the questionnaire or focus groups, I pointed out these inconsistencies in my analysis. Adult participants did provide unique perspectives pertaining to differences between young people in different age ranges, as well as changes they had observed over time.

Participants. There were 180 students, 20 parents, and six community leaders included in the sample. Sixteen of the 180 questionnaire respondents also participated in the focus groups. Student participants were eighth grade students at one of the three middle schools in the Ferguson-Florissant School District: Ferguson Middle School, Berkeley Middle School, and Cross Keys Middle School. All data collection involving students took place at Ferguson Middle School, Berkeley Middle School, and Cross Keys Middle School in the Ferguson-Florissant School District. I conducted interviews with adults at various locations in the St. Louis area.

Summary

This was a mixed-methods study of the political attitudes and expected civic engagement of eighth grade students in the Ferguson-Florissant School District. Students in three middle schools, most of them 14-years-old, completed a questionnaire that had been previously utilized in the AIE CIVED study (1999). Results from this study were compared to results from the original CIVED study to determine similarities and

differences between the two groups. I also disaggregated data to test whether gender, race, reading ability, location within the district, or parental attitudes impacted participants' responses to the questionnaire. In order to support or refute data gleaned through the statistical tests, as well as investigate some of the underlying themes that influenced student responses, I held focus groups with students who participated in the questionnaire and interviewed adults who worked closely with youth in the area. The following chapter contains the descriptions and analyses of all of the data compiled from these sources.

Chapter Four: Results

Introduction

This mixed-methods study was designed to investigate the possible relationship between the political efficacy, expected civic engagement, and factors including demographics, reading ability, and parental attitudes of eighth graders in the Ferguson-Florissant School District. For the quantitative component of the study, students completed a questionnaire originally used in the AIE CIVED Study (1999). I employed a series of parametric and non-parametric statistical tests to determine the similarities and differences on political topics of the 180 students in this study with 2,811 American students who participated in the CIVED Study. I also tested demographic differences, including gender, race, literacy, and location within the district, between the students in the study. Additionally, I compared political attitudes of 20 students with their parents, to test the impact of parental views on their adolescent children. Data tables from the quantitative results of the study that demonstrate statistical differences may be found in this chapter in the relevant sections, based on the hypotheses. Comprehensive data tables from the statistical analyses may be found in Appendices A, B, and C. For descriptive data on the responses of student responses on the questionnaire, see Appendix D.

The qualitative component of this study was designed to support or refute the quantitative results on the same topics. Sixteen participants, all of whom had completed the questionnaire, participated in three separate focus groups and responded to a series of questions about political attitudes and expected civic engagement. Also, I interviewed six adults, including educators and community leaders with insight into the perceptions of adolescents in the area where this study was conducted. The results from the student

focus groups and adult interviews may be found in the relevant sections of this chapter, based on the research questions.

Student Characteristics: Ferguson-Florissant School District Participants

Table 4 shows the demographic characteristics of the Ferguson-Florissant students who participated in this study.

Table 4

Ferguson-Florissant Student Characteristics

Total number of students	180	1.000
Gender		
Female	110	0.611
Male	70	0.389
*Race**		
Asian	4	0.022
Black	147	0.817
Hispanic	6	0.033
Mixed Race	7	0.039
White	16	0.089
Literacy		
Below grade level	107	0.594
On/above grade level	63	0.35
No reading data	10	0.056
Location		
Inside protest area	49	0.272
Outside protest area	131	0.728

**Note: FFSD demographic categories based on Missouri's designations*

Quantitative Findings: Comparison to the AIE CIVED Study (1999)

Null $H_0 1$: There is no difference between the results of Ferguson-Florissant student participants on the survey and the results of American students who took participated in the AIE CIVED Study.

Table 5 shows the demographic characteristics of the American students who participated in the CIVED Study in 1999.

Table 5

CIVED Student Characteristics

Total number of students	2,811	1.000
Gender		
Female	1,400	0.498
Male	1,406	0.500
Race		
American Indian/Alaska Native	130	0.046
Asian	147	0.055
Black	518	0.184
Hawaii/Pacific Islander	85	0.030
White	1,811	0.644
Ethnicity		
Hispanic	430	0.153

**Note: CIVED demographic information does not match FFSD categories*

Explanation of Test of Two Proportions and Goodness of Fit Test

In this analysis of the comparison of CIVED and Ferguson-Florissant School District (FFSD) students, I will report z-scores and chi-squared scores to the 100th place, consistent with analysis throughout this text. I will report p-values to the 10,000ths place, as they appear in the tables, rather than to the 1,000ths place, which is standard and used in other sections. Of the 50 questions that both FFSD and CIVED students answered, there were significant differences between the two groups on 26 questions according to the results of the Test of Two Proportions, and significant differences between the two groups on 42 questions according to the results of the Goodness of Fit Test. Due to statistical differences on most questions between the two CIVED and FFSD groups that were evident on both the Test of Proportions and Test of Independence, I rejected the null hypothesis. Because the differences were often so significant, many of them $p < 0.0001$, I think it best to be as specific as possible in reporting results.

The CIVED Study measured civic knowledge, as well as political attitudes on an extensive range of topics. I did not use all of the sections of the participant questionnaire for this study. In addition, the procedures for sampling and administration were not the same. The sections of the questionnaire Ferguson-Florissant School District were limited to the topics relevant to the hypotheses of this study. The data described below include students' responses to questions related to citizenship, opportunities, internal efficacy, external efficacy, trust, youth engagement, and expected adult engagement (see Appendix A for data tables that show the distribution of responses from the Goodness of Fit tests.)

CIVED comparison: Citizenship. I analyzed FFSD and CIVED student responses using the *z*-Test of Two Proportions, which compared positive responses. For example, in the section about Behaviors for Being a Good Adult Citizen, the FFSD and CIVED participants responded to whether they believed that voting was 'Very important' or 'Quite important' as an indicator of good citizenship. The percentage of FFSD students who responded positively was 88.3%, compared to 83.0% of CIVED participants (z = -1.85, p = 0.065), which falls above the confidence level (a = 0.05). This was not a statistically significant difference. It was however, close enough to the confidence level to deserve mention, as are two other questions: obeying the law (z = -1.89, p = 0.059) and violating anti-human rights laws (z = 1.87, p = 0.062).

Of the 14 questions in this section, two results on the Test of Two Proportions indicated a difference between the FFSD and CIVED groups that fell below the confidence level (a = 0.05). As to whether good citizens know their nation's history, 88.0% of FFSD and 73.0% of CIVED students answered positively (z = 4.378, p < 0.0001). In addition, 78.2% of FFSD students answered 'Very important' or 'Quite

important' to whether good citizens follow politics, compared to 64.5% of CIVED students ($z = 3.84$, $p = 0.0002$).

The Goodness of Fit revealed a greater number of differences between the two groups on the Citizenship section. This test compares the distribution of responses on all four answer choices, in this case, 'Very important,' 'Quite important,' 'Not very important,' or 'Not at all important.' On the question as to whether good citizens protect the environment, the percentages of the observed group (FFSD students) who marked each of the four answer choices were similar to the percentages of the expected results (CIVED students); $\chi^2(3, N = 180) = 5.69$, $p = .1277$. This indicated a 'good fit' between the groups on this question because the result of the test did not fall below the confidence level (a = 0.05). The only other question in this section in which the distribution of responses of the FFSD and CIVED participants were not significantly different on the Goodness of Fit test was whether good citizens work hard, although the results nearly fell below the confidence level; $\chi^2(3, N = 178) = 7.20$, p = .0657. Slightly more that 72% of FFSD students said that working hard was 'Very important,' compared to 67.1% of CIVED students.

This series of tests indicated distributions were different on 12 of 14 questions on attitudes about citizens. I will describe details and trends on some of the pertinent questions here. To summarize results of the Goodness of Fit test in this study, more FFSD students answered in the extreme positive ('Very important') and fewer answered in the extreme negative ('Not at all important') on the following questions about behaviors of good citizens: votes, knows nation's history, follows politics, and participates in peaceful protests. The results of the Goodness of Fit test, like the Test of

Two Proportions, revealed differences on the questions about voting and following politics. Results of the questionnaire showed that 1.1% of FFSD students answered this way on the history question, compared to 10.8% of CIVED participants; $\chi^2(3, N = 179) = 23.12, p < 0.0001$. Additionally, 2.8% of FFSD eighth graders responded in the extreme negative as to whether good citizens follow politics, while 13.5% of CIVED participants marked ‘Not at all important’; $\chi^2(3, N = 179) = 22.33, p = 0.0001$.

Only 0.6% of FFSD students said voting was ‘Not at all important’ and 47.2% of them said it was ‘Very important,’ whereas 8.0% of CIVED participant claimed voting was ‘Not at all important’ and 38.0% thought it was ‘Very important’; $\chi^2(3, N = 180) = 18.16, p = 0.0004$. The percentage of ‘Very important’ responses were nearly identical for whether good citizens join a political party, but 3.9% of FFSD students considered it to be ‘Not at all important,’ compared to 22.9% of CIVED respondents; $\chi^2(3, N = 178) = 55.94, p < 0.0001$. The percentage of FFSD students who responded that it was ‘Very important’ for good adult citizens to participate in peaceful protest was only 5.7 points higher than CIVED students. The percentage of FFSD students who indicated peaceful protest was ‘Not at all important,’ however, was 3.3%, compared to 10.3% of CIVED students; $\chi^2(3, N = 180) = 12.8, p = 0.0051$.

A different pattern emerged on the following questions in the Citizenship section: good adult citizens show respect, obey laws, and are patriotic. None of these questions revealed a difference on the Test of Two Proportions, as the percentage of positive (‘Very important’ or ‘Quite important’) were similar. The Goodness of Fit test indicated that the distribution of responses was different on those questions: fewer FFSD students answered ‘Very important’ and fewer FFSD students answered ‘Not at all important’ On the

statement, 'shows respect,' 27.5% of FFSD and 39.1% of CIVED participants responded it was 'Very important,' and 1.7% or FFSD and 7.4% of CIVED participants responded it was 'Not at all important'; $\chi^2(3, N = 178) = 23.91$, $p < 0.0001$. Similarly, while 92% of FFSD students and 95.2% of CIVED participants answered positively to whether good citizens obey laws, the percentages of 'Very important' responses were different between the two groups. For example, among FFSD students, 64.6% considered it very important to obey laws, whereas 86.8% CIVED participants marked this response; $\chi^2(3, N = 175) = 56.91$, $p < 0.0001$. Fewer than 5% of students in either group considered obeying laws 'Not at all important', with only 1.7% FFSD group answering this way. The results of the *z*-Test of Two Proportions and Goodness of Fit tests are shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Behaviors for Being a Good Adult Citizen: FFSD/CIVED Comparison

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test*			
	FFSD	*CIVED*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Votes	0.883	0.830	-1.849	0.0645	3	180	18.159	0.0004
Joins political party	0.461	0.474	-0.336	0.7370	3	178	55.938	< 0.0001
Knows history	0.880	0.730	4.378	< 0.0001	3	179	23.121	< 0.0001
Follows politics	0.782	0.645	3.840	0.0002	3	179	22.331	0.0001
Shows respect	0.809	0.795	0.449	0.6537	3	178	23.912	< 0.0001
Political discussions	0.559	0.581	-0.576	0.5643	3	179	19.933	0.0002
Peaceful protests	0.778	0.722	1.626	0.1039	3	180	12.803	0.0051
Community service	0.836	0.881	-1.772	0.0764	3	177	10.548	0.0144
Promotes human rights	0.860	0.831	-1.004	0.3153	3	178	9.527	0.0230
Protects environment	0.872	0.832	1.365	0.1724	3	180	5.690	0.1277
Works Hard	0.944	0.912	1.477	0.1397	3	178	7.202	0.0657
Obeys laws	0.920	0.952	-1.885	0.0594	3	175	56.907	< 0.0001
Patriotic	0.836	0.852	-0.578	0.5633	3	177	17.345	0.0006
Violates anti-HR law	0.682	0.611	1.866	0.0621	3	176	13.012	0.0046

Note. $\alpha = 0.05$.

CIVED comparison: Opportunities, internal efficacy, external efficacy. There were a series of questions that measured participants' views about access to

opportunities, internal efficacy, and external efficacy. As with each section, I used the *z*-Test of Two Proportions and the chi-squared Goodness of Fit test to compare the responses of Ferguson-Florissant eighth graders and students of the same age who participated in the CIVED Study. The Test of Two Proportions compared positive responses ('Strongly agree' or 'Agree') between the two groups. The Goodness of Fit test measured how closely the distributions of all four response choices were similar. It was possible for the percentage of positive responses to a question to be the same, but for there to be a different distribution of responses. This occurred on the first statement, 'All racial groups should have an equal chance to get good jobs in the United States.' Just over 91% of FFSD students and 90.3% of CIVED participants agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. The Goodness of Fit test, however revealed a significant difference: 71.1% of FFSD respondents answered 'Strongly agree' and 1.1% answered 'Strongly disagree,' whereas 54.4% of CIVED respondents answered 'Strongly agree' and 4.1% of them answered 'Strongly disagree'; $\chi^2(3, N = 179) = 28.28$, $p < 0.0001$.

The Test of Two Proportions and the Goodness of Fit test indicated a significant statistical difference on all the other questions in the Opportunities section. In all cases, more FFSD students answered positively to the questions. Notably, the FFSD students had dramatically different perceptions about the access to opportunities for some groups of people in this country to get a good education or good jobs when they are adults. To the question 'Children who are members of certain racial groups have fewer chances than other children to get a good high school education in the United States,' 54.7% of FFSD answered positively, compared to just 33.3% of CIVED participants; $z = 5.81$, $p < 0.0001$. More FFSD students indicated that 'Children from poor families have fewer

chances than others to get a good high school education in the United States' (58.1%) than CIVED participants (37.7%); $z = 5.41$, $p < 0.0001$. In addition, 54.2% of FFSD believed that 'Adults from certain racial groups have fewer chances than others to get good jobs in this country,' while 41.5% of CIVED participants agreed or strongly agreed with this statement; $z = 3.30$, $p < 0.0001$. With differences this great between the positive responses and negative responses to these questions, it followed that the distributions of all answer choices are also significantly different. For every question in the 'Opportunities' section, the results of the Goodness of Fit test were essentially zero ($p < 0.0001$). In all cases, FFSD students responded, 'Strongly agree' more than their CIVED counterparts and 'Strongly disagree' less than the CIVED group. Extended results of the Goodness of Fit test may be found in the appendix.

The section of the questionnaire that measured internal efficacy yielded different results. On two of the four questions, the FFSD and CIVED participants had the same levels of internal efficacy: 'When political issues or problems are being discussed, I usually have something to say' and 'I am interested in politics.' On the two questions in which positive responses were statistically different, the FFSD students had higher levels of internal political efficacy. As to whether students 'know more about politics than most people my age,' 41.9% of FFSD students answered 'Agree' or 'Strongly agree,' while 29.7% of CIVED participants gave positive responses; $z = 3.41$, $p = 0.0007$. They also considered the question, 'I am able to understand most political issues easily,' with 71.9% of FFSD and 59.9% of CIVED participants answering positively; $z = 3.16$; $p = 0.0016$. On the same two questions, the Goodness of Fit test also resulted in significant differences.

The results of the questions measuring external efficacy were mixed, in that the FFSD and CIVED participants had similar responses when I ran the Test of Two Proportions on all but one question, but statistically different responses on five out of six questions when I ran the Goodness of Fit Test. Both groups responded at rates below 50% that they believe that the 'government cares a lot about what all of us think about new laws' or the 'government is doing its best to find out what people want.' On those two questions, the Goodness of Fit test also revealed a significant difference. On the 'government cares' question, 21.7% of FFSD students 'Strongly disagree(d)' compared to 14.9% of CIVED participants; $\chi^2(3, N = 177) = 8.94$, p = .0300. FFSD students answered 'Strongly disagree' to the 'government is doing its best' at a rate of 20%, while 12.3% of CIVED participants responded in the extreme negative; $\chi^2(3, N = 178) = 11.38$, $p = .0099$.

On one question, 'In this country a few individuals have a lot of political power while the rest of the people have very little power,' there was a significant difference between the FFSD and CIVED participants on both the Test of Two Proportions and the Goodness of Fit test. Sixty-eight percent of FFSD students and 58.5% of CIVED participants answered positively; $z = 2.48$, $p = 0.013$. Additionally, the results of the Goodness of Fit test indicated a difference in the distribution of responses, with more students from FFSD (20%) agreeing strongly with the statement; $\chi^2(3, N = 178) = 12.46$, $p = .0060$.

FFSD and CIVED students were in agreement over whether politician quickly forget the needs of the voters who elected them on the Test of Two Proportions, and the distribution of responses were also the same. On the question 'When people get together

to demand change, the leaders in government listen,' 52.8% of FFSD and 52.4% of CIVED students answered positively. The Goodness of Fit test revealed a difference, however, that was unusual. There were more FFSD students that strongly disagreed with this statement (14.4% compared to 10.0% of CIVED participants), but also more FFSD students who strongly agreed that leaders listen (12.8% compared to 6.7% of CIVED participants); $\chi^2(3, N = 178) = 16.39$, $p = .0009$.

Table 7

Opportunities, Internal Efficacy, External Efficacy: FFSD/CIVED Comparison

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test*			
	FFSD	*CIVED*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Opportunities								
All racial groups equal chances (jobs)	0.911	0.903	0.350	0.7262	3	179	28.282	< 0.0001
Schools should teach respect of all racial groups	0.922	0.842	2.874	0.0041	3	179	26.008	< 0.0001
All racial groups should be encouraged to run for office	0.887	0.818	2.318	0.0205	3	176	22.519	0.0001
Some racial groups have fewer chances (education)	0.547	0.333	5.806	< 0.0000	3	179	48.525	< 0.0001
Poor children have fewer chances (education)	0.581	0.377	5.410	< 0.0000	3	179	59.119	< 0.0001
Some racial groups have fewer chances (jobs)	0.542	0.415	3.302	0.0010	3	177	72.202	< 0.0001
Internal Efficacy								
I know more about politics than others my age	0.419	0.297	3.410	0.0007	3	179	15.897	0.0012
I take part in political discussions	0.587	0.585	0.055	0.9582	3	179	0.848	0.8381
I understand most political issues	0.719	0.599	3.161	0.0016	3	178	11.613	0.0088
I am interested in politics	0.436	0.387	1.294	0.1956	3	179	1.934	0.5862
External Efficacy								
Gov't cares a lot what we think	0.412	0.459	-1.210	0.2263	3	177	8.944	0.0300
Gov't doing its best to find out what people want	0.410	0.484	-1.903	0.0571	3	178	11.376	0.0099
Gov't leaders care very little about people's opinions	0.571	0.530	0.052	0.2927	3	177	23.112	< 0.0001
Few individuals have a lot of political power	0.680	0.585	2.479	0.0132	3	178	12.461	0.0060
Politicians forget voters' needs	0.655	0.641	0.374	0.7083	3	177	0.166	0.9829
Leaders listen when people get together to demand change	0.528	0.524	0.103	0.9182	3	178	16.385	0.0009

Note. $\alpha = 0.05$.

The positive responses to the question, ‘The powerful leaders in government care very little about the opinions of people,’ was similar between the two groups of 14-year-olds, however the Goodness of Fit test revealed a difference, with 22.8% of FFSD students who ‘Strongly agree(d)’ and 13.8% of CIVED participants making that selection. The results of the *z*-Test of Two Proportions and Goodness of Fit tests for these sections are shown in Table 7.

CIVED comparison: Trust. The results of the *z*-Test of Two Proportions, which compared positive responses (“Completely” or “Quite a lot”) as to whether FFSD and CIVED questionnaire participants trusted various groups or institutions, revealed that FFSD students’ levels of trust were significantly lower in seven out of nine groups. Trust in political parties was nearly identical, just over one third, of the two groups, and trust in the media (television, Internet, newspapers, and radio combined) was also statistically the same. Trust of FFSD students in the national government was 18.5 percentage points lower ($z = -4.94$, $p < 0.0001$) and trust in schools was 25.3 percentage points lower ($z = -7.12$, $p < 0.0001$). The most significant differences were trust in the court system ($z = -8.11$, $p < 0.0001$), police ($z = -9.24$, $p < 0.0001$), and local government ($z = -10.27$, $p < 0.0001$). Fewer than half of FFSD students indicated they trusted any of the eight institutions or groups, including people in general who live in America. Notably, the FFSD trusted people in general more than the CIVED participants, which reverses the trend of a lower lack of trust in the other groups; $z = 2.69$, $p = 0.0072$.

The Goodness of Fit test also revealed differences in trust between the FFSD and CIVED participants for seven of nine of the institutions and groups. Just as there was no difference in trust in political parties on the Test of Two Proportions, there was no

difference in the distribution of responses. Likewise, there was not a significant difference in the distribution of responses between both sets of respondents on trust in people in general, though more FFSD students answered positively. The results of the Goodness of Fit tests, like those of the Test of Proportions, indicated that the greatest difference in trust levels were in the court system ($\chi^2(3, N = 180) = 73.94$, $p < 0.0001$), police ($\chi^2(3, N = 180) = 132.49$, $p < 0.0001$), and local government ($\chi^2(3, N = 179) = 125.29$, $p < 0.0001$). With double-digit differences in positive responses, it followed that the distribution of all answer choices would be different. In the three instances, the percentage of FFSD students who did not trust those institutions or groups at all was higher and the percentage of students who trusted them completely was lower. The results for trust in the police illustrated this point: 36.7% of FFSD students trusted police 'Not at all,' while 8.9% of CIVED participants answered that way. The results of the *z*-Test of Two Proportions and Goodness of Fit tests for these sections are shown in Table 8.

Table 8

Trust in Groups or Institutions: FFSD/CIVED Comparison

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test*			
	FFSD	*CIVED*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
National government	0.461	0.646	-4.943	< 0.0001	3	178	30.230	< 0.0001
Local government	0.341	0.710	-10.270	< 0.0001	3	179	125.287	< 0.0001
Court system	0.400	0.693	-8.108	< 0.0001	3	180	73.940	< 0.0001
Police	0.294	0.640	-9.244	< 0.0001	3	180	132.487	< 0.0001
Political parties	0.369	0.363	0.131	0.8721	3	179	0.366	0.9473
Congress	0.458	0.662	-5.511	< 0.0001	3	179	35.231	< 0.0001
The media*	0.494	0.533	-1.004	0.3154	3	178	31.104	< 0.0001
Schools	0.458	0.711	-7.116	< 0.0001	3	178	12.243	0.0066
People in general	0.458	0.358	2.686	0.0072	3	178	4.543	0.2084

Note. $\alpha = 0.05$.
The media = television, Internet, newspapers, radio

CIVED comparison: Expected adult engagement and youth engagement. The final section of the questionnaire that both FFSD and CIVED participants answered measured attitudes about their own political engagement. There were two parts: the extent to which they expected to be politically active as adults and the political activities in which they planned to be engaged in the next few years. On the four questions that measured expected adult engagement, there were two questions that FFSD and CIVED students answered similarly. These were students' expectations to vote in a national election (84.7% of FFSD, 83.4% of CIVED) and expectations to research political candidates (81.6% of FFSD, 78.5% of CIVED). When I conducted the Goodness of Fit test on these questions, however, there was a difference. In both cases, more FFSD students answered in the extreme positive and fewer answered in the extreme negative. For example, more FFSD students indicated they would definitely vote in a national election (52.3%) than CIVED students (38.6%); $\chi^2(3, N = 178) = 12.46$, $p = .0060$.

On the other two questions, the Test of Two Proportions resulted in *p*-values of essentially zero. FFSD participants were significantly more likely to join a political party (54.9%) than CIVED participants (28.6%); $z = 7.29$, $p < 0.0001$. Likewise, 45.7% of FFSD answered 'I will probably do this' or 'I will definitely do this' to whether they would be a candidate in a local election; z = 8.15, p < 0.0001. The results of the Goodness of Fit test also indicated a significant difference on both of those questions.

There were seven questions about youth engagement. According to results from the Test of Two Proportions, there were statistically significant differences on all seven questions. There were double-digit percentage differences on the number of FFSD and CIVED students who answered positively on these questions: collect money to support a

cause ($z = 4.96$, $p < 0.0001$), participate in a peaceful protest ($z = 7.56$, $p < 0.0001$), spray-paint protest slogans ($z = 4.77$, $p < 0.0001$), and occupy public buildings ($z = 6.61$, $p < 0.0001$). FFSD students were also more likely to volunteer in the community, collect signatures for a petition, and block traffic (Table 9).

The Goodness of Fit test yielded similar results, with more FFSD students answering ‘I will definitely do this’ and fewer FFSD students answering ‘I will definitely not do this’ than their CIVED counterparts, on six of eight questions. Even though 27.5% of FFSD students said they would definitely volunteer their time to help people in the community, compared to 20.6% of CIVED students, the distribution of responses of both groups did not constitute a significant difference. On the other seven questions, there was a difference according to the Goodness of Fit test. On two questions about unconventional political activities, spray-paint protest slogans on walls and block traffic as a form of protest, the distributions of responses were different, but the percentage of students who said they would definitely engage in those activities were the same. Just over 6% of FFSD and 6.7% of CIVED students answered in the extreme positive on spray-painting protest slogans. Likewise, 5.6% of both FFSD and CIVED students would definitely block traffic as a form of protest. The results of the z-Test of Two Proportions and Goodness of Fit tests for these sections are shown in Table 9.

Table 9

Expected Adult Engagement, Youth Engagement: FFSD/CIVED Comparison

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test*			
	FFSD	*CIVED*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Expected Adult Engagement								
Vote in a national election	0.847	0.834	0.449	0.6535	3	176	19.605	0.0002
Get information about candidates	0.816	0.785	0.965	0.3344	3	174	9.233	0.0264
Join a political party	0.549	0.286	7.286	< 0.0001	3	175	62.822	< 0.0001
Be a candidate in local elections	0.457	0.195	8.147	< 0.0001	3	175	77.931	< 0.0001
Youth Engagement								
Volunteer in the community	0.764	0.717	1.348	0.0178	3	178	6.21	0.1018
Collect money for cause	0.782	0.594	4.962	< 0.0001	3	179	38.961	< 0.0001
Collect signatures for a petition	0.582	0.499	2.127	0.0340	3	177	19.601	0.0002
Participate in a peaceful protest	0.693	0.401	7.555	< 0.0001	3	176	70.392	< 0.0001
Spray-paint protest slogans	0.294	0.156	4.768	< 0.0001	3	177	49.618	< 0.0001
Block traffic	0.235	0.147	3.657	0.0003	3	179	23.849	< 0.0001
Occupy public buildings	0.335	0.147	6.608	< 0.0001	3	179	54.066	< 0.0001

Note. $\alpha = 0.05$.

Quantitative Findings: Student Variables

In order to test whether or not one's perception of political efficacy is independent of student demographic variables, including gender, race, literacy level, and location in relation to the protest areas, I ran a series of *z*-Tests of Proportions and chi-square Tests of Independence. I elected to run both tests for each question to elicit richer results. The *z*-Tests of Proportions allowed me to see if the proportions of those answering questions in the affirmative is the same between genders. The chi-square tests offered additional information by also taking into account the intensity of responses for each question. Together, these two series of tests offered a rich picture of the differences between the genders as they relate to these questions (see Appendix B for comprehensive data tables for both tests of student variables).

Student variables: Gender. Null $H_0 2$: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of gender.

To test this null hypothesis, I used the *z*-Test of Proportions and the chi-squared Test of Independence for each question. The full results of the z-Test of Two Proportions and Test of Independence are found on the tables titled *Student Variables: Gender* in Appendix B. Due to statistical differences on some questions between the two groups that were evident on both the Test of Proportions and Test of Independence, I rejected the null hypothesis and determined that elements of one's political efficacy were dependent on gender.

Test of proportions. To prepare the data to run the *z*-Tests of proportions, I combined the different levels of positive responses for each gender to come up with a count for each. For instance, in the question 'People should have the right to express opinions,' I grouped responses of 'Agree' and 'Strongly agree' together to get an overall count of those who answered the question positively. Doing this for both genders allowed me to calculate a percentage of each with affirmative responses to each question, and these were the proportions that I tested using the *z*-Test.

The results of the *z*-Test of two Proportions may be found on the tables titled *Student Variables: Gender* in Appendix B. In the tables, it is possible to see all proportions for females and males for each question. In Table 10, only the differences between the two groups are shown. For instance, on the first question in the Activities Outside of School section, 43.8% of females talked to their parents about politics, compared to 29.9% of males. While a difference of nearly 13 percentage points may seem to be noteworthy, it was not statistically significant, because the *p*-value ($z = 1.83$, p = 0.068) fell above the 95% confidence level (a = 0.05).

When I tested whether political efficacy and political attitudes were independent of gender, there were four instances out of 100 questions in which the z-Test of Two Proportions produced significantly different results. More female respondents (37.1%) participated in a church youth group outside of school than males (21.7%); $z = 2.15$, $p = 0.032$. In the section on Views on Society, males had significantly higher positive responses (44.3%) than females (28.2%) to the statement 'The police should have the right to hold people suspected of threatening national security in jail without trial'; $z = 2.22$, $p = 0.027$.

There were two questions in the section of the survey about expected political engagement. In the subsection titled Youth Engagement, 81.7% of females would definitely or probably volunteer in the community during the next few years, compared to 68.1% of males; $z = 2.08$, $p = 0.034$. Females also answered positively to the expectation to talk to others about politics (females - 77.8%, males - 61.4%); $z = 2.36$, $p = 0.018$.

Test of independence. To run the chi-squared Tests of Independence, I used the whole spectrum of data, keeping the different levels of responses distinct. For instance, most of the questions had four levels of responses: strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree. I ran the Tests of Independence using contingency tables with columns for each of those four responses. This allowed me to investigate whether or not there were differences in the distribution of responses between the genders, rather than whether or not they both answered positively to the questions.

In most cases, the analyses revealed that the responses to the questions were independent of gender. However, responses were dependent on gender on three questions. In the section about Views on Society, 92.7% of females and 94.3% of males

responded that people should have the right to express political opinions, which is statistically the same. The distribution of responses (Strongly disagree, Disagree, Agree, Strongly agree) were statistically different; $\chi^2(3, N = 180) = 8.75$, $p = .033$. For example, 66.4% of females answered 'Strongly agree' that people should have the right to express their opinion, while 50% of males responded in the extreme positive.

For the question involving the effectiveness of peaceful protests, including rallies, marches, and demonstrations, there was no statistical difference in positive answers: 69.7% of females and 67.1% of males suggested that these protests were effective. However, according to the Test for Independence, there was a significant difference in the distribution of response; $\chi^2(3, N = 179) = 8.73$, $p = .033$. In this case, 41.3% of female students strongly agreed that peaceful protests were effective, while only 21.4% of males strongly agreed.

The Citizenship section contained one question in which both the *z*-Test of Two Proportions and the chi-squared Test for Independence revealed a statistical difference. Males responded that good citizens learn our nation's history at a rate of 97.1%, whereas 82.1% of females responded positively; $z = -2.98$, $p = 0.003$. The Test for Independence demonstrated a difference in distribution of responses, as well: $\chi^2(3, N = 175) = 14.45$, $p = .002$. The results of the *z*-Test of Two Proportions and contingency tests for gender are shown in Table 10.

Table 10

Student Variables – Gender Statistical Differences

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	female	*Male*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Activities Outside of School								
Participating in a church youth group	0.371	0.217	2.148	0.0317	3	174	5.286	0.1520
Views on Society								
Right to express opinions	0.927	0.943	-0.420	0.6748	3	180	8.752	0.0328
Police should be able to hold suspects (national security)	0.282	0.443	-2.216	0.0267	3	180	5.272	0.1530
Citizenship								
Learns nation's history	0.821	0.971	-2.984	0.0028	3	175	14.453	0.0023
Youth Engagement								
Talk to others about politics	0.778	0.614	2.364	0.0181	3	178	6.408	0.0934
Volunteer in the community	0.817	0.681	2.082	0.0373	3	178	4.343	0.2267
Effectiveness of Political Action								
Marches, rallies, demonstrations	0.697	0.671	0.366	0.7143	3	179	8.731	0.0331

Note α = 0.05

Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of student responses on questions in which there were statistical differences according to the chi-squared Contingency tests.

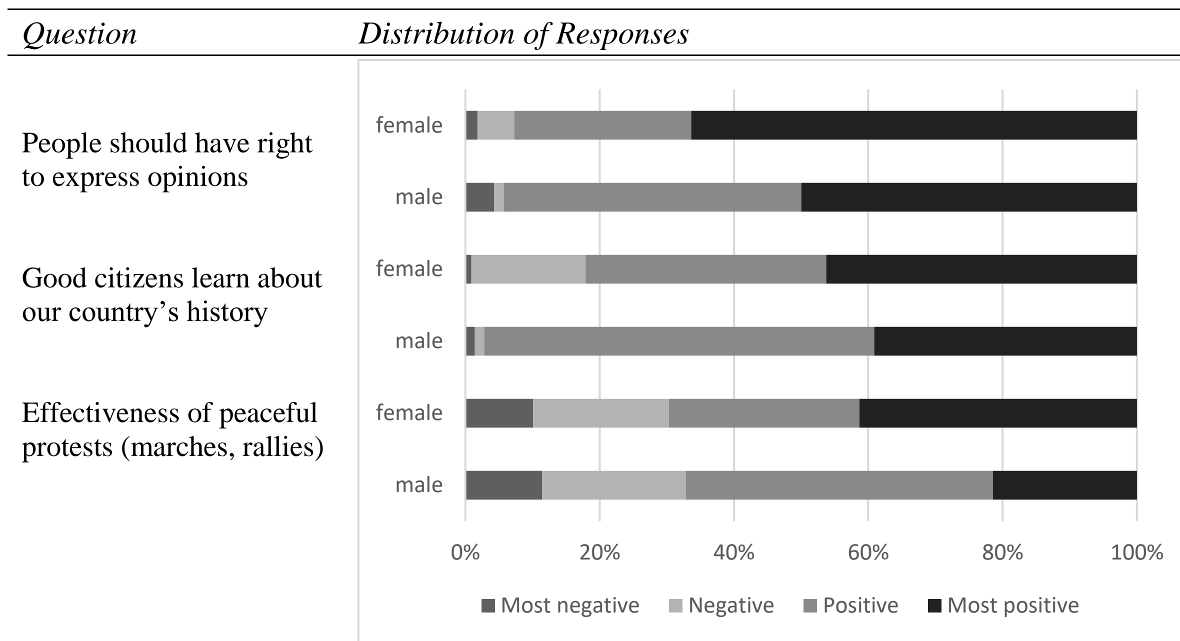
Question	*Distribution of Responses*
People should have right to express opinions Good citizens learn about our country's history Effectiveness of peaceful protests (marches, rallies)	

Figure 1. Chi-square contingency test results: Gender statistical differences.

Student variables: Race. To test this null hypothesis, I used the *z*-Test of Proportions and the chi-squared Test of Independence for each question.

Null $H_0$3: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of race.

In order to test whether or not one's perception of political efficacy is independent of race, I ran a series of *z*-Tests of Proportions and chi-square Tests of Independence. I would have preferred to compare each race, however there were not enough participants who were not Black to be able run tests for White, Hispanic, and Mixed Race participants separately. One limitation of this was that most of the Mixed Race students had a parent who was Black. In this study, I had to include Mixed Race students in the 'not Black' category, despite the fact that their political attitudes may have been influenced by family experiences. This may be problematic for researchers who are interested in the differences between White respondents and Black respondents or White respondents and students of color. Again, it was not possible to run those tests. On the issues in which responses were actually dependent on race, and the null hypothesis is rejected, it meant that there was a significant statistical difference with a confidence level above 0.95 (a= 0.05) between Black students as one group and White, Hispanic, and Mixed Race as another group. Researchers on the topic of race and political efficacy and expected civic engagement may find that compelling, despite the limitations.

I elected to run both tests for each question to elicit richer results. The *z*-Tests of Proportions allowed me to see if the percentage of those answering questions in the affirmative was the same between Black students and students who were not Black. The chi-square Tests of Independence offered additional information by also taking into account the range of responses for each question. Together, these two series of tests

offered a thorough picture of the differences by race on these questions. The full results of the z-Test of Two Proportions may be found on the tables titled *Student Variables: Race* in Appendix B. Those tables show all proportions for Black students and other students (not Black) for each question. Due to statistical differences on some questions between the two groups that were evident on both the Test of Proportions and Test of Independence, I rejected the null hypothesis and determined that elements of one's political efficacy were dependent on race.

Test of proportions. When I tested whether political efficacy and topic related to political attitudes were independent of race, there were eight instances out of 100 questions in which the z-test of two proportions produced significantly significant results. Table 11, at the end of this section, shows only the results in which there was a statistical difference. Outside of school, Black respondents participated in a church youth group (34.5%), whereas respondents of other races did so at a significantly lower rate (15.6%); $z = 2.88$, $p = 0.034$. Likewise, Black students were more likely to expect that they would wear a badge or t-shirt expressing their opinion (78.1%) than other students (57.6%); $z = 2.43$, $p = 0.015$. Student responses on the effectiveness of political action were statistically similar, with the exception of participants' perceptions of the effectiveness of working in a local action group. Black students did not consider that to be effective (58.9%) as students who were not Black (78.8%); $z = -2.13$, $p = 0.033$.

In the section about Trust in Groups or Institutions, Black students had significantly lower positive responses to whether they trusted the police (25.9%) than students who were not Black (45.5%); $z = -2.23$, $p = 0.026$. Trust in local government and trust in the court systems did not meet the threshold for a statistical difference (a =

0.05), however the results of the z-Test of Proportions very nearly yielded that responses to those questions were dependent on race. For example, 43.4% of Black students indicated they trusted local government, compared to 57.6% of students of other races; $z = -1.94$, $p = 0.053$. Similarly, 36.7% of Black students trusted the court system, whereas 54.5% of students who were not Black answered in the affirmative; $z = -1.89$, $p = 0.059$. While it is not customary to share results that do not meet the threshold of a .95 confidence interval, I have pointed them out because of the limitation of grouping Mixed Race students with students who were not Black. If even one of the seven students who were Mixed Race identified with Black family members on these particular questions of trust in the court system or local government, the results would likely have yield p-values equal to or below 0.05.

There were four questions in the section about Opportunities, Internal Efficacy, and External Efficacy, with three of the four related to external efficacy, in which student responses were dependent on race. In the Opportunities subsection, 58.2% of Black participants ‘Agreed’ or ‘Strongly agreed’ that ‘Children who are members of certain racial groups have fewer chances than other children to get a good high school education in the United States’ compared to 39.4% of students of other races; $z = 1.96$, $p = 0.05$. The questions related to external efficacy highlighted the greatest statistical differences when testing the student variable of race. The results showed that Black students had significantly lower positive responses to the questions, ‘The government cares a lot about what all of us think about new laws’ ($z = -2.12$, $p = 0.034$) and ‘The government is doing its best to find out what people want’ ($z = -2.53$, $p = 0.011$). Results were very similar between Black students and other students for whether government cares very little about

people's opinions (Black - 57.2%; not Black - 56.3%) and leaders listen when people get together to demand change (Black - 53.1%; not Black - 51.5%).

Another indicator of external efficacy was the question, 'In this country a few individuals have a lot of political power while the rest of the people have very little power.' Tests indicated that the responses to this question was dependent on race, but in this case, students who were not Black had significantly higher positive responses, with a proportion of 84.% compared to 64.1% of Black participants ($z = 2.30$, $p = 0.021$). Also, 78.8% of students of other races 'Agree(d)' or 'Strongly agree(d)' that politicians quickly forget the needs of the voters who elected them, compared to 64.1%, a difference of over 14% percentage points, but not statistically significant when a = 0.05 ($z = 1.77$, $p = 0.076$).

Political attitudes related to views on society, behaviors of adult citizens, internal efficacy, expected adult political engagement, and views on religion were independent of race. All proportions can be seen in the table, however I will point out some of the questions in which at least 85% of students of all racial backgrounds agreed or strongly agreed. In the Views on Society section, over 85% of both groups (Black, not Black) believed that people should have the right to express their opinions, all people should have their rights respected, people should be free to speak up against the government, people should be able to elect their leaders freely, people should be able to protest an unfair law, people should be able to stand up for their rights, and political protests should never be violent. At least 85% of students, regardless of race, indicated that voting, learning their nation's history, protecting the environment, working hard, and obeying laws were behaviors of good adult citizens. A vast majority (over 85%) of Black students

and students from other races said that all racial groups should have equal chances to get a good education, should be encouraged to run for public office, and should have equal rights and responsibilities. Students from both groups also 'Agree(d)' or 'Strongly agree(d)' at a rate of over 90% that schools should teach students to respect members of all racial groups, with 100% of students who were not Black responding positively to this question. Finally, in the section about Expected Adult Engagement, most students from all racial backgrounds intended to vote as adults, with 85.4% of Black students planning to vote in both local and national elections. Among students of other races, 87.5% expected to vote in local elections, and 81.3% expected to vote in national elections.

Test of independence. To run the chi-squared Tests of Independence, I used the whole spectrum of data, keeping the different levels of responses distinct. For instance, the questions had four levels of responses. The response choices depended on the section. For example, in most sections, the range of responses ran from 'Strongly disagree' to 'Strongly agree,' however, in the Trust section, the range of responses were 'Not at All' to 'Completely.' I ran the chi-squared Tests of Independence using contingency tables with columns for each of the four responses that ranged from the most negative response to the most positive response. This allowed me to investigate whether or not there were differences in the distribution of responses between the races, rather than whether or not they both answered positively to the questions. Of the 100 questions, analysis of the Test for Independence indicated there were ten responses that were dependent on race.

In the section 'Outside of School,' the two questions related to participating in youth groups outside of school. The response choice on this section were 'Never or

hardly ever,' 'Monthly,' 'Weekly,' or 'Daily or almost daily.' There was a statistical difference in participation of students who were Black and those who were not Black who participated in a youth group (such as boy scouts or girl scouts, YMCA, Rec Center, or a club); $\chi^2(3, N = 172) = 8.19$, $p = .042$. The percentage of positive responses were the same, with 34.3% of Black students and 31.3% of students of other races participated in youth groups that were not related to churches. However, of that 34.3%, 16.4% of Black students indicated that they participated 'Daily or almost daily,' as compared to zero students who were not Black. Participation in church related youth groups was statistically different in proportions of students with positive responses, according to the *z*-Test for Two Proportions, and the difference in distribution of responses was also significant; $\chi^2(3, N = 174) = 8.12$, p = .044. Results showed that 75% of students who were not Black 'Never or hardly ever' participated in church youth groups and only 3.1% of these students participated 'Daily or almost daily.' Among Black students, 49.3% did not participate in church youth groups at all, but 18.3% claimed participation at the most active level.

Views on Society were similar among students who were Black and those who were not in terms of positive responses, however there was one question in which the distribution of responses was significantly different: 'The police should have the right to hold people suspected of threatening national security in jail without trial'; $\chi^2(3, N = 180) = 9.86$, p = .020. This difference was because 38.1% of Black students 'Strongly disagree(d),' compared to 12.1% of other students.

The Test for Independence revealed differences on participant responses on three questions about trust and external efficacy, which are related constructs, to whether

government is doing its best to find out what people want. The *z*-Test of Proportions also indicated a difference dependent on race on that question, with the rate of students of other races responding positively 24 percentage points higher than the proportion of Black students. The difference in the number of students who responded they 'Strongly disagree(d)' that government was doing its best also contributed to the difference in distribution: 22.8% of Black students and 9.1% of students who were not Black responded in the extreme negative; $\chi^2(3, N = 178) = 8.54$, $p = .036$.

There was also a difference between Black students and students of other racial backgrounds on the questions about trust in the police and trust in the armed forces. Trust in police (also a significant difference in the Test of Proportions) yielded a response that rounded to a *p*-value of zero in terms of the distribution of responses, $\chi^2(3, N = 178) = 18.11$, $p = .000$. Black students answered that they trusted police 'Not at all' at the rate of 40.1% and only 4.8% of them trusted police 'Completely.' This was dramatically different from students of other races, 21.2% of whom did not trust the police at all, but 27.3% of them completely trusted the police. Distribution of responses to the question about trust in the armed forces was also different between Black students and other students; $\chi^2(3, N = 180) = 7.869$, $p = .049$. Nearly twice the percentage of students who were not Black (45.5%) completely trusted the armed forces, including the National Guard.

There were two differences in the area of Expected Youth Engagement and one significant difference in Effectiveness of Political Action. The Test for Independence revealed a difference in whether the two groups of students expected to volunteer in the community, though there was not a difference on the Test of Two Proportions; χ^2(3, N =

178) = 9.329, p = 0.025. Student responses regarding their expectation to spray-paint protest slogans also indicated a difference on the Test for Independence; $\chi^2(3, N = 177) = 11.35$, p = .010. On this question, 27.1% of Black students answered that they would probably do this and 4.2% said they would definitely do this. Among students of other races, only 6.1% of students would probably spray-paint protest slogans, but 15.2% said they would definitely do so.

Table 11

Student Variables – Race Statistical Differences

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	Black	*not Black*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Activities Outside of School								
Participating in a youth group	0.343	0.313	0.324	0.7460	3	172	8.191	0.0422
Participating in a church youth group	0.345	0.156	2.088	0.0368	3	174	8.118	0.0436
Views on Society								
Police should be able to hold suspects (national security)	0.327	0.424	1.060	0.2893	3	180	9.861	0.0198
Opportunities								
Some racial groups fewer chances (education)	0.582	0.94	1.960	0.0500	3	179	4.928	0.1772
External Efficacy								
Gov't doing its best to find out what people want	0.366	0.606	-2.530	0.0114	3	178	8.535	0.0363
Few individuals have a lot of political power	0.641	0.848	-2.300	0.0214	3	178	6.378	0.0946
Trust in Groups or Institutions								
Police	0.259	0.455	-2.232	0.0256	3	180	18.11	0.0004
Armed Forces	0.585	0.667	-0.869	0.3849	3	180	7.869	0.0488
Youth Engagement								
Volunteer in the community	0.789	0.667	1.453	0.1462	3	178	9.329	0.0252
Spray-paint protest slogans	0.313	0.212	1.149	0.2506	3	177	11.35	0.0100
Wear a badge or t-shirt	0.781	0.576	2.434	0.0149	3	179	6.715	0.0816
Effectiveness of Political Action								
Working in local action groups	0.589	0.788	-2.133	0.0329	3	179	10.957	0.0120

Note. $\alpha = 0.05$.

Finally, the difference in the distribution of student responses on whether students considered working in a local action group to be effective was depended on race. There was also a difference on the *z*-Test of Two Proportions. Table 11 shows the results of the z-Test of Two Proportions and the Contingency tests.

Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of student responses on questions in which there were statistical differences according to the chi-squared Contingency tests.

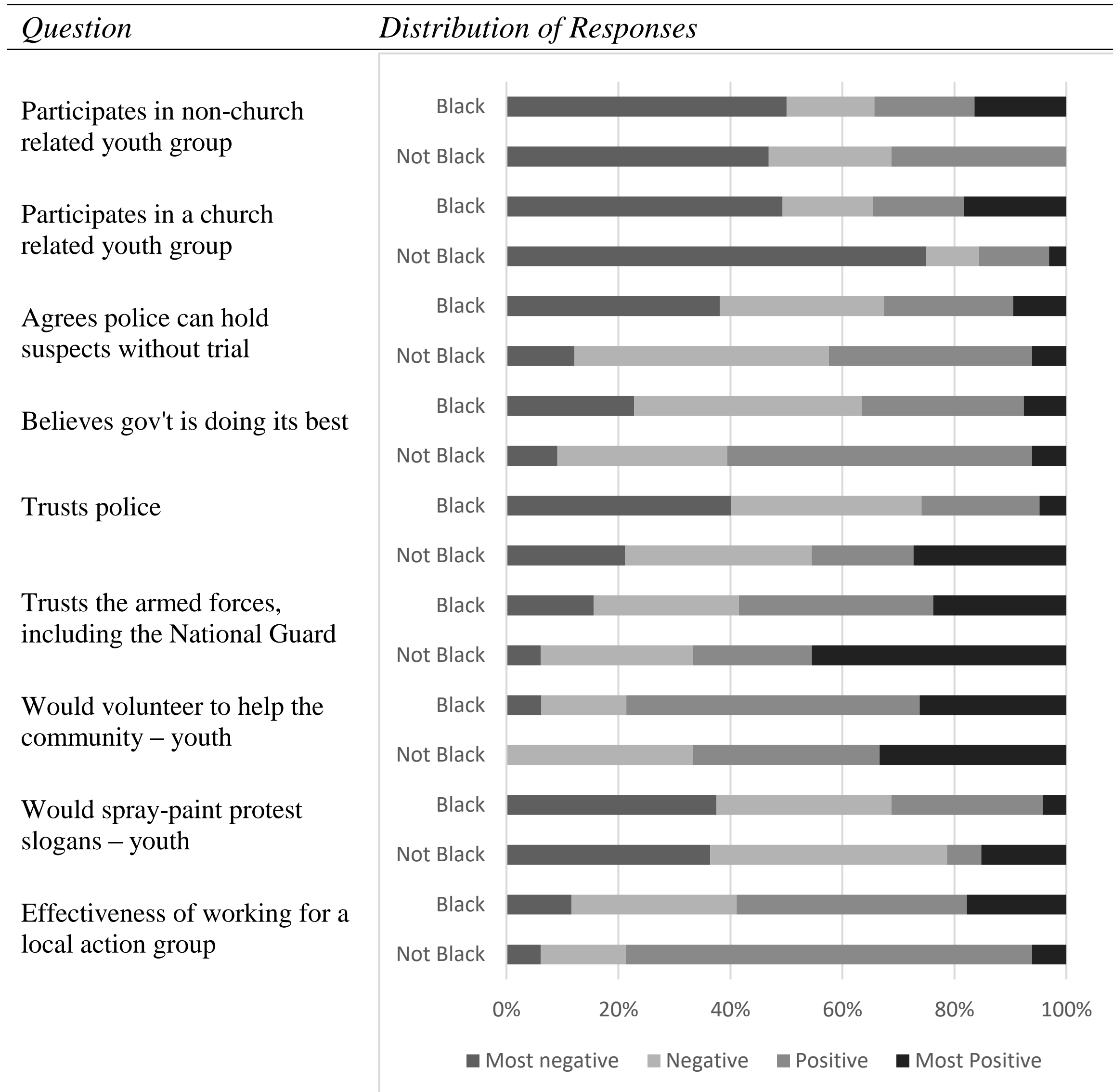


Figure 2. Chi-square contingency test results: Race statistical differences.

Student variables: Socioeconomic status. Null $H_0 4$: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of socioeconomic status (SES).

The original design of this study included socio-economic status as a variable to consider when investigating student perceptions of political efficacy and expected civic engagement. The district was no longer obligated to collect income information as a means of determining free and reduced lunch eligibility for students. Because the state had determined that a high enough percentage of students would qualify, 100% of students received free lunch and breakfast. This prevented access to specific socioeconomic data on students.

Another possible method of obtaining income information was to ask parents for income information on the parent questionnaire. Although 75 parents signed the consent form for participation in the study, only 20 completed the questionnaire. This number of respondents was sufficient for a direct comparison of student and parent responses on political attitudes, but was not sufficient as a means of drawing conclusions about how socioeconomic status affected student perceptions.

Student variables: Literacy. Null $H_0 5$: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of literacy level.

Another variable I tested was the literacy level of survey participants. To do this, I used the reading level of each student who participated in the survey on a STAR Reading Assessment administered in May of 2015. This test assigned a grade equivalent (GE) for reading ability. Students who scored 8.0 or higher were considered to be reading 'at or above grade level' and students who scored below 8.0 were placed in the 'below grade level' group. The *z*-Test of Proportions was used to measure differences in

positive responses between students who could read at grade level and those who could not. The chi-squared Test of Independence compared the entire range of responses on the questions. The full results of the *z*-Test of Two Proportions and Test of Independence may be found in the tables titled *Student Variables: Literacy* in Appendix B. Due to statistical differences on some questions between the two groups that were evident on both the Test of Proportions and Test of Independence, I rejected the null hypothesis and determined that elements of one's political efficacy were dependent on literacy level.

Test of proportions. According to the *z*-Test of Two Proportions, there were no statistical differences in positive responses in the Outside of School or Views on Society sections. In the section titled Behaviors of Being a Good Adult Citizen, more students in the higher reading group responded that willingness to violate a law that violated human rights was a quality of a good citizen (on grade level – 77.0%, below grade level – 61.9%); $z = 2.00$, $p = 0.045$. Although the following behaviors did not meet the degree of confidence, more students reading at or above grade level responded that good citizens follow politics ($z = 1.84$, $p = 0.066$) and obey the law ($z = 1.90$, $p = 0.058$). Students, regardless of literacy level, gave responses that were nearly identical (within two percentage points) on these characteristics of good citizens: voting (on level – 87.3%, below – 88.8%), participating in peaceful protests (on level - 76.2%, below – 77.6%), promoting human rights (on level – 83.9%, below – 85.8%), working hard (on level - 95.2%, below – 93.4%), and patriotism (on level – 82%, below – 84%).

There were two significant differences in the responses of students in the two literacy groups in the subsection measuring internal efficacy, a person's confidence to participate in the political realm. Students who were reading below grade level were less

likely to respond ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly agree’ to the statement ‘I know more about politics than others my age (36.4%) than students who were reading at or above grade level’ (52.4%); z = 2.04, p = 0.041. Also, fewer students in the lower literacy group responded that they had a good understanding of issues facing this country (64.8%), while 79.4% of students in the higher literacy level felt they understood political issues in America; $z = 2.00$, $p = 0.045$. There was a 10 percentage point difference on the statement ‘I have political opinions worth listening to’ (on – 66.1%, below – 55.7%), but this was not statistically significant. There were no differences in external efficacy, views about opportunities, or trust in groups or institutions.

There were also two statistically significant differences in the subsection titled Expected Adult Engagement. While students in both literacy groups expected that they would probably or definitely vote in local elections at essentially the same rate (on – 88.7%, below – 85.6%), students who were reading below grade had lower expectations to vote in national elections (79.8%) than students who were reading at or above grade level (91.9%); $z = 2.08$, $p = 0.038$. Similarly, participants in the lower literacy group were less likely to expect to get information about candidates running for office as adults (76.7%) than those in the higher literacy group (90.2%); $z = 2.16$, $p = 0.031$. Responses in the Expected Youth Engagement section were statistically similar.

When I ran the *z*-Test of Proportions for all student variables (gender, race, location inside or outside the protest area, and literacy) on 100 individual question items, the greatest difference between any two demographic groups was found between the two literacy groups on student responses to two statements. In the section Effectiveness of Political Action, positive responses to the effectiveness of peaceful marches, rallies, and

demonstrations were statistically the same (on – 69.4%, below – 66.4%), there was a 24.5% percentage point difference in positive responses to the effectiveness of illegal protest activity; $z = 3.22$, $p = .001$. More students in the lower reading group (43.9%) considered illegal protest activity to be effective. Another very significant difference, with a *p*-value less than 0.01, had to do with students' views on religion. Only 10.9% of students at or above the eighth grade reading level agreed or strongly agreed that religion should no longer matter in the modern world, while 35.5% of students in the lower literacy group believed this was true; $z = 2.742$, $p = .006$.

Test for independence. To run the chi-squared Tests of Independence, I used the whole spectrum of data, keeping the different levels of responses distinct. Of the 100 questions, analysis of the Test for Independence indicated responses on three questions were dependent on literacy level. In the section about Views on Society, 93.4% of students reading below grade level and 96.8% of students reading at or above grade level 'Agree(d)' or 'Strongly agree(d)' that 'All people should have their social and political rights respected,' which is statistically the same. The distributions, according to the Test for Independence, demonstrated a significant difference; $\chi^2(3, N = 167) = 8.563$, $p = 0.036$. The test revealed that 65.1% of students in the higher literacy group 'Strongly agree(d)' with this statement, compared to 48.1% of students reading below grade level. Students' responses concerning the effectiveness of illegal protest activity, which resulted in a difference on the *z*-Test of Two Proportions, was also significant on this test. Among students in the higher literacy group, 53.3% believed that illegal protests were 'Not at all effective' and 8.3% considered this activity to be 'Very effective.' In the lower literacy group, fewer students responded in the extreme negative (39.3%) and more

students answered in the extreme positive (15.9%); $\chi^2(3, N = 167) = 9.87$, $p = 0.020$. Finally, students from both literacy groups considered whether they believed religion should or should not matter in the modern world. On this question, which was also statistically different on the *z*-Test of Two Proportions, 13.1% of lower level readers 'Strongly agree(d)' that religion should not matter, but no student on reading level answered that way; $\chi^2(3, N = 170) = 9.00$, $p = 0.029$. Table 12 shows the results of the *z*-Test of Two Proportions and the Contingency tests.

Table 12

Student Variables – Literacy Statistical Differences

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	below level	*on level*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Views on Society								
All people should have rights respected	0.934	0.968	-0.952	0.3412	3	167	8.563	0.0357
Citizenship								
Violates anti-human rights laws	0.619	0.77	-2.002	0.0453	3	166	4.296	0.2312
Internal Efficacy								
I know more about politics than others my age	0.364	0.524	-2.039	0.0414	3	170	4.459	0.2159
I understand issues facing our country	0.648	0.794	-2.004	0.0451	3	168	7.171	0.0666
Expected Adult Engagement								
Vote in national elections	0.798	0.919	-2.075	0.0308	3	166	5.08	0.166
Get information about candidates	0.767	0.902	-2.161	0.0307	3	164	5.199	0.1578
Effectiveness of Political Action								
Illegal protest activity	0.439	0.194	3.22	0.0013	3	167	9.866	0.0197
Views on Religion								
Religion should not matter	0.355	0.109	2.742	0.0061	3	170	8.996	0.0293

Note. $\alpha = 0.05$.

Figure 3 illustrates the distribution of student responses on questions in which there were statistical differences according to the chi-squared Contingency tests.

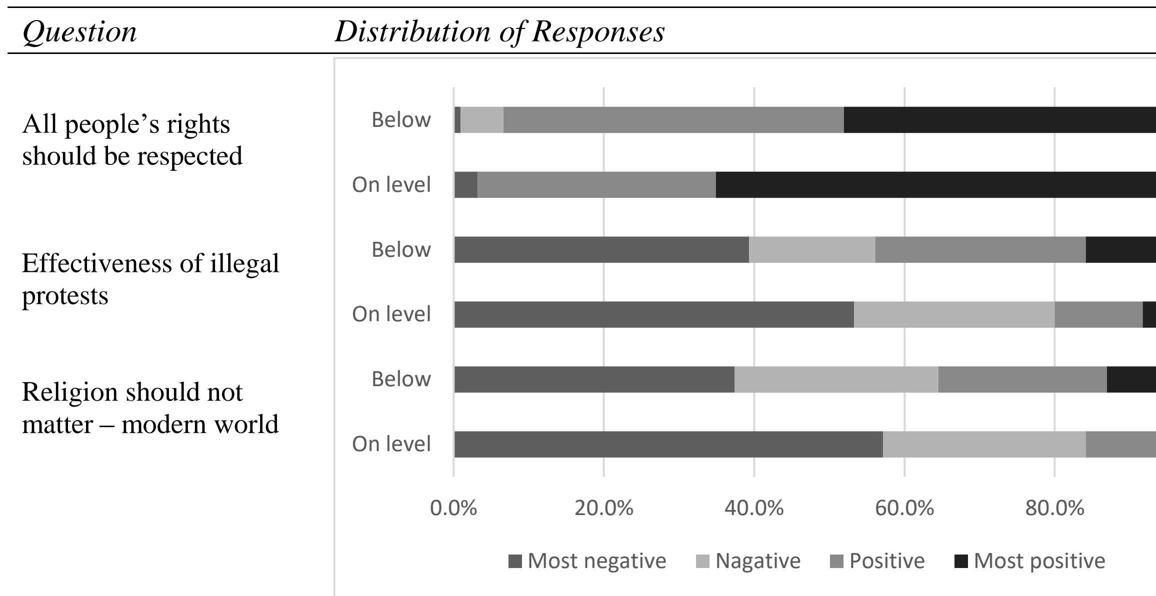


Figure 3. Chi-square contingency test results: Literacy statistical differences.

Student variables: Location. H_06: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of location within the district.

There were two locations in which most protest action took place: West Florissant Road, near the Canfield Apartments where Michael Brown was shot, and South Florissant Road in front of the Ferguson Police Station. These were both in the southeast section of the school district, bordering the Riverview Gardens and Jennings School Districts. In order to determine if there was a difference in political attitudes between students who lived inside the protest area and those who lived in other parts of the district, I asked students to identify the elementary school they attended. The attendance areas of six elementary schools fall inside the protest area. If students indicated that they attended an elementary school outside the district, I checked addresses in the student information system before de-identifying the data to find which elementary school they

would have attended if they lived in the district in sixth grade. Some students lived within the Riverview Gardens district boundaries but had transferred to Ferguson-Florissant School District. They were considered to live inside the protest area due to proximity to the Canfield Apartments. I verified addresses of students whenever location of residence was in question.

In order to test whether or not one's perception of political efficacy is independent of where students lived in the district, I ran a series of *z*-Tests of Proportions and chi-square Tests of Independence. On the issues in which responses were dependent on whether students lived inside or outside the protest area, and the null hypothesis was rejected, it meant that there was a significant statistical difference with a confidence level above 0.95 (a= 0.05) between the two groups. Researchers studying the impact of youth proximity and exposure to protest activity, including peaceful and violent protest, may find this comparison useful. The *z*-Test of Proportions was used to measure differences in positive responses between students who lived within the protest areas and those who lived elsewhere in the district. The chi-squared Test of Independence compared the entire range of responses on the questions. The full results of the *z*-Test of Two Proportions and Test of Independence may be found in the tables titled *Student Variables: Location* in Appendix B. Due to statistical differences on some questions between the two groups that were evident on both the Test of Proportions and Test of Independence, I rejected the null hypothesis and determined that elements of one's political efficacy were dependent on location within the school district.

Test of proportions. According to the *z*-Test of Two Proportions, there were three questions in which there was a significant difference of proportions between students

who lived inside the protest area and those who lived outside it. Significantly fewer participants who lived inside the protest area believed that patriotism was an important behavior for being a good adult citizen (73.5%), compared to students who lived in other parts of the district (87.5%); $z = -2.25$, $p = 0.024$. In the subsection, Opportunities, students inside the protest area 'Agree(d)' or 'Strongly agree(d)' that poor children have fewer chances to get a good high school education in this country (inside - 71.4%; outside - 53.1%); $z = -2.21$, $p = 0.027$. In the subsection, Internal Efficacy, there was a 22.4 percentage point difference between the two groups on responses to this statement: 'I take part in political discussions,' 75.5% of students who lived inside the protest area answered positively, compared to 53.1% of students who lived outside that area; $z = 2.213$, $p = .007$.

In the subsection about Youth Engagement, students considered which political actions they expected to participate in the next few years. While there were not any actions that met the 0.95 confidence interval (a = 0.05), two political activities were very close to the threshold for significance. For example, 70.2% of students inside the protest area expected to collect signatures for a petition, while 53.8% answered that they would probably or definitely do that; $z = 1.95$, $p = 0.051$. As to whether participants expected that they would block traffic, 19.8% of students outside the protest area considered participating in this activity do, whereas 33.3% of those who lived inside the protest area responded positively; $z = 1.89$, $p = 0.059$.

Test for independence. To run the chi-squared Tests of Independence, I used the whole spectrum of data, keeping the different levels of responses distinct. Of the 100 questions, analysis of the Test for Independence indicated responses on three questions

were dependent on literacy level. Of the 100 questions, analysis of the Test for Independence indicated there were six responses that were dependent on whether or not students lived inside the protest area. In the first section of the questionnaire, Activities Outside of School, students responded to how often they talked with friends about political issues or issues in society. The results revealed a significant difference in distributions. Only 12.5% of students living inside the protest area answered 'Never or hardly ever,' however 39.0% of students who lived in other parts of the district answered in the extreme negative; $\chi^2(3, N = 171) = 11.47$, $p = 0.009$. In response to the statement 'Political protests should never be violent,' more students inside the protest area agreed (though not a statistically significant amount on the z-Test for Two Proportions), but the percentages of students who 'Strongly agree(d)' were different; $\chi^2(3, N = 174) = 8.34$, $p = 0.040$. Over half of students (51.2%) who lived outside the protest area 'Strongly agree(d)' that protests should never be violent, whereas 38.3% of students inside the protest area answered this way. Also in the section measuring internal efficacy, there was a difference in distribution of responses on the statement, 'When political issues or problems are being discussed, I usually have something to say'; $\chi^2(3, N = 179) = 8.891$, $p = 0.031$. The proportions of positive responses, as measured by the z-Test of Proportions, on this statement also revealed a difference between students inside and outside the protest areas. Student responses on the Youth Engagement activity of collecting signatures to support a cause, which nearly resulted in a difference on the z-Test of Proportions, did yield a significant difference on the z-Test for Independence; $\chi^2(3, N = 177) = 8.21$, $p = 0.042$.

There were two additional differences in this series of tests. Positive responses were nearly identical (inside - 91.8%, outside - 92.3%) in their responses on the question about whether schools should teach students to respect members of all racial groups, although more students (66.9%) living outside the protest area responded 'Strongly agree'; $\chi^2(3, N = 179) = 8.22, p = 0.042$. In comparison, 49.0% of students who lived inside the protest area answered in the extreme positive. Finally, there was a significant difference on the statement 'Religious leaders should have more power in society';$\chi^2(3, N = 177) = 9.87, p = 0.020$.

Table 13

Student Variables – Location Statistical Differences

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	inside	*outside*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Activities Outside of School								
Talking with friends about politics	0.458	0.333	1.523	0.1278	3	171	11.468	0.0094
Views on Society								
Political protests should never be violent	0.936	0.843	1.608	0.1078	3	174	8.339	0.0395
Citizenship								
Patriotic	0.735	0.875	-2.252	0.0243	3	177	5.851	0.1191
Opportunities								
Schools should teach respect of all racial groups	0.918	0.923	0.111	0.9115	3	179	8.223	0.0416
Poor children have fewer chances (education)	0.714	0.531	2.213	0.0269	3	179	5.637	0.1307
Internal Efficacy								
I take part in political discussions	0.755	0.531	2.719	0.0065	3	179	8.891	0.0308
I understand most political issues	0.837	0.674	2.161	0.0307	3	178	5.312	0.1503
Youth Engagement								
Collect signatures for a petitions	0.702	0.538	1.954	0.0508	3	177	8.206	0.0419
Views on Religion								
Religious leaders should have more power	0.429	0.508	0.941	0.3468	3	177	8.619	0.0348

Note. $\alpha = 0.05$.

Table 13 shows the results of the *z*-Test of Two Proportions and the Contingency tests.

Figure 4 illustrates the distribution of student responses on questions in which there were statistical differences according to the chi-squared Contingency tests.

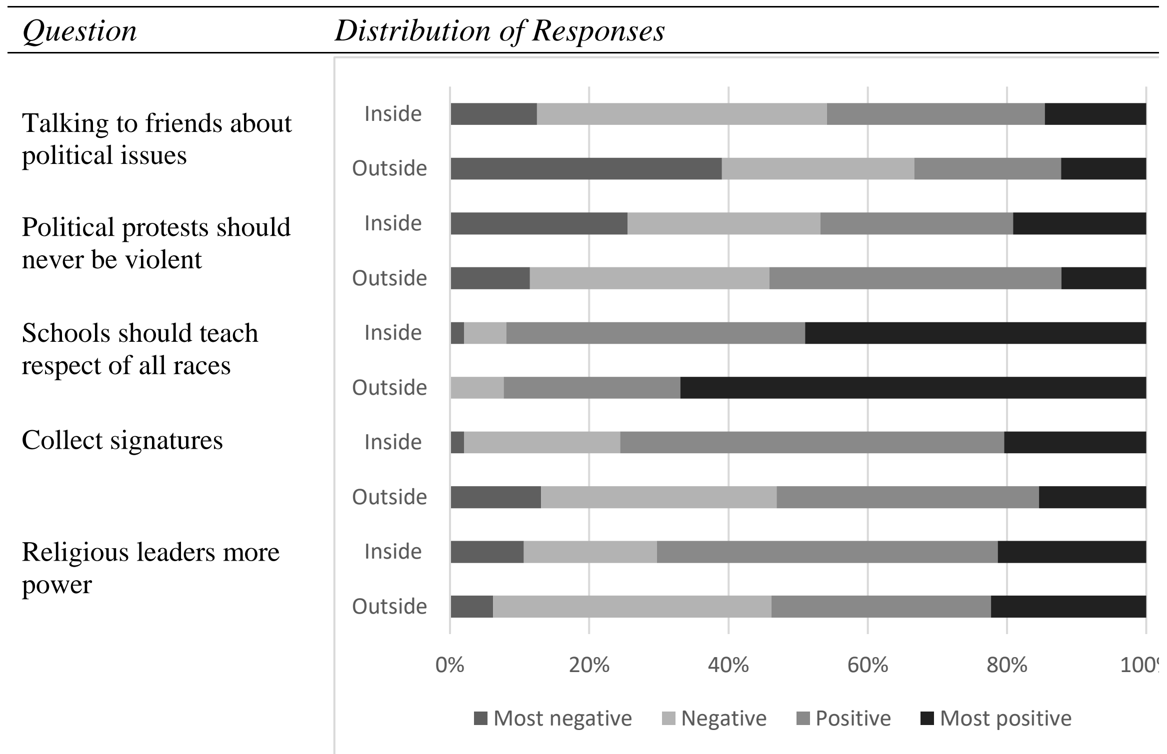


Figure 4. Chi-square contingency test results: Location statistical differences.

Quantitative Findings: Parental Attitudes

Null $H_0$7: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of parental attitudes.

In order to determine how well the student's views on political attitudes matched those of their parents, I needed a test that would allow me to analyze ordinal data for such a correlation, and so the Pearson Product Moment Correlation was inadequate. I chose instead to use the Gamma statistic, which Goodman and Kruskal developed to accommodate non-parametric data. This test computes the degree to which the responses of two subjects – in my case, a student and his or her parent – were in line with each

other. The test utilizes a cross-tabulation of the responses and calculates the number of agreements and inversions among the responses. These sums fold into the Gamma statistic, which ranges from -1 (perfect inverse correlation) to 1 (perfect correlation). Table 18 shows the results of the Gamma tests of parent and student responses for all the questions. Tables for the Gamma test results for each section of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

Table 14

All Survey Questions: Parent and Student Responses

	Correlation of Rankings	
Parent/Student Pairs	*G*	*p-value*
Pair 1	0.094	0.7325
Pair 2	0.602	0.0009
Pair 3	0.335	0.1393
Pair 4	0.609	0.0007
Pair 5	0.000	1.0000
Pair 6	0.552	0.0113
Pair 7	0.534	0.0091
Pair 8	0.514	0.0136
Pair 9	0.227	0.3161
Pair 10	0.234	0.3083
Pair 11	0.505	0.0273
Pair 12	0.502	0.0094
Pair 13	0.272	0.2012
Pair 14	0.287	0.1855
Pair 15	0.465	0.0291
Pair 16	0.616	0.0013
Pair 17	0.276	0.1997
Pair 18	0.557	0.0014
Pair 19	0.555	0.0058
Pair 20	0.765	< 0.0001

Note. $\alpha = 0.05$.

Parents completed a questionnaire with nine sections that contained 78 of the 100 questions included on the student questionnaire. Some sections, including those related to youth expected youth and adult political engagement, were not represented on the parent questionnaire. When I ran the gamma test on 20 parent and student responses on

the questionnaire, there were 12 significant correlations and one inverse relationship out of 20 student-parent pairs. Due to statistical similarities for 60% of the parent-student pairs, I rejected the null hypothesis and determined that for an adolescent in this study, one's political efficacy was dependent on parental attitudes.

Data tables for each section of the questionnaire can be found in the Appendix. Results for the sections are summarized here. The first section, 'Activities Related to Politics Outside of School,' posed questions related to how often and in what ways participants accessed information about political issues. In addition, participants answered how often they talked to friends about political issues or issues in society. Students answered how often they talked to their parents and parents answered how often they talked to their children about political issues or issues in society. This last question was the only instance in which the wording was different on the student and parent surveys. On these five questions, of the 20 student-parent pairs, 14 pairs were strongly correlated ($p < 0.05$), two demonstrated an inverse relationship ($p = 1.00$), and one pair had insufficient responses to calculate a relationship.

All questions on the student questionnaire were identical to the parent questionnaire on the remaining sections. In the section, 'Views on Society Related to Politics,' parents and students answered 13 questions. All pairs had complete participant responses. Ten parent-student pairs demonstrated significant correlation ($p < 0.05$) and three demonstrated an inverse relationship ($p = 1.00$). The section, 'Views on Rights, Opportunities, and Responsibilities,' contained eight questions. Of the 20 parent-student pairs, there was a significant correlation ($p < 0.05$) on 16 pairs and an inverse relationship on one pair ($p = 1.00$). In the 'Views on Religion in Society,' 11 out of 20 pairs were

significantly correlated ($p < 0.05$), with no inverse relationships. Fewer parent-student pairs were strongly correlated on the ‘Behaviors for Being a Good Adult Citizen’ section, which contained 14 questions. Five parent-student pairs were significantly correlated correlation ($p < 0.05$) and one demonstrated an inverse relationship ($p = 1.00$), leaving 14 pairs with no statistical relationship.

There were four sections in the student and parent questionnaires related to political efficacy. On the ‘Internal Efficacy’ section (seven questions), 12 parent-student pairs demonstrated a strong correlation ($p < 0.05$), with two pairs that were inversely related ($p = 1.00$). Ten parent-student pairs were significantly correlated on the “External Efficacy” section of six questions ($p < 0.05$), and two pairs were inversely related ($p = 1.00$). Trust is an indicator of external efficacy. On the ‘Trust’ section of 11 questions, there were 12 parent-student pairs with significant correlations ($p < 0.05$), one pair with an inverse relationship ($p = 1.00$), and one pair with incomplete responses. Participant responses about the effectiveness of political action is also an indicator of external efficacy. In the section ‘Effectiveness of Political Action to Influence Decisions in Society,’ which contained eight questions, there were 12 parent-student pairs that were significantly correlated ($p < 0.05$), one pair with an inverse relationship ($p = 1.0$), and one pair with incomplete data. Table 15 summarizes the results of the Gamma tests for each section of the questionnaire.

Table 15

Student-Parent Gamma Correlations by Questionnaire Section

	Number of questions	*Significant Correlation*	*Inverse relationship*	*Not correlated*	*Not enough data*	*Total pairs*
Outside of School	5	14	2	3	1	20
Views on Society	13	10	3	7	0	20
Citizenship	14	5	1	14	0	20
Opportunities	8	16	1	5	0	20
Internal Efficacy	7	12	2	6	0	20
External Efficacy	6	10	2	8	0	20
Trust	11	12	1	6	1	20
Effectiveness	8	12	1	6	1	20
Views on Religion	6	11	0	9	0	20

Qualitative Findings: Focus Group Characteristics

Sixteen students from Ferguson Middle School participated in focus groups. All of these students completed the student questionnaire the previous week. Students participated voluntarily during the school day, and each focus group discussion took approximately one hour. I developed the focus group questions to correspond with the sections of the questionnaire. The focus group questions served to lend perspective to the quantitative data acquired through the questionnaire responses. The focus group questions also allowed me to determine the validity of the questionnaire by confirming or contradicting the results.

When I originally designed the study, I intended to hold a student focus group at each of the three middle schools. Not enough students at Berkeley Middle School or Cross Keys Middle School volunteered to participate, despite the efforts of staff at those schools. I planned to hold three focus groups of four to eight students per group. Because 16 students at Ferguson Middle School volunteered to participate, it was still possible to hold three separate focus groups at that site and identify trends across the

three groups. Due to challenges with scheduling, the groups were not even. Eight students participated in the first focus group and four students participated in each of the other two groups. Each group included both male and female participants. Each group included students of varying reading levels. Each group included students that lived inside or outside the protest area.

The focus groups also included students from difference racial backgrounds, though not every group was diverse. The first group included five Black students, two Hispanic students, and one White student. The second group contained four Black students. The third group comprised of three Black students and one White student. Although this study did not consider the role of teachers in student attitudes, students who participated did represent different teams of teachers within the school. I did not make an effort to achieve representative samples within the groups; students participated at the times they were available based on their schedules. Table 16 shows the demographic characteristics of participants of the three focus groups.

Table 16

Student Focus Group Participant Characteristics

Variable		
Gender	12 Female	4 Male
Race	12 Black	4 Other than Black*
Literacy**	11 Below grade level	5 On grade level
Location	9 Inside protest area	8 Outside protest area

Note. * *2 Hispanic, 2 White*
*** 1 student did not have reading data*

Overall, students in the focus groups agreed with one another on most issues. Not every student responded to every question, but when I encouraged students who were quiet to speak up, it was common for these participants to explain that they agreed with what a previous speaker had just said. Students in all three focus groups treated one

another with respect and took turns speaking. Students actively engaged in conversation. In all three groups, students' attention span waned at the 50-minute mark, but the participants remained focused and thoughtful for the final questions.

Participants in all three focus groups raised the topic of race many times, although I did not ask any questions that explicitly mentioned race. Students participated in discussions related to the shooting of Michael Brown, their experiences protesting, government response to non-violent and violent protests, trust in law enforcement and government leaders, the effectiveness of political action, and their hopes for change in the future. Although students expressed passionate views about the experiences and opinions they shared on racially charged topics, neither students' words nor body language indicated discomfort. The two White students and two Hispanic students participated in discussions actively.

Research Question One: Political Efficacy, Trust, Opportunities (Focus Groups)

RQ1: What are adolescents' perceptions of their own political efficacy, including trust in institutions, attitudes about political systems, and equality of opportunities?

This research question involved several components, which were addressed in student focus groups. I have broken the question into the following sections: internal efficacy, external efficacy, effectiveness of political action, trust in institutions or groups, and opportunities.

Internal efficacy. Confidence in one's ability to make a difference through political action is a key component of internal efficacy. The student questionnaire measured internal efficacy through questions about students' perceptions about whether they were interested in politics, understood political issues facing our country, usually

had something to say when political issues were discussed, and knew more about politics than other people their age. In addition, the student questionnaire asked students to consider whether they thought they would be able to participate in politics when they are adults. Students sometimes indicated various levels of internal efficacy when they responded to questions about other topics in the focus groups.

Students responded with mixed feelings when asked the question, ‘Are you interested in politics?’ In two of the three focus groups, students asked for clarification of the word ‘politics.’ In all groups, only two students expressed significant interest in politics, one of whom commented that her parents, especially her father, loved politics. In Focus Group One, seven students answered positively. However, in the other groups, the most common response was ‘kind of.’ In Focus Group Two, two students noted that people around them did not talk about political issues. One student referred to having the news on at home or adults having conversations about political issues, but said that young people were not involved. One student said, ‘I have my mind on other stuff other than politics.’

Despite a lack of clarity of the meaning of politics and mixed levels of interest, five students in the focus groups indicated that they had a good understanding of the issues that face our country and no students answered negatively. Further evidence showed that students did, in fact, have a good understanding of American political issues by participant responses to an open-ended question on the topic. When asked, ‘What kinds of issues related to politics are facing our country,’ students volunteered the following responses: debt, taxes, terrorism, wars, other countries, crime and violence,

race, and stereotypes. One student described social status as an important issue: 'Say somebody's richer, for example, then they get treated like they're better.'

The participants in Focus Group Three all agreed that our country faces race as a political issue. Students mentioned both Michael Brown and George Zimmerman. This group also referred to gender inequality, with both male and female students agreeing that some 'men try to be more powerful than women,' and referenced women in politics, specifically Hillary Clinton. This group mentioned these additional issues facing their community: damage to the area from riots in August and November of 2014 and how students felt that money was not being used on things 'that we need in our area.'

Unprompted, all three focus groups initiated extensive discussions of problems with police when asked about political issues facing our country. Directly or indirectly, students referred to racism, use of excessive force, abuse of power, excessive ticketing, lack of representative police forces, militarization of police, and police training. The following exchange was representative of conversations in all three groups that organically arose among multiple students in response to the question about issues facing our country:

Student: Race? Is it like race?

Researcher: Race could be one.

Student: Yeah.

Researcher: So tell me more about that.

Student: Stereotypes.

Student: Well, could I use an example? I don't know about the Mike Brown situation but I'm gonna use an example on this, so people is saying that Darren Wilson he…

Student: Was racist.

Student: Like killed him, yeah. And he was a racist cop and all that and he shot Mike Brown cause of that…

Student: There are some racist cops but I won't say they're all racist. 'Cause some cops are nice. I live by a whole building full of cops. So, when the riots happened I was pretty much right next to it.

This conversation suggested that students' experiences surrounding events in Ferguson prompted political discussion and that students did, in fact, have something to say when privy to political discussions. Students did not specifically address the issue of whether they knew more about politics than most people their age; I did not ask the students to respond to that in the focus group. Students did indicate that they would be able to participate in politics when they are adults. I discuss this in greater depth in the section on expected political engagement later in this chapter.

External efficacy. Before I asked any questions related to external efficacy, or perception of government responsiveness and whether political participation is worthwhile, students made passing reference to the topic. One student said, 'When it comes to government, I want to know what is he [the president] doing for our country? What is he doing to help us?' In the context of a discussion of events in both Ferguson and Baltimore, another student volunteered, 'Sometimes it doesn't feel like they really care about the communities . . . because it keeps going on and it's not changing.'

Later in the interview, participants answered specific questions about external political efficacy. In response to the question ‘How do you know a political leader is doing a good job?’ students in the three focus groups suggested that government responsiveness was the most important indicator. Apart from helping people, students mentioned no other indicators. Comments included: ‘changes are happening,’ ‘they pay attention,’ they ‘listen to what their community has to say,’ and ‘if you call and tell them what they need to change and then they fix it.’ Focus group participants listed several responsibilities of government leaders, including ‘make fair laws,’ ‘protect us,’ ‘pay attention to us,’ ‘make our country and community a better place to be,’ ‘make sure public places are taken care of,’ and know ‘what’s happening in the community.’

When asked how well government leaders listened to regular people in the community made laws that regular people wanted, responses ranged from neutral to negative. Some responses included ‘sometimes,’ ‘depends on the situation,’ or ‘not that much.’ One said, ‘I think they try to listen to us . . . but it’s hard because there’s so many people and they have to please a lot of people’ and another student agreed. In response to whether government leaders are interested in making positive changes to benefit them or their community, one student said, ‘A lot, I think? That’s what they say, they say they want to make things better.’ Some students made references to meetings that had been held in Ferguson throughout the year. Students considered whether things were improving in their community. One student said, ‘I don’t see nothing happening, so no.’ Another student agreed, saying, ‘I think they’re interested, but I think actions speak louder than words, so I don’t know until I see it.’

Some students responded more cynically. One student said, 'I think they're interested in benefit their selves (*sic*). As far as us? No.' Another student said, 'I mean they hear, they want to listen to us when they want to be elected or something, but when they get elected . . .' Another student finished the sentiment, 'They don't do what they were elected for.'

Effectiveness of political action. An element of external political efficacy is whether citizens believe that political action is worthwhile. In this study, a section in the student questionnaire, as well as questions for the focus groups, focused on the effectiveness of different types of political action. When asked about the effectiveness of peaceful political protests, there were mixed responses. Students in the focus groups had a strong awareness of peaceful and violent protests from their own experiences. Because of this, students could not separate the effectiveness of political action from their experiences and knowledge of civil action and civic unrest in Ferguson. While student discussion on this topic was extensive, the topic of young people's experiences of events in Ferguson is outside the scope of this study. For that reason, responses about the effectiveness of political action as an indicator of political efficacy are summarized here and expounded upon in future work.

In the focus groups, the students had mixed responses to the potential of peaceful protests to have an impact in general, but mainly negative responses of effectiveness of peaceful protests in Ferguson. Specifically, in reference to a peaceful protest in Ferguson, one student said, 'it was really nice, it was really peaceful, but I don't know if they were really listening. They were just riding by and they weren't saying anything to

us.' In one group, four students agreed that riots got more attention. When asked to explain, a student said,

> I'm just saying that's what got their attention most of all. When we were peaceful protesting they weren't listening (*sic*). It's just like we weren't being heard. So, I guess they [some protesters] felt like they needed to be heard and they started rioting.

All three groups agreed that riots were both ineffective and had catastrophic consequences to the community:

> With the Mike Brown thing they thought burning down things and looting was gonna get the person, Darren, in jail, but then when they found out that didn't get him in jail and they thought they (government leaders) were listening but they weren't. And they found out he wasn't in jail and they thought that 'Aw, we're gonna do it again, if we do it louder than they're probably gonna hear us', so they burned down more buildings and it wasn't [effective], but caused more damage.

Focus Group One briefly discussed the effectiveness of other types of protests. One student simply said, 'I don't know.' Two people offered boycotts and one mentioned strikes as other types of protest. When I asked students in this group about the effectiveness of writing to political representatives, one responded positively: 'I mean I'm gonna do it.' However, five responded negatively. These included, 'I doubt if they'll see it,' 'I doubt they'll listen,' 'Half of them just gets to their assistants' and, 'They'll read it and then throw it, it just gets passed on.' When students considered the option of contacting a representative directly, four people responded negatively. One

student said, ‘I think they’ll act like they (sic) listening to you talking, ‘we should fix that right away’, but yet nothing is done.’

Trust in institutions or groups. Within the first two minutes of the time spent with Focus Group One, the students introduced the topic of trust, not within the context of the question on trust in groups and institution. When I asked about whether or not they were interested in politics, a student commented that she wanted to know what the president was doing to help the community. This exchange followed:

> Researcher: What about other leaders? Are you curious about other people in govern -
>
> Student (interrupting): Yes, the Police.
>
> Student: Yes.
>
> Student: I don’t like them. I don’t trust them.
>
> Student: Me either.
>
> Researcher: Okay, if you don’t trust the Police, tell me who you do trust.
>
> Student: I trust my mom.
>
> Student: I don’t trust nobody.
>
> Student: I don’t trust nobody.
>
> Student: You can’t trust nobody…

As the discussion moved to trust in other groups and institutions, including national, state, and local government, the police, the military, school, and church, students in this group demonstrated a lack of trust in all institutions. They slightly differentiated between degrees of trust of various groups, but overall, trust was low. Some students were more vocal on this topic than others, who were more engaged in later questions.

In all three groups, students connected their trust in several institutions with their experiences following the police shooting of Michael Brown and the subsequent response. As previously explained, rather than delve into a comprehensive investigation on the impact of young people's experiences in Ferguson on their trust in groups and institutions, I will summarize results from the focus groups related to trust as one of the indicators of political efficacy.

In the three focus groups, most students indicated a strong lack of trust in the police, although some students were uncertain, rather than completely negative, saying 'Kind of,' 'Sometimes,' or 'I don't know.' All students in Focus Group One said they had a more positive view of police prior to the police shooting, but then indicated it was just never this bad. Students did not seem to be aware of officer-involved shootings in the St. Louis area or the rest of the country, saying that they had never heard of anything that 'happened that made national news.'

In reference to the Michael Brown shooting, students in two focus groups referenced the use of excessive force in the police shooting. A student said, 'They didn't have to shoot him 14 times to kill him.' In the second focus group, following similar comments, a student said, 'Some police are not that good, but some are just bad, but then if you shoot a person in general you shouldn't just go away free. I think you should have some consequences.'

A student in the first focus group, despite expressing strong views of distrust initially, softened her stance, indicating that some people will develop a 'stereotype' of all police officers based on an incident, but an event involving one officer did not necessarily impact her trust in all police. She said, 'I don't trust [the police], 'cause

something happened with them, but I wouldn't say I don't trust all of them. I wouldn't say that.'

In addition to students' perceptions of the shooting, students referred to experiences with law enforcement that occurred separately from the police shooting. Several students referenced the curfew in place following civil unrest, as well as their impressions of a pattern of excessive ticketing. One student described both of these in the same comment:

> Like certain police officers when they blocked off the streets to get to my house through the Ferguson thing, they wouldn't let my dad through even though he said he lived on my street. They almost tried to arrest him 'cause they said he was getting an attitude. And they tried to arrest my grandpa, I'm like how you gonna arrest a man on a cane? I don't think they have my best interest in mind 'cause you stop these people for no reason and you give them tickets for a thousand dollars knowing that they might not be able to pay it back.

Another theme in the conversations with students about trust in police was abuse of power. In Focus Group Two, a student said, 'I think police officers think they can do whatever they want to do and like, no one really tells them they shouldn't be doing that.' Another student followed with this comment: 'Well, it's not all the cops, but like crooked cops, they're making it bad for all the other cops.'

Students in the three focus groups showed less passion in their views on local government. Responses included 'kind of" and 'they got a little trust, not a lot.' They tied perceptions of the state government to the governor's response to events in Ferguson in the summer and fall of 2014. At first, students did not have a clear understanding of

who was responsible for making decisions regarding the National Guard. Students in Focus Group Two said that they trusted the state government leaders to make decisions that were good for their community, but upon realizing that it was the governor of Missouri who called up the National Guard in the weeks prior to the Grand Jury announcement, the responses changed. One student said:

> Okay then I switch to national, 'yes,' the state, 'no,' because they [were] sending out more trucks . . . You all have guns, these people just trying to go home, y'all have power but y'all act like you need the same amount of [National Guard] to control [protesters].

Several students expressed a lack of trust based on the government response to events in Ferguson, and specifically referenced the night of the announcement that Darren Wilson would not be indicted. Students believed that the decision not to activate the National Guard that night resulted in the destruction on W. Florissant Rd. In each focus group, students expressed confusion as to whether the president or the governor was responsible for making this decision. A student asked, 'Who was the guy who didn't bring in the National Guard that was supposed to?' In another group, a student said, 'State, basically [I don't trust them] at all . . . Because our governor made a lot of bad decisions in times when he need to make good ones.' His comment elicited general agreement from the group.

Although students were not explicitly asked about their levels of trust in the media, students in Focus Group Two brought up the topic. There were several references to negative news coverage about their community. One student pointed out that the television would 'spend this entire news hour about what happened in Ferguson that's

bad, then the good thing that happened they spend like five minutes and gloss over.' Another student in the group said, 'I think the news is making it worse.' In addition, another said, 'They're kind of like instigating' and two more agreed.

Students displayed higher trust in the national government than in the state government, and they believed that President Obama's presence in Ferguson would have had a positive effect, and may have negated the need to send the National Guard. Separate from participants' views regarding the national response or lack of response to events in Ferguson, a few commented regarding trust in the national government. A student in Focus Group Two said, 'I guess I kind of trust them a little bit. I don't know. I just I don't know if they're always telling the truth. Sometimes they just kind of keep stuff from us.'

The students responded with mixed levels of trust in the military. Most responded negatively or doubtfully in Focus Group One. One student, however, said that she trusted the military because we would need them in case of invasion. Another student expressed concern regarding her perception of a high rate of mental illness among members of the military. A student shared that she was considering joining the armed forces at some point, but said, 'I don't know yet, even though I want to do it. I really do not know if I trust them or not.'

In keeping with the theme of an overall lack of trust in institutions, students described their levels of trust in school. On the topic of school, the students based a lack of trust in concerns over privacy, not over whether adults associated with the school were looking out for their best interests. When Focus Group One responded to the question of whether they trusted the adults in the school, answers were mixed. Students mentioned

teachers, counselors, and administrators in terms of a general fear of 'confidential' things being openly discussed among adults. In two of the focus groups, when students answered the question, 'Are you comfortable going to your teachers' the response was mixed, but not very positive, with responses that included 'no,' 'sometimes,' and 'it depends.' Further investigation of students' perceptions of their schools are found in the 'School Efficacy' section.

A discussion of trust in the School Resource Officer (SRO) and school security guard was generally positive. The SRO was an employee of the local police force stationed in the schools and worked in the community when school is out of session. The security guard was employed by the school district. In Focus Group One, two students responded very positively to the question of whether they trusted the SRO and two students were less sure. One student said, 'I completely trust [the SRO]. I've known him since I was three' and another student agreed. In another group, a student's relationship with the SRO also impacted trust: 'I trust [the SRO] because I've seen him ever since like fifth grade. I mean, he's the one that encouraged me to be in FYI (Ferguson Youth Initiative).'

In reference to both the SRO and security guard, a student said she trusted both of them 'somewhat, I guess. I mean, they're here in our school so if someone comes in they're the ones that protect us.' All students in the second focus groups said they trusted the SRO and school security officer, however one said, 'I trust officers more than security people,' based on the impression that a police officer was more equipped to handle dangerous situations. Regarding the level of trust in the SRO and security guard to protect them, one student said, 'I think it just depends on the situation, because if a group

of people came in with loaded guns surrounding them, how much do you think they would back up?'

Students in the first focus group returned to the theme of confidentiality, alluding to the fact that adults associated with the school, including the SRO, are mandated reporters, which means that they are legally required to report incidents of child abuse, neglect, or endangerment. A student shared a fear of telling a teacher or counselor about something personal or something harmful. She would have to tell the police and what if 'we didn't have any other resources or anybody else to go to tell them, we just had people at the school? There wouldn't be any trust.'

Another student expressed the fear of staff telling the SRO about incidents, because you 'might have to go to the court or deal with the…' A student finished this sentence: 'Social services.' More concerns about trust and social services followed. A student said,

> I wouldn't tell nobody my business because they can go back and tell social services and then my momma have to deal with it. And then they can take me away from my family. I could be in foster care. I don't want that.

Another agreed, saying, 'Well, we had to deal with that a lot.'

In conclusion, with few exceptions, students in all three focus groups indicated low levels of trust in most groups and institutions. Trust, or lack thereof, stemmed directly from student experiences. Some of these experiences were connected to a need to protect privacy, and some experiences came from negative impressions of members of these groups. A student in the second focus group summed up the discussion of trust in

groups and institutions well: 'I want to trust them but I can't because of their actions and stuff that they do.'

Opportunities. Students responded to whether they thought all people in this country had equal opportunities to get a good education or to get good jobs when they are adults. In all three focus groups, the answers were consistently negative. Two themes emerged related to discrimination and socioeconomic status. Focus Group One indicated that 'people get judged a lot.' Students in that group suggested discrimination could be based on race, grades, disabilities, 'where you're from, or where you moved from,' or 'how you look, or how you talk.' Two commented about gender discrimination: men get better jobs than women, and 'we [women] don't get paid as much as the men do.'

At first, the students in Focus Group Three indicated that race was not a major factor in getting a good education or getting a good job, with two students saying no, and two students saying 'very rarely.' However, they proceeded to give examples of the challenges for Black people interviewing for positions. Focus Group Two made reference to racial discrimination in hiring, but also to 'the way they dress or even their religion.' One student suggested that race is less of a factor than some people think it is.

Class surfaced as the other significant theme regarding unequal access to opportunities. All students in Focus Group Two agreed that people with more money had better opportunities. Students in the third focus group reiterated this sentiment in greater detail. Three of four students said that opportunities were not equal, one of whom said, 'Cause some people that's [sic] rich, they have better school options.' A student commented on the role of a college education in gaining access to employment, saying,

'It depends on what kind of schools you can afford because if you can't afford college then you don't get as good job opportunities.'

Students in two focus groups agreed that it was the responsibility of government leaders to make sure that all people have equal opportunities, however students did not have the perception that government leaders were putting in enough effort to make a difference. A student said, 'They're trying, but they're not succeeding as much as we would want them to.' At first, there were mixed responses in Focus Group One and some confusion about the question, as though students had not considered who was responsible for ensuring equal opportunities. Eventually, a student commented that if the government 'tells them they have to give everybody equal opportunities, then (potential employers) will listen.'

Students in all three focus groups felt that the government should provide more activities for young people, which would be generally good for communities as well as increase opportunities. Students in two focus groups wanted chances to express their voices. Specific ideas included 'more opportunities to talk and to voice opinions,' to 'keep us involved in things that's (sic) happening around our communities,' and that leaders 'don't just leave us out just because we're young.' One student said that leaders should make an effort to 'talk to [kids], like groups like this. Or have activities, like afterschool activities, just to talk to them and see what their mindset is.' Another student expressed that leaders should 'go to the community and reach out to the kids because kids are basically our future.'

Research Question Two: Citizenship (Focus Groups)

RQ2: What are adolescents' perceptions of citizenship and civic participation?

Students in the three focus groups identified multiple qualities of a good adult citizen. Focus group participants described behaviors of good adult citizens in four categories: good character, participating in activities to benefit people in the local community, obeying the law, and voting. The qualities of good citizens that indicate good character included integrity, loyalty, honesty, trust, and responsibility. In the first focus group, three students suggested that trust was a behavior of a good citizen, despite having just described the lack of trust they had in various institutions and groups.

The greatest number of responses in all three focus groups were related to community service: they 'work for groups, they try to help people, they give people stuff,' 'Help out the communities that are in need. They help the homeless,' do 'volunteer work,' and 'donate to the Salvation Army.' A student said, 'They give. Not just wait for somebody to give to them to give' and five participants agreed. One of those said, 'it's better to give than receive,' which is a religious reference. One student referenced 'participating in clean-up or an event that gives back to people who need that.' This was consistent with discussions related to cleaning up the areas affected by rioting in Ferguson.

Students in all three groups also mentioned following the law and voting. A student in the third focus group listed four interconnected qualities: 'Someone who obeys the law, pays their taxes, doesn't get arrested a lot, doesn't cause a lot of commotions.' In each focus group, students suggested that good citizens vote, and that they learn about the candidates so that they can make appropriate decisions, 'cause it's showing that they care.' When one group was asked whether citizens have a responsibly to vote, four students said yes, however one said, 'some people might feel uncomfortable voting for

somebody just because of the simple fact of what they (sic) race is, or who they is, or what they look like to some other people that's voting.' Despite this acknowledgement of hesitant voters, students in this group seemed to have the perception that voting matters if enough people do it and that they suffer negative consequences when the wrong people are office. In addition, they indicated that those who do not vote are responsible for the wrong people getting elected.

I asked the students if the adults they knew were good citizens. All of the participants in the second focus group agreed that their parents were hard working and this was evidence of the students' impressions that their parents were good citizens. Some students in Focus Group One also indicated that their parents and other family members voted, another indicator of good citizenship, according to students. However all four students in Focus Group Three said that 'some' of the adults they knew were good citizens, because they were 'participating instead of stopping it or protesting it' in Ferguson riots, 'And some was letting their kids go out while they just sit at home,' and 'Some take it too far, or they're not doing enough.' In another reference to voting, a student in the third focus group said, 'Or they don't vote or contribute to who's the better person that you want to represent you.'

Focus Groups One and Three were asked, 'Do you think that good citizens are politically active?' Several students in both groups indicated they did not understand what 'politically active' meant. Once I explained, they had mixed responses. Some students thought one could be a good citizen without being active in government and politics. One student suggested that if an adult paid the bills and did not break the law, then that would be enough to be considered a good citizen.

Research Question Three: School Efficacy (Focus Groups)

RQ3: What are adolescents' perceptions of their own school efficacy?

School efficacy was a student's confidence in his or her ability to make positive change in a school, as well as the perception that trying to do so would be worthwhile. When asked, 'Do you think that you can make a difference in making your school better?' they responded hesitantly in Focus Group Three. One student thought that treating other students well might improve the school. Another mentioned that paying attention in class might help the school with test scores. A student in the second focus group said:

> Yeah, I think so . . . Just making petitions, talking to the principal or, not to go too far, but asking the school district to improve more on the school instead of just telling us they're going to do it but they're just not going to do.

Students in that group indicated that they did not know how to go about taking part in action that would make the school better, or that the idea seemed overwhelming.

Students discussed whether they were comfortable going to school personnel to let them know about changes they might want to make in the school. At least one student responded positively, however another student predicted a lack of follow-through, saying, 'Instead of saying they're going to improve something, they should like actively, literally go and do it instead of saying they're going to do it and then put it off or forget about it and not do it.' In Focus Group One, the responses to this questions were mixed. One person was more comfortable going to principals 'Instead of teachers for school changes 'cause they'll probably listen more than the teachers.' The students' reactions to how comfortable they were going to principals to make changes were mostly negative,

primarily because they did not think principals had time to listen to students' ideas or concerns. One student said, 'It's not that I don't want to talk to the principals, it's just that, if you try to talk to them, it's like they got to go do something else or go handle another student' even though the administrator really wants to help.

Research Question Four: Expected Political Participation (Focus Groups)

RQ4: What is the extent of adolescents' expected political participation?

The discussion in all three focus groups about expected political participation primarily focused on electoral politics. In all three focus groups, students responded positively to the question of whether they intended to vote when they turned 18. In Focus Group One, all but one student was strongly positive. A student in this group said, 'I want my voice to be heard.' Three students expressed a negative perception of people who as one student said, 'complain, but they sit at home and when you can go out there and vote. I want to vote, but I can't.' All students in this group were very positive about the desire for a 'teenager group' in local government, because 'there's teenagers that [are] smart for their age' that have opinions and want change.

All four students in Focus Group Two also expressed that they expected to vote as adults. They also described some of the things they intend to advocate for as adults, which included helping the needy and fighting for more jobs to combat unemployment. Students in this group discussed the need to purchase better equipment for schools and to build new schools. When asked, one student explained the need to prioritize the schools, because 'if they (students) get a better education they can go somewhere and have a good job and they . . . won't have to keep borrowing from people and we could use taxes to pay off the debt.'

Students in the three focus groups had differing views on the topic of running for public office. Students in Focus Group Three said, ‘Our community needs a lot of help” and that the community needed “to change the things that go on.’ When asked if the students could make a difference through holding an elected office, three out of four people in this group said yes. One of these said, ‘Because the people that are in office now are not really doing anything. So if I went in office I think I’d like to change a lot of things that are happening now from happening in the future.’ Responses were less positive in this group about their chances of being elected, with all four saying ‘it depends.’ The theme of discrimination, which students discussed on the topic of equal opportunities, resurfaced. One student stated:

> I also think it’s kind of based on race. Because I know there’s a lot of racist people in the world and so say if like one of us, ‘cause we’re Black women, what if some men out there think men are more superior than women so they’ll probably not vote for you ‘cause you’re a woman. Or, if some that are racist from Black or White, they probably wouldn’t vote for you ‘cause you’re Black.

A different student returned to the theme of socioeconomic status as a factor in getting elected to public office: ‘Even wealth plays into politics because the richer you are the more you can afford’ in paying for a campaign.

In the first and second focus groups, the idea of running for public office elicited mostly negative responses. Both groups generally agreed that running for office and serving in office was overwhelming and stressful. In Focus Group Two, students identified the following challenges: people asking you for favors, being constantly

criticized, always worrying about other people and getting votes, not being able to focus on your family, and that serving in public office changes your character. A student said:

> It seems like a lot of hard work and you have to please a lot of people and it's just a lot to do just to get to that spot and you don't know what's going to happen when you do get elected.

A student in Focus Group Two had the perception that people can be politically involved in other ways, saying, 'I don't really want to be a senator or a governor or anything like that but I still want to be politically involved.' In the third focus group, a student responded to the question 'Would you be a good leader?' this way: 'I think I would be good, but is that the job for me? No.' One student said that if things were not going well, she might consider running for public office because 'if you want change then you gotta make a step.'

Research Question Five: Student Demographic Variables (Focus Groups)

RQ5: What aspects of student personal and social background, such as gender, race, socioeconomic background, and literacy level, are related to adolescents' political efficacy?

The response to this research question is divided into the following sections: gender, literacy, race, and location inside or outside the protest area. If the student participants were representative of school district, most of them would have lived below the poverty line, however, there was no way to distinguish between those students who were poor and those who would not met the threshold for poverty. The other demographic factors are discussed below.

Gender. In all three focus groups, both male and female students were represented. In the first focus group, there were two male students and six female students. In each of the second and third focus groups, there was one male and three female students. Student responses in the focus group transcriptions were not separated by gender. In the notes, however, responses made references to gender on some topics. No responses indicated any difference in female or male viewpoints in the focus group notes.

Female students brought up the topic of gender in two of the three focus groups. I asked the students if all people in this country have equal opportunities to get a good education or good job. A student in Focus Group One said, ‘I think men get better jobs than women. We get the good jobs but we don’t get paid as much as the men do.’ The third focus group had a longer discussion of gender. Three female students considered issues related to gender, including men who are ‘putting down women a lot,’ and ‘feel like they’re over women’ or ‘think they (*sic*) more powerful.’ A male student in the group said, ‘Yeah, some guys do that, but like I said it depends on the person.’ Two female students referenced the 2016 presidential race and indicated support for Hillary Clinton. The male student said he would vote for a woman to be president ‘If they had the right thinking.’

Literacy. The recording transcriber did not associate specific student names to voices. Notes taken during the interviews indicated that certain students were particularly outspoken, or seemed to have a notable grasp on the context of the events the students were discussing. No data from the focus groups suggested that literacy level had an impact on how outspoken a student was during the sessions.

The first focus group was the largest (eight students) and the most diverse. The range of grade equivalent literacy levels was 5.1 to 9.3. The average reading level was 7.5. In this group, the student who was the quickest to respond to questions and most exuberant in her responses was over two years below reading level for the eighth grade. Another female student who often volunteered responses was nearly three reading levels below grade level. She lived within the protest area, and participated in protests. Her experiential knowledge of many of the topics discussed outweighed her level of expertise in how government functions. There were three students in this group who were reading at or above reading level. Two of them tended to be reserved; one of them, who read at a ninth grade level, participated actively. Of the two students who were within two months of reading at an eighth grade level, one was reserved, and the other one, who was the sister of the most outspoken participant, tended to be very verbal. Students' personalities and their comfort level in the focus group experience was a greater indicator of active level of participation.

In the second focus group, two students read at or above reading level, and two did not. This group had the highest average reading level: 8.9. The student with a post-high school reading level (13) was the most outspoken member of this group. He had a strong sense of the role of education in improving opportunity, he noted that socioeconomic status may be even more important than race as an indicator of opportunities, and he was especially aware of the role of media and the possible long-term implications of events in Ferguson.

In the third focus group, the average reading level of four students was 6.7. One student was reading on grade level and three were below level, two of whom read at the

fifth grade level. The four students participated virtually equally. Students in this group had a strong grasp of issues related to politics, though the average reading level was the lowest of the three groups. The students volunteered and discussed some of the topics with a significant level of confidence, including race as a political issue facing our country, a need for police reform, discrimination in hiring, negative impact and ineffectiveness of violent protest on the community, and the role of socioeconomic status and gender, in addition to race, as indicators of a lack of opportunities.

Race. Student responses across the three focus groups were consistent on most issues, regardless of the racial or ethnic background of the students. Three out of eight students (37.5%) in the first focus group were not Black: two Hispanic participants and one White participant. In the second focus group, all four students were Black. In Focus Group Three, one out of four students (25%) were not Black. In this group, there were three Black participants and one White participant.

The students gave no indication that their comfort level was considerably impacted by race, especially after a few minutes of adjusting to the focus group experience. All students in all three groups participated. In the first focus group, both Hispanic students were quiet and reserved, but they did participate, especially when specifically asked about their points of view on certain topics. One White student participated in each of the first and third focus groups. The students, both male, were actively engaged in the conversations. I occasionally addressed individual students about their perceptions on specific topics, but this happened with students of all racial backgrounds. The person scribing Focus Group One noted that ‘body language continues

to be relaxed. Students are being respectful of one another. Taking turns talking.' This was the norm in all three focus groups.

When I asked students in the first focus group what good citizens do, one Hispanic student said that good citizens follow the law. The other Hispanic student said good citizens give their time and resources, which was in keeping with two Black students who said good citizens help the homeless and clean up the community. All four students in the third focus group said that 'some' of the adults they knew were good citizens. Two Black students made connections between citizenship and protests in Ferguson. Two Black students noted that when there were 'riots, and some of those was participating instead of stopping it or protesting it' and another Black student followed up, saying, 'And some was letting their kids go out while they just sit at home.' A White student completed this exchange: 'Some take it too far, like take the [protesting] too far, or they're not doing enough.' The White student followed up with another reason only some of the adults were good citizens, pointing out, 'Or they don't vote or contribute to who's the better person that you want to represent you.' Two Black students agreed, giving their own explanations of why making good voting decisions was important.

Members of the third focus group were asked if they trusted the police to look out for their best interests. Two Black students said, 'I don't,' followed by a White student, who said, 'Depends on the situation.' A Black student agreed with this assessment: 'Well, yeah, like he said, it depends. Because I have some family members that are officers and I can tell them something and they're not going to go arrest me or report me.' In the same group, after several comments from Black students about police

discrimination based on race, a White student pointed out that wealthy people were less likely to be prosecuted for a crime. He said treatment by police could depend on wealth:

> Maybe the police will let [you] go because they're afraid that they're not going to be able to prosecute you because you're rich and you can get better lawyer than everybody else and you can get off no matter what they do.

The four members of this group agreed that some issues were related to race, some to class, and some were inter-related.

In the first focus group, the White student indicated he trusted the SRO, saying, 'I completely trust Officer H. I've known him since I was three.' A Hispanic student agreed. The Black students were less supportive, but did not indicate they did not trust the SRO and security officer. In the third focus group, it was a Black student who said, 'I trust [the SRO] because I've seen him ever since like fifth grade . . . I mean, he's the one that encouraged me to be in FYI (Ferguson Youth Initiative).' In the focus groups, concern about privacy was a recurring theme among Black students. Some Black students expressed fears about sharing personal information with school personnel, which might lead to referrals to social services and the courts:

> I wouldn't tell nobody my business because they can go back and tell social services and then my momma have to deal with it. And then they can take me away from my family. I could be in foster care. I don't want that.

Students in Focus Group One responded to a question as to whether government leaders listen to regular people. When one Hispanic student said that government leaders are only interested in listening to people when they are campaigning for election, a majority of students agreed. When students in the third focus group were asked if they

trusted state government leaders to look out for their best interests, the White student was the first to respond: 'State, basically not at all. Federal it depends.' He continued, 'Because our governor made a lot of bad decisions in times when he needed to make good ones.' The three Black students agreed.

An exchange between students in the third focus group did highlight a slight difference in viewpoints between Black students and a White student, although all four students thought that there should have been an attempt to put out fires on West Florissant Road. The White student tried to consider the rationale of the official decision not to send firemen to the scene of fires on the night of the Grand Jury announcement. (This perception that fire engines were never dispatched was not accurate.) This student said, 'I think what the people in charge of that were thinking was that they didn't want the fire-fighters to get hurt because [rioters] were throwing things at police officers.'

In the third focus group, all four students, including the White student, agreed that race was an issue facing our country. The White student in the third group was well informed about the background of Ferguson-related issues, including the role of the National Guard. When students were asked if leaders in government listened to regular people, the three Black students answered negatively. The White student said, 'Sometimes, not always.' After that, two Black students amended their responses. One of them said, 'Depends on the situation, depends on who it is.'

When students in Focus Group One were asked if there was a need to improve race relations in Ferguson, every student answered in the affirmative. Black students were particularly adamant. A Hispanic student volunteered one way that race relations in the community could be improved: 'Parents not to judge other kids 'cause they might

think that kids from this school are bad so they send them to another school.' Several students, including the other Hispanic student, the White student, and Black students agreed that this sometimes happened. Two students indicated that it would be hard to change parents' attitudes about this.

Students in the third focus group shared their opinions on some changes that would make the community better. Black students made several references to the police, including, 'Get some better Police Officers to come in and protect us and not try to harm us.' Another Black student said, 'People I see say that there's a lot of White males in the police force, so if some African Americans joined it'll probably even the playing field.' The third Black student agreed:

> Where we live are mostly Black people, so it's kind of weird that you don't see people of your color, like not enforcing authority and you see mostly White people and they think they can be over you 'cause they're a different color than you.

The White student also recommended careful hiring practices for the police department, so that someone 'who is bad . . . doesn't get into the Police department and represent our community.'

At the end of the first focus group session, students considered whether they felt that positive changes were coming to their communities. Student responses were mixed, ranging from 'I'm hopeful' to 'no.' One Black student said she did not have a lot of hope. She explained, 'There are a lot of things happening and you shouldn't get your hopes up for something that you've been dreaming on and waiting on. And someone says it might happen but it just doesn't end up happening.' Another Black student talked

about negative people who 'don't really want things to get better for everyone.' Then she said, 'But I mean, I guess my hopes are kind of high because anything could happen.' A White student and two Hispanic students did not respond until they were specifically asked. All three students said they were 'somewhat' hopeful.

Location inside or outside protest area. As earlier noted, transcripts of the three focus groups did not include student names matched with individual student voices. I did record anything in the notes from the focus groups that differentiated between students who lived inside or outside the protest area. Several students indicated that they participated in protests. At least one student specifically mentioned that he lived near the fire department, but did not actually say that where he lived affected his political attitudes. I had no way to track to what extent location within the district impacted students' perceptions about political issues based on focus group interviews.

Students who lived inside the protest area were represented in all three focus groups. In the first focus groups, four of eight students lived inside the protest area. One student was Black and indicated that she had participated in the protests with her mother. The two Hispanic and one White student all lived inside the protest area. Four Black students lived outside the protest area. In the second focus group, one student lived inside the protest area and three did not. In the third focus group, three out of four students lived inside the protest area, one of whom was White and two were Black. The student who lived outside the protest area was Black.

Throughout all three sessions, students shared personal experiences that informed their political attitudes. One student who lived inside the protest area described how she participated in peaceful protests with her mother:

> We made posters we got our shirts made and then we went to Quick Trip. But when it first happened we all went to the apartment complex and we listened to what his mom [Leslie McFadden, the mother of Michael Brown] had to say on the whole situation.

Two students in the first focus group explained that they were critical of the police response to protests. Two students described what they saw. One student explained, 'Okay, when I was there it was a peaceful protest. We was doing our peaceful thing and then all of a sudden the officers start shooting, telling us to get off the street.' A different student continued, 'That's what made everybody escalate to a whole 'nother level.'

A few students commented that they lived close to the protest area near the police and fire station or the area closer to West Florissant Road, which was the area that saw the greatest damage in the riots. A student from the third focus group described what happened to her neighborhood on the night of the Grand Jury announcement:

> Yeah, in our area the one night when they had all the buildings burning down, it's like you're letting us do it. You know, it's hard to explain, like when they were just burning down you know the fire department is like down the street, they could have came running, but after everything was burning to charcoal they decide to come. Like when all this stuff was burning they waited 'til after and you could have come during and all our building would have been still standing. Could have been, but the whole city, like where we live has to get repaired 'cause you guys waited 'til everything was gone.

Some of these personal experiences, especially those related to the curfew put into effect in the area near West Florissant Road during the State of Emergency, can likely

give a clue as to a student's location inside the protest area. One student in the third focus group was critical of the curfew, sharing, 'Because there was one time my mom she did overtime and they almost arrested her because she had to drive through there to get to our house.' Another student in Focus Group Three had mixed feelings as to whether she trusted the police to look out for her best interests, even though she had some family members who were officers. She said police officers police restricted her father and grandfather from coming home after curfew hours in two separate incidents, and threatened to arrest them.

Research Question Six: Parental Attitudes (Focus Groups)

RQ6: How do parental attitudes about political efficacy/civic engagement impact students' perceptions of their own political efficacy?

Students' parents impacted the students' interest in politics, as well as their exposure to political conversations. One female student expressed that she was interested in politics, explaining, 'This is my dad, my dad and mom. My dad loves politics. He does.' Other students in the same group were noncommittal. When pressed as to why the other students did not have a strong interest in politics, a student said, 'No one talks about that' or that family members may talk about 'stuff that comes on the news,' but that only adults were involved in the conversation.

In response to the question about whether the adults they knew were good citizens, students in the second focus group all agreed their parents were good citizens, with two students indicating that good citizens work hard. One student said, 'They've both got jobs and stuff' and another student said, 'Yeah, my parents they work, and then they do the right things.' To the questions of whether the adults they know usually vote,

four students in Focus Group One said ‘yes,’ two of them specifically mentioning their mothers.

Students in the first focus group were overwhelmingly negative when they discussed trust in institutions. Three people said they did not trust anybody, though two students said ‘I trust my mom.’ The pattern of a lack of trust extended to students’ hesitation to share personal things with adults at school. Students indicated a fear of having family situations referred to social services. One student cited the possibility of being taken away from his mother and put in foster care.

Students’ attitudes were also impacted by things parents discussed at home or the students witnessed when they were with their parents. A student in the third focus group gave an example of how people can be treated with suspicion because of their race:

> Certain people, I guess take offense to, ‘cause we’re a different race than them and they get like scared or offended. Like my dad walking to a store, it was cold; it was like 30 degrees outside he was wearing a leather jacket. And this lady she like hid her purse, and grabbed real close to her husband ‘cause she thought my dad was gonna rob her. ‘Cause what he was wearing, and that he was a Black man, I was like, ‘that’s not right’. And it really made me angry, I was like ‘what are you scared?’ he’s with two kids, a wife, and him, so I’m like why’s he gonna rob you and he’s standing right there next to me?

Students described experiences that impacted their levels of trust in police and other government institutions. A student described a perception of excessive ticketing of African-Americans by police, explaining, ‘They gave my mom a ticket and didn’t tell her why she got the ticket and she had to pay almost $500.00 for it.’ A participant shared

that 'we did the peaceful march, me and my momma, and then they [police] started throwing smoke.' Two students in Focus Group Three talked about incidents related to the curfew in August of 2014. Both students lived within the curfew area near West Florissant Road and said that officers threatened to arrest family members. Referring to a night that her mother worked overtime, one student said, 'my mom was like 'you cannot arrest me because I'm trying got get home and I was at work.' So I was like, that's wrong.'

A conversation in the first focus group provided evidence of the impact of parents' attitudes on their children, particularly on the topic of hope or hopelessness that things were going to get better. This was what students said:

> Student: A little bit . . . Because sometimes change doesn't happen, so, and my mom tells me not to expect things. (several students agreed)
>
> Student: Yeah, don't get your hopes up.
>
> Student: My mom be like 'watch your back 'cause everybody ain't real'.
>
> Student: Ain't nobody real, it's every man for themselves.

Other Findings: Hope in Positive Change (Focus Groups)

In Focus Group One, I asked students whether they were more hopeful or hopeless that positive change was going to happen in their community. They had mixed responses, as though students were not able to commit yet. After some discussion, most students agreed they were 'somewhat hopeful.' This exchange occurred between four students:

> Student: A little bit . . . Because sometimes change doesn't happen, so, and my mom tells me not to expect things. (several students agreed)

> Student: Don't have a lot of hope . . . there are a lot of things happening and you shouldn't get your hopes up for something that you've been dreaming on and waiting on. And someone says it might happen but it just end up doesn't happening. So, after that your hopes go down for change.
>
> Student: Kind of so-so because there's like a lot of negative people and stuff that don't really want change and like they're just selfish and they don't really want things to get better for everyone. And they're just really negative and stuff like that. But I mean, I guess my hopes are kind of high because anything could happen so, yeah.

On the same question about whether students were more hopeful or hopeless about whether things were going to get better in their community, one student in Focus Group Two, said:

> I'm in the middle . . . they have been making progress, but at the same time you know Baltimore just had a problem, they (local rioters) just broke into a gas station and so I was like why would you break into a gas station because Baltimore just went through something?

Two students said they hoped that things would get better, though one was unsure, and said, 'I think they, well I don't know 'cause I don't know what's gonna happen in the future. I hope things get better.' One girl chose a more positive approach: 'Well, me personally, my hopes are always high. I think things can change for the better . . . I just think they should just do something to bring everyone together.'

Qualitative Findings: Interview Participant Characteristics

The purpose of the interviews with community leaders, community activists, and educators were to provide an additional lens into the political attitudes of adolescents, based on their encounters with young people in the context of their work. Interview participants may have interacted with participants in this study, though more likely interacted with other young people (11-years-old through early 20s) in the communities served by the Ferguson-Florissant school district or broader St. Louis area. Each interview participant had engaged in conversation with young people in different contexts over the course of the 18 months following the Michael Brown shooting. As a result, participants were in a unique position to witness young people express themselves in political or apolitical ways. All of the participants had worked with young people prior to August 9, 2014, and were able to lend insight into how adolescent attitudes had changed, if indeed they had, and in what ways.

The six interview participants described their roles working with young people. The primary focus of this study was students in the eighth grade, most of whom were 14-years-old at the time of the study. In the context of the interviews, the definition of ‘young people’ was broader. Participants responded to questions in terms of the young people they had encountered, whether middle school aged (11-14), high school aged (14-18), or young adult (18-25). All of these ages are approximate, as young people develop in maturity, voice, and civic engagement at different rates and through different experiences. Interview participants had opportunities to differentiate between the three age groups, considering ways in which young people within the range of 11-25 may demonstrate different perspectives.

The interview participants interacted with young people in different ways. A middle school teacher had more experience talking with middle school students; a high school teacher had more experience talking with high school students. A community activist who played a role in active protest interacted most regularly with young adults. The purpose of interviewing people with diverse experiences was to gain a more complete understanding of political attitudes and actions. Comparing the interview participants' perceptions of young people of varying ages allowed insight into a bigger picture of political socialization.

Mark, who also works in the community when he is not stationed in elementary or secondary schools, detailed his role working with young people in the school setting:

> I'm a resource officer . . . and there I serve as a counselor, keep the school safe, and handle all police situations that involve the school. I think, with having a police officer in the schools we show them a positive role model.

Jeremiah had multiple roles in which he interacted or acted on behalf of young people. When asked to what extent he considered his work to be about engaging or empowering young people, he responded, 'Very much . . . It's about generational impact and racial equity for young people, for our region, but that begins with young people.'

Two educators said that they considered their roles to be entirely about engaging or empowering young people. Eileen said:

> Almost a-hundred percent . . . Do I feel I *do* it a hundred percent? I always feel that I might be lacking. Because every time a child says something to me, especially after what we went through in Ferguson, I realize where I might have been missing the heart of their concern.

Sheila referenced both her work in education and her involvement in the community, saying, ‘I think 100% of my work is about engaging and empowering young people.’

Omarr described his world-view as a community activist: ‘I believe in the power of *demos* and everyday people to change history.’ He asked for clarification of ‘young people’ and he chose to focus on young adults in their:

> Early twenties, who are the very reasons we’re even having this conversation. And I think it terms of engaging them, it’s the other way around and that’s what makes Ferguson unique. They engaged us, they created the political space for a political discourse that (…) that many adults were unwilling to have.

Research Question One: Political Efficacy (Interviews)

RQ1: What are adolescents’ perceptions of their own political efficacy, including trust in institutions, attitudes about political systems, and equality of opportunities?

This research question involved several components, which were addressed in adult interviews. I have broken the question into the following sections: internal efficacy, external efficacy, effectiveness of political action, trust in institutions or groups, and opportunities.

Internal efficacy. Some interview participants volunteered the opinion that many young people lack awareness of how they can make a difference through political engagement. Sheila said, ‘I don’t think that our children really understand how they fit into the larger scope of things. And how they really can make a difference.’ Derrick differentiated between conventional and unconventional political action. He noted that families introduced young people to electoral politics through participation, however:

> I don't think they're aware of unconventional. These protests that we saw in the past year was the first time that a lot of people were engaged in any level of civic action that they have to even understand that it's permissible.

Mark noticed that young people lack knowledge about government and the role of government in their lives. He said:

> I don't think they realize how much part the government plays in their education either be it the state or the federal . . . And I think that's something that we need to probably address more, especially [the role of] the state.

Sheila also described a lack of understanding of political and social issues, citing a de-emphasis of Social Studies in schools, the importance of community service, and the potential role of education to address the deficits.

Participants considered the difference between middle school, high school, and young adults in the level of confidence young people to make a difference through political engagement. Jeremiah said:

> I think part of what I'm seeing is almost a domino effect. I see college students, or college aged young people giving confidence to high school students and perhaps then by extension, middle school students. . . . modeling for them new strategies.

Derrick had more experience watching the development of high school students and young adults, saying, 'by the time they hit their early twenties, they are more vocal.'

Interview participants responded to the question of whether they had noticed a difference in the confidence of young people to make a difference through political action since the initial protests following the Michael Brown shooting. At the middle school

level, Mark and Eileen also described the desire of students to express their voices in the context of student walk-outs. Mark remembered, 'We've had the walk-outs at the high schools, well, then the middle school [students] decided they wanted to get involved also.' Eileen noticed that:

> students were tentative, but wanted to walkout last year. I felt that was healthy. I think all teachers felt that that was their voice, you know, somewhat being heard. But not all the students really knew why they were speaking out.

Four interview participants, however, encountered young people for whom there was more clarity in the purpose of expressing voice. Participants used words like 'engaged,' 'mobilized,' 'quickened,' 'resolved,' 'ambitious,' and 'charged' to engage in actions to make a difference. Jeremiah referred to an increased expectation for government leaders to listen and act when he said:

> I think young people in the last sixteen months have gotten bolder. I think even if they don't necessarily believe, and I actually do think that some of them believe, that elected officials are more responsive to them, . . . [young people] believe that they should be.

Sheila said, 'I see the attitudes of the kids understanding that they do have a voice, and I don't think that they felt that they had a voice before.'

Several interview participants discussed the various ways they witnessed young people questioning adults or holding adults more accountable than they had previously and raising 'critical questions, particularly of those of us who are older and holding us accountable to our failures as folks who have been engaging in this work,' as Omarr described. Mark described young people asking questions of the adults, including police

and local government leaders at meetings in the community. Eileen also saw a significant change in the disposition of students, even 14-year-olds, to demand answers of adults. She said, 'There is a big switch … I guess you could call it an awakening.'

Jeremiah and Omarr both used the word 'courage' to characterize young people who were engaged in demanding change. Jeremiah summarized the change he witnessed: 'I think that deep conviction, courage, and capacity to move is present in young people today in a manner that perhaps has not been in the past.' Omarr said:

> I don't even have words for the level of courage that they have . . . a lack of confidence can be overcome by more courage, so you may not know if you can do it, if you can pull it off, [you have] all kinds of self-doubt.

He marveled, 'Somehow and some way these young people have bent history to their will because of their courage.'

External efficacy. External efficacy related to the perception of how well government leaders respond to the needs of the people and whether political engagement was worthwhile. Interview participants answered the following questions: 'How would you characterize what young people believe about how the government responds to them and the needs of their community?' and 'Do they think that government officials are looking out for their best interest?' Participants' responses to these questions shed light on the government responsiveness piece of external efficacy of young people. Often, through discussion of these two questions, as well as the questions about youth engagement and expected adult engagement, participants addressed the piece of whether political engagement is worthwhile.

Omarr observed, 'I think the reality for many young people is that the government has been a dismal failure.' Jeremiah offered an example of the lack of government responsiveness when a group of young people engaged in the process of breaking down the Ferguson Commission's report and prioritizing issues they felt would have the most significant outcomes for African-Americans. They chose to focus on school suspension, which disproportionately affects African-American males and is the nexus of the school to prison pipeline. Young people invited school superintendents and government leaders, including the mayor and county executive, as well as high-ranking law enforcement officers. Nearly all declined to attend the conference, or failed to come at the last minute. Jeremiah said,

> This is the example and the model we've given to our young people about what we have centered as the most important issues for our region over the course of a generation. And that were validated in a report from a *governmentally appointed commission (emphasis)*. This is how we responded to young people: we didn't show up for them.

Mark, a law enforcement officer, conceded 'some of the things that have gone on here locally with situations in Ferguson, they don't always think that the government is doing the right thing for them.' Derrick's observations were stronger when he noted, 'The young people I deal with are disillusioned, unaware, cynical, and tentative about dealing with the status quo, the powers that be.' Eileen described the letters her students wrote to President Obama in the fall of 2014:

> They felt betrayed by the government, they felt betrayed by the police, they truly went right to the President as he *knew* that he was supposed to have been there,

> and so they vividly described how bullets were going past their homes, their windows. They were on the floor. And they felt that, wasn't their government supposed to be there to protect them?

As to whether young people believe that political engagement is worthwhile, both Omarr and Derrick referred specifically to voting. Omarr said, 'There is a suspicion of electoral politics . . . when people say young people not engaged politically they typically mean that they are not engaged in terms of electoral process and electoral politics.' He pointed out that political thought plays out in youth music, culture, and conversations. He said, 'They are politically conscious, they just don't trust politicians.'

Trust in groups or institutions. In response to a general question about the level of trust young people have in government institutions, Omarr simply said, 'little to none.' He gave an example of stories of arrests of children, and noted 'as the state continues to overreach we're gonna continue to see this level of distrust of government agency.' Jeremiah asserted a 'low level of trust,' and pointed out, 'the calls for accountability are so high among young adults that I take that as an indication of a distrust.'

Interview participants considered which institutions young people trusted or distrusted. Three participants employed in schools considered to what extent youth trust schools. Sheila said:

> I would say schools are probably the ones that they would trust the most. Because they genuinely believe that schools are considered a safe haven . . . they understand for the most part most of their teachers and educators have their best interest at heart.

Omarr and Jeremiah differentiated between teachers and schools or school districts when discussing trust. Omarr said, 'I would suspect that they don't trust school as an institution, but they trust teachers.' Eileen explained that students wanted a relationship with teachers that extended past discipline and the curriculum. In her experience, however, 'it's difficult to get that connection with every single student. And it hurts as a teacher to realize that, that is when they begin trusting you.'

All of the six interview participants discussed lack of trust in the police. Derrick recognized the difference between trust in schools and trust in the police. 'I think people trust schools too much. Versus police, especially now, nobody trusts the police. Until we need them. That's how it works, but it's just hyper-sensitive now more than ever.' Sheila said, 'I hate to say that the children have been taught to mistrust the police, but their experiences are what they've seen in their own lives and their family's lives.'

Mark highlighted how building relationships with young people impacted trust. He explained that middle school students completed a survey a few years before this study that investigated, among other things, the difference between students' perceptions of the police in the community and School Resource Officers. Student participants indicated that they saw the 'police as not always being their friends and not always supporting them where they see the SRO as a friend to them someone that they could trust and go to.'

Jeremiah suggested that the negative experiences with police was correlated to trust or distrust of other government institutions. He explained 'that young people's disparate contact with police has a lot to do with their confidence level in government,' which accounts for why they have more hope in changes as the federal level and less trust

in local government. Omarr reiterated the impact of negative contact with local government, referencing young people's experiences with 'family courts in terms of the high level of targeting of Black parents, particularly Black single mothers.'

Two interview participants considered the levels of trust young people had in the military. Eileen and Derrick commented that young people from their schools had relatives in the armed forces. In terms of trust in the military, Derrick argued that there are various points of view to consider. He said that beyond family connections, there were students and young adults who see the military as a 'way out.' In addition, there were those who thought the military 'is an arm of the government who basically uses us and our lives to impose a will that has nothing to do with this altruistic sense of enforcing good and courage and all these American values.'

Interview participants considered whether there was a difference in levels of trust or distrust between young people of different age groups. Jeremiah and Omarr spoke to that difference. Omarr said, 'I probably would want to note that there's probably at times some youthful innocence, right? Like you go to the police when you're in trouble - that they're safe people. And I think that erodes over time.' Jeremiah illustrated the influence of adults on the political attitudes of young people. He acknowledged there was:

> Distrust among adults that probably carries over to teenagers. I think middle schoolers are probably still more trusting of settings of government than the teenagers and young adults. I think there's a little distance there. I think they're still learning, they're still very close to civics.

As Omarr said, 'we're consistently seeing younger and younger folks struggling to make sense of what the democratic promise is.'

Opportunities. Opinions varied as to whether young people had the perception that there were equal opportunities to receive a high quality education. Mark said, 'Seeing them in the hall and how they react to teachers, I think they feel that they're getting support and getting a good education.' Other participants did not support this point of view. Jeremiah noted that negative public perceptions of some schools relate to how students define their access to opportunities. He said, 'I believe that a student that goes to S________ or B_________ knows what the community thinks of their school and so that connects with the opportunity that they would have had at another school.' Omarr also noted that educational opportunities were not the same for everyone, and young people were aware of this. He said, 'I think it varies when you say young people, like if we're talking about Black poor youth? Oh, it's terrible. There's only one way to describe it.'

Jeremiah spoke specifically about a magnet school program in St. Louis City for students identified as gifted and talented. He described a family who had 'navigated and benefited from that track within the magnet school, within the public schools, had unique opportunities for development.' These young people had a different set of experiences and exposures than other students in his church who attended typical public schools in the city that set them up for greater success. He said, 'Clearly we know how to create the environment, but we don't create it for everyone, and of course we also note that that track of schools is a much more [racially and socioeconomically] diverse track than the average public school.'

Opportunities for college or employment. The issue of equal opportunities led to a discussion of college. Derrick said that for many young people he knew, college was

'Unrealistic. Because we sell them the idea of college without selling them the idea that they have to pay for it.' Sheila shared an experience she had talking to a class of elementary students in which almost the whole group wanted to go to college, but only a few planned to go to college. She said 'their vision is much different than other people in the world because they don't see [college] as a possibility.' Eileen saw a difference, however, in terms of the perception that college is a possibility for young people at parent teacher conferences in the fall of 2015, 'Parents came and they were talking about college, and yeah, it's just an eighth grade . . . These were parents were looking into the future.'

Four African American interview participants responded to whether young people had the perception that there are equal opportunities for all people to get a good education or job in this country. Omarr did not mince words when he said, 'Oh, they know that's some bullshit.' Even among young people who do attend college, Jeremiah said:

> The good job piece is blown. These college students will be the most educated and the most equipped from a technological stand point of any generation that has come, of Americans, and they will not do as well as their parents.

Derrick and Jeremiah also referred to racial inequality. Derrick said:

> [Young people] give me the impression that Black people have to work twice as hard to get the same thing that a White person has. And more importantly we have issues even within our own community that preclude us from actually moving forward.

Sheila was more concerned with young people's perception that they could not take advantage of opportunities because they did not realize they had options. She said,

'Everybody has the opportunity, but does everybody see the opportunity? If they can't recognize and see it, then the opportunity is not there.'

Opportunities to participate in activities outside of school. Jeremiah referenced a number of activities that some young people participated in outside of school, including 'Youth groups at church definitely, [Herbert Hoover] Boys and Girls clubs, Rec centers in that way. Youth development groups that are related to fraternities and sororities . . . and sports teams.' He said that afterschool programs are 'not ubiquitous enough, I mean there's just not care for that continuum or support for young people outside school time.' Continuing that theme, Derrick said, 'but there are a lot of kids that aren't involved in any of that because they're like, 'I gotta work,' or 'I gotta go home.' He proceeded to explain why more high school students were not actively involved in activities outside of school. He said:

> I would say what they're involved in is, in terms of the population I deal with, the hands-on maintenance and management of their family affairs. Watching younger brothers and sisters, working a job in order to sustain their own livelihood, dealing with parental issues . . . a lot of that has to do with their economic standing, their level of stability, as far as how and where they can extend themselves.

Mark felt that there was limited access to after school activities. He said, 'I think probably one of the biggest reasons is the funding,' although he was a strong proponent of ensuring opportunities for students after school hours. He did note a decline in youth interest and gave several examples of trips, dances, and parties that community organizations, the middle school, and DARE provided for students that were under-

attended. Sheila and Eileen agreed that access to opportunities outside of school was limited, although they had seen an increase in programs in 2015-16 school year. Sheila stated:

> When it comes to after school activities, up until this last year with the Mike Brown situation, there were not a lot of after school activities . . . Our children in urban districts have not had that opportunity [to participate in activities]. They hang out on the street because there's nothing to do.

Research Question Two: Citizenship (Interviews)

RQ2: What are adolescents' perceptions of citizenship and civic participation?

Interview participants did not respond to any questions that were specifically about citizenship. They also did not volunteer information that would be related to adolescents' perceptions about the meaning of citizenship, what good citizens do, or what good citizens do not do, at least not explicitly. Interview participants did discuss students' perceptions of civic and political engagement at length, found in the section entitled 'Expected Political Participation.'

Research Question Three: School Efficacy (Interviews)

RQ3: What are adolescents' perceptions of their own school efficacy?

On the topic of school efficacy, interview participants did not answer specific questions, however, several of them referenced students exercising their political voices in the school setting. Mark gave an example dating back to when the Board of Education placed the school superintendent on administrative leave in 2013. He said that students wrote letters and some staged walkouts. Mark recalled that the students were supportive

of the superintendent because ‘they felt that that person was a strong supporter for them so they were going to support him.’

Students’ response in schools throughout the region in the fall of 2014 indicated dissatisfaction with broader community issues, however, Jeremiah gave an example of school-related protests that were inspired by the protest movement in Ferguson. Students at a north St. Louis City high school organized walkouts over leadership and building administration turnover a month after protests in the streets of Ferguson. He said that students ‘saw that was getting a response. It was getting people to pay attention. It was getting systems to pay attention. And they decided perhaps we could use this action as well.’

Derrick relayed the most comprehensive example of students demonstrating school efficacy. He described the actions taken by high school students to address problems they identified with their school environment:

> People have come together in a way that I have not seen . . . We’re having more pep rallies; we’re having more interactions that help to *build* people up. And now the kids are feeling heard, like ‘Hey, we said we wanted to do this’ and now we’re doing this. So, starting [change] on a social level and hopefully you can transcend into other things.

Research Question Four: Expected Political Participation (Interviews)

RQ4: What is the extent of adolescents’ expected political participation?

All six of the interview participants discussed various ways in with students engaged in political action, illustrated in the table above. Many participants referenced the same methods of engagement, despite having encountered different groups of

students in the region covering a span of ages, from middle school through early twenties. Table 17 shows the ways that young people were politically engaged that were mentioned in the interviews. Each number at the top of the table represents one of the six interview participants.

Table 17

Methods of Engagement of Young People

Method of engagement	1	2	3	4	5	6
Church-related political engagement				X	X	X
Community rallies, marches	X				X	X
Community service			X		X	
Conferences/sessions/forums						X
Ferguson Youth Initiative		X				
Go to government buildings						X
High school walk-outs		X	X	X		X
Make documentaries			X			
Meet with community leaders/elected officials		X	X	X		X
MS walk-out/assembly		X				
Programs/activities - school district			X	X	X	
Protest signs – children	X					
Questioning school curriculum			X	X		
Street protest/direct action	X		X			X
Use of Social Media			X		X	
Voice opinions to teachers, principals		X	X	X		
Vote*				X		
Work polls, learn about candidates				X		
Write essays, poetry			X			
Write letters to elected officials, newspaper				X	X	

Note: Parentheses indicate interview participant(s) who referenced each method of engagement
**negative view of young people's interest in engaging in electoral politics (1, 3)*

Relationship between exposure to political action and likely political engagement. Three interview participants discussed the relationship between exposure to political engagement, usually through adult guidance, to how likely young people were to be political active. Derrick spoke to the importance of young people finding and

expressing their voices through a variety of activities inside and outside of school. He noted that young people's confidence to engage politically 'varies based upon their previous engagement with change and civil action.' Exposure could be as simple as writing a letter to an elected official like letters written to President Obama. Eileen explained how students reacted when they received a reply in May of 2015. Although students questioned if it was really from the president, 'His signature was on there so the students took pictures of that letter. They showed it to other people in the school. They [told] their parents that 'we wrote the White House and the White House wrote back!'

Jeremiah described the ways that young people were exposed to political action through their activist church: 'We were able to work with our youth leaders to create settings, a number of sessions where the young people from the church actually . . . had opportunity to have a direct agency with these lists of demands' from Don't Shoot coalition and Hands Up United. Young people (students) were not engaged in direct action through the church, although some of them attended a rally for Ferguson October.

Jeremiah also connected exposure to political action to the likelihood of young people to engage willingly through politics. He said, 'That's what our church does. Our church protests. So there's a way in which they're indirectly being taught that and they use some of that language about holding people accountable.' When youth from the church participated in a four-day conference to prioritize recommendations from the Ferguson Commission report, the officials invited to attend (including the mayor, county executive, the Chief of Police, and school district superintendents) declined to participate or did not show up after having said they would be there. This is how the young people reacted:

> So, [young people] were a part of the group that went to the mayor's office the next day to say, 'Okay, you can't make it when we set a date. You set a date. We'll do it when you want to do it'. What they see is a lack of response, but what they also see is the need to continue to show up outside of the lines, to draw outside of the lines a bit in order to get them to respond.

Participation in electoral politics. Early in his interview, Omarr astutely pointed out that 'when people say young people (are) not engaged politically, they typically mean that they are not engaged in terms of electoral process and electoral politics.' Derrick mentioned voting twice, once in the context of exposure to the practice of voting at home and once in terms of descriptive representation. In a conversation about conventional politics, he argued that 'practice depends on family and what the families do as far as voting.' He also noted that young Black people do not see registering to vote or voting as a priority when they are not seeing candidates they think would represent their needs, particularly when there is a lack of qualified Black candidates running for office. Eileen did mention former students she saw at the polls who credited their Social Studies teachers with igniting a desire to vote.

When interview participants answered a question about the political involvement or likely future political involvement of young people, four of them focused on whether young people were likely to run for political office, although they had all discussed other forms of political engagement at other points in the interviews. Mark said, 'There's probably a small amount that want to get involved as politicians, I think more of them are wanting to be career oriented,' not, as Sheila noted, 'thinking about going into politics to change the world or make a difference.' Derrick noticed the same thing, but attributed it

to the immediacy of some young people's need to work their way out of poverty. He said, 'Being able to create a level of economic stability is what I constantly hear about.'

Jeremiah seemed surprised to realize he only knew one young person interested in running for office one day, despite the political nature of the work he did with young people. He described a young woman that Senator Claire McCaskill tried to recruit into politics to no avail. Jeremiah referred back to the young man he called 'in risk' earlier in the interview:

> He's talked about getting involved and maybe running for office one day. He's the only student, I mean literally, I've been working with young people directly in my church and our youth group for 15 years, he's the only one.

Three interview participants agreed they had noticed a difference of young people in the likely political involvement or future political involvement as adults since August of 2014. Sheila thought this was possible because 'now some of the kids are starting to understand their rights,' which she attributed to a 'Ferguson Effect.' Jeremiah agreed that he had witnessed a difference in young people's involvement and attributed that to increased exposure to political action. He said,

> I don't know if elected office would be a significant change, but I do think the capacity or the orientation to organize and advocate is definitely different. I think people have had learning opportunities as relates to that. Direct engagement in it through things like the commission or things that people have set up, forums that people have set up just to hear young people's voices.

Research Question Five: Student Characteristics (Interviews)

RQ5: What aspects of student personal and social background, such as gender, race, socioeconomic background, and literacy level, are related to adolescents' political efficacy?

The six interview participants were all actively involved with young people in and around Ferguson and the greater St. Louis metropolitan area from August of 2014 through at least August 2015. Omarr, who was involved in the protest movement on the ground in Ferguson and St. Louis and participated in a variety of forms of political engagement alongside young people, asked for clarification: 'I mean, depends on what you mean by young people. I mean in terms of the young people who were in the streets in Ferguson, their ages range from 14 to mostly 20-somethings.' Omarr also asked a question to clarify the race and socioeconomic status of young people when he was asked about the attitudes about opportunities of the young people he had encountered. He said, 'I think it varies when you say young people, like if we're talking about Black poor youth.'

Jeremiah described encounters with young people though direct political protest, his work though a non-profit organization, and his church. In these cases, his contact was also with Black youth, many of whom lived in poverty. Discussing some high school and middle school students, he called some situations 'tragic.' He described one young man from his church as 'troubled in the sense that he's in risk, but he's not at risk. He's doing well, he's in a community service youth group, he's going, doing leadership development work, but he lives in risk.' Other interview participants referenced young people working to overcome issues related to unstable family situations.

Four of the interview participants worked in middle or high schools. The percentage of Black students in those schools ranged from 87.1% and 94.4% (Missouri Departments of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2014. In those schools, the 'economic deprivation' percentage of students during the 2014-15 school year was considered to be 100%, based on the formula used by the Missouri Department of Secondary and Elementary Education. All four participants also described encounters they had with former students and other young people outside of the school building where they worked. These four adults had direct contact with at least some young people who had participated in protests in Ferguson. In some cases, these encounters occurred at the site of protest activity.

None of the six participants explicitly identified gender or literacy levels as indicators that would affect political attitudes of young people. All of the participants discussed education and access to high quality educational opportunities. Interview participants on that topic did not explicitly respond to whether young people with better educational opportunities have different political perceptions than those who attend failing schools.

Research Question Six: Parental Attitudes (Interviews)

RQ6: How do parental attitudes about political efficacy/civic engagement impact students' perceptions of their own political efficacy?

Five of the six interview participants described the role of parents and family in the overall experiences and attitudes of young people. Some of the comments from the people who participated in interviews discussed the difficult realities of young people and their families in the communities the participants served. Mark's description of many of

the young people he encountered gives a telling view of challenges families faced. He often spoke to male middle school, and sometimes high school students, many of whom lived in single-family homes and asked them to step up to be leaders in their families. He explained:

> Parents are divorced, the father may be deceased, or in jail, or whatever the situation is, so we talk about mom's being a male and a female for you, but you gotta remember Mom's working hard, a lot of moms are working two jobs to support their family.

On the topic of trust in institutions and groups, Sheila shared, 'I hate to say that the children have been taught to mistrust the police, but their experiences are what they've seen in their own lives and their family's lives.' Omarr mentioned a lack of trust of courts that occurred as a result of negative experiences: 'And the other engagement is with the family courts in terms of the high level of targeting of Black parents, particularly Black single mothers.'

Sheila, an African-American mother herself, argued that some African-American parents encourage their children to protect themselves from authority, often the police, at the expense of using voice. She described the challenges some African-American parents face in communities that face discrimination. She asserted that African-American parents:

> Know that when your kids leave the house you have to teach them how to come home alive. You have to teach them how to make sure that whether you're right or wrong you don't say anything, you don't do anything.

She said rather let parents address the issue later, if at all, for the safety of the young people. ‘So we teach our kids to make sure that you understand that we’re your voice,’ she said.

The effect of parents’ attitudes about access to opportunities starts early, according to Sheila. She related a conversation she had with a class of elementary students who said they wanted to go to college and ‘had the desire to want to do better and the desire to move themselves forward, but it had not been instilled that it was a possibility for them.’ She asked them why they felt this way:

> Their response was, ‘I’m not going to be able to go to college because I’m not smart enough.’ [They said] ‘I’m not going to be able to go to college because my mom said nobody else in our family went to the college so why would I be going?’; ‘I’m not going to college because I don’t have any money to go to college, my mom said we will never have enough money for me to go to college.’

Eileen discussed the role of parents in impacting the political attitudes of young people as they got older, saying:

> The children reflect their parents in the middle school. I still believe it carries on into high school. There’s a lot of questioning going on in the high school level, but they’re still reflecting what they’re hearing from their parents.

She also noted, ‘They believe what the parents say, they listen to what the teachers say, they don’t necessarily believe what we say.’

Derrick said that awareness and practice of various methods of civic engagement practice depends what young people witness in their families, particularly in terms of voting and other conventional forms of political action. Eileen indicated that she had

seen a change in internal efficacy in the previous eighteen months as a result of exposure to civic engagement because of their parents. She said this was partly because 'parents are bringing their children and letting their children have a voice in these (community) meetings.' According to Omarr, this was not a new phenomenon. He pointed out that there was a tradition of African American parents exposing their children to political engagement, referencing political action following the shooting of Trayvon Martin. He noted that:

> Lots of mothers bring their young sons [to marches] and it's in part to communicate to them that they are part of a historical struggle . . . you see strollers and young kids at the protests, some very famous pictures of babies holding protests signs.

Other Findings (Interviews)

Three additional themes emerged in the adult interviews. First, adults mentioned the role of religion and church organizations to promote political engagement. In addition, all of the adult participants discussed the role of adults in political socialization of young people, which was a key finding in the study. Finally, adults considered the extent to which young people had hope in positive change in their communities.

Role of religion and church organizations. Four interview participants referred to the role of church organizations in the lives of the young people they encountered. Eileen remembered throughout her career teaching elementary and middle school, students consistently invited her to attend events at their churches and said that affiliation with church was 'very key to who they are as individuals.' Jeremiah and Eileen connected the involvement of young people with a church to their exposure to political

attitudes. Jeremiah described how young people had developed an increased expectation that government leaders should listen to them based on their experiences engaging in political action through their religious community. He said, ‘I’ve seen that play out with young people at the church. So I see a greater confidence in that regard and a belief that elected officials should be more responsive.’

Role of adults in political socialization. All six of the interview participants referenced the role of adults in encouraging youth voice. Sometimes these comments related to supporting young people in navigating their worlds to achieve positive outcomes. Sometimes the comments related to changes that adults need to make in educational and governmental systems to positively impact students. Sometimes the comments were explicitly about exposure to political engagement as a means of facilitating the development of young people as political actors advocating for themselves.

Some participants referred to the role of education in encouraging youth voice. Sheila said:

> The more we educate young people, the more opportunity they have to understand what impact will actually work. Where it’s not violent, it’s not aggressive, it’s that they truly do have a voice. It’s that they just have to understand how to utilize that voice.

In reference to political engagement inspired by events in Ferguson, Eileen agreed that teachers have to use the educational system to address events in the real world, because ‘our kids are asking to be heard and they just want to be part of it.’

Eileen and Derrick discussed the role of teachers to inspire young people to be politically involved. Eileen worked the polls in North County and encountered former students who credited some Social Studies teachers or high school classes they took with their civic attitudes. Derrick, a high school teacher, described his role as an educator to push students to fight systems of inequality. He said he engaged students in conversations about how they can be part of change:

> I shock them into understanding their point and their place in history . . .that you have to get an understanding that it's more than just a behavior or an event. This is a systemic thing that basically spans the nature and the course of this country.

Some adults guided young people in navigating through their current reality and others pushed young people to challenge it. Mark, a SRO, gave students advice about how to handle conflict with police officers on the street, acknowledging some of the problems with law enforcement in the community. He asked students, 'Is the officer right for coming to you the way they came to you? No, but you have to deal with the situation as a responsible, strong, educated person.' However, he saw that changes were coming to the department. He said the police department was 'changing a lot of our practices and procedures on how we handle situations. We're gonna get additional training, and sensitivity training and racial profiling training.' These changes, as well as others, might be attributed to the protest movement that grew out of events in Ferguson. Omarr mentioned the 'long term organizing in political education of which some of their elders have provided,' but suggested that young people in their 20s had built upon the foundation established by the previous generation and demanded more.

The person who was most explicit about the role of adults to arm young people with the tools to express their political voices was Jeremiah. He described his organization's mission:

> We believe that one of the most critical inputs for a child's wellbeing is the lifting up of youth voice. . . It is exclusively about child wellbeing as an indicator of the health of the region. . . . investing in the establishment and amplification of youth (voices).

Hope in positive change. Interview participants responded to the question of whether young people were more hopeful or hopeless that political action could lead to positive changes in the community or country. I have reported several responses here, as the concept of hope is central to how young people envision the future and their role in shaping it. Omarr, speaking about the young African-Americans he had encountered, pointed out that it is 'part of tradition of Black people in America is to be hopeful in the face against hopelessness.' When explicitly asked, 'Are young people more hopeful or hopeless?' he answered, 'Jury's out. I think more hopeful in terms of their own capacity, perhaps hopeless in terms of their political realities.'

Two of the educators, Derrick and Sheila, referred to the development of young people when they considered the questions of hope. Derrick focused on the recurring theme of voice, saying:

> I think for those who are on the path of shaping and forming their voice, I think that they feel way more hopeful in terms of creating change. . . Versus those who are hopeless, that just kind of requires seeing-is-believing type approach.

Jeremiah summed up this concept that young people were neither hopeful or hopeless as they watch how things play out in the local community and wider city, state, and national contexts:

> I really don't know whether people are more hopeful; I don't believe they're more hopeless. I think they are waiting to see how it works out. I don't think they've seen the big wins they want to get more hopeful. But I do think they see people responding to them, so they're not hopeless either. I just think they are smart enough not to yet make that determination.

Summary

This mixed-methods study on the political attitudes and expected civic engagement of adolescents in the Ferguson-Florissant School District (FFSD) yielded extensive data that contributed to the current body of research on the topics discussed here. The comparison of FFSD students and the American students who participated in the 2001 AIE CIVED Study revealed significant differences between the two groups nearly every section of the student questionnaire. The investigation into demographic factors (gender, race, literacy, and location within the district) also illuminated differences, however, student responses on the questionnaire were more similar than different overall. Parent and student responses were closely correlated on most sections of the abbreviated survey. The student focus group and adult interview findings were well aligned to each other and corroborated the questionnaire results with few exceptions. The results of this study provided a comprehensive analysis of the political efficacy, political views, youth engagements, and intentions to participate in politics of the young people who participated.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Reflection

The purpose of this study was to uncover the political efficacy and attitudes of young people in the Ferguson-Florissant School District, as well as students' expectations to engage in political action as adolescents or adults. My goal was to determine to what extent young people were willing, now or in the future, to act as political agents in their communities to in order to effect positive change. To accomplish this, I collected and analyzed quantitative and qualitative data. In three middle schools, 180 students completed a questionnaire that was adapted from two International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (AIE) studies (Amadeo et al., 2002; Schulz et al., 2010). In order to determine whether students' political attitudes were impacted by their parents, I also compared the results of the student questionnaire with results taken from a parent questionnaire. This was completed by 20 parents. Finally, I gathered qualitative data from student focus groups and adult interviews. This dissertation represents a comprehensive view of the political attitudes and expected civic engagement of eighth grade students in the Ferguson-Florissant School District at the time the study was conducted, in spring of 2015.

Triangulation of Results

The organization of this chapter was based on triangulation of results when appropriate. The first hypothesis stood alone, because the comparison of Ferguson-Florissant School District data on political efficacy and expected civic engagement and the CIVED findings was strictly quantitative. The remaining hypotheses pertained to student demographic characteristics (gender, race, socioeconomic status, location relative to the protest areas in Ferguson, and literacy level) and the impact of parental attitudes on

adolescents in this study. These were related to the research questions. Therefore, I discussed each hypothesis in order and specified which research questions were also addressed through analysis of qualitative data in those sections. This approach to this chapter allowed for a more thorough consideration of all the available data.

$H_0$1: There is no difference between the results of Ferguson-Florissant student participants on the survey and the results of American students who participated in the AIE CIVED Study.

In 1999, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement Civic Education (IAE CIVED) Study was conducted in 28 counties to examine a number of factors related to civic knowledge and political attitudes. Over 90,000 adolescents from a wide range of backgrounds participated in this study. In the United States, the IAE CIVED Questionnaire was administered to 2,811 students across 124 public and private schools nationwide at the beginning of ninth grade, the grade in which most 14-year-olds were enrolled at the time of the assessment in October of 1999 (Amadeo et al., 2002). Ten years later, the International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) was conducted using the same questionnaire with some changes (Schulz et al., 2010). American students did not participate in the ICCS Study, therefore, I did not use those results in this study.

In May of 2015, 180 eighth grade students from the Ferguson-Florissant School District (FFSD) in North St. Louis County completed a questionnaire that was developed by combining the AIE CIVED questionnaire with the AIE ICCS questionnaire. As with the CIVED and ICCS studies, most participants were 14-years-old at the time of administration. This study generated information regarding students' attitudes on topics

such as citizenship, trust in institutions, opportunities, political efficacy, and political engagement.

There were 50 out of 100 questions in the FFSD questionnaire that were directly linked to the questionnaire American students completed in the CIVED Study. There were significant differences in the length and breadth of the original CIVED questionnaire to the adapted version I used. There were differences in sampling and administration, as well, that were discussed in Chapter Three. In addition, there was a lapse of over 15 years between this study and the CIVED Study, which presented another limitation.

Student demographic variables were important in this study, and were evident in the extensive quantitative and qualitative data I presented in Chapter Four. There were hypotheses and research questions that considered the impact of student variables, including gender, race, socioeconomic status, literacy, and location within the district, on political attitudes and engagement. The first hypothesis, which solely compared the CIVED American student sample with the FFSD sample, did not consider student variables. The reader is aware by this point that over 80% of students served by the FFSD were Black and over 75% of them met eligibility requirements for 'economic deprivation' in the 2014-15 school year. The reader is also aware that the community of Ferguson, Missouri, and the entire St. Louis area, witnessed civic unrest following the police shooting of Michael Brown on August 14, 2014. The reader may draw some conclusions based on this information. As the researcher, it would have been irresponsible for me to do so. In Chapter Four and the paragraphs that follow, I have

described the similarities and differences between the students' views from my study and the CIVED Study. I did not attempt to suggest causes for the differences that emerged.

I used two statistical tests to compare the participants' responses from the CIVED and FFSD student groups: the *z*-Test of Proportions and the chi-Square Goodness of Fit test. The Test of Proportions allowed me to compare positive responses, usually 'Strongly agree' or 'Agree,' on each question of the questionnaire. I used the Goodness of Fit test to compare the range of possible responses, usually 'Strongly disagree,' 'Disagree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree.' The CIVED range of responses represented the 'expected value' for each question; the FFSD range of responses represented the 'observed value.' A 'good fit' suggested that the number of students from FFSD who answered in each of the four response choices was statistically similar to the number of CIVED participants who answered the same way.

Both tests revealed significant differences between the two groups of students, based on a degree of confidence of 95% (alpha ≤ 0.05). On the Test of Proportions, the positive responses were statistically different on 26 of 50 questions. The Goodness of Fit test resulted in 42 differences out of 50 questions. Chapter Four contains a detailed discussion of differences. In this chapter, I have focused on trends that emerged from analyzing the sections of the questionnaire, which represented components of political attitudes and political engagement.

Comparison of the FFSD and CIVED students revealed a pattern of differences between the groups that could be analyzed in the sections in the questionnaire. Students' views on the Behaviors of Good Adult Citizens and External Efficacy, or perception of government responsiveness, were similar across both groups. The results on the

questions in the Internal Efficacy and Expected Adult Engagement sections were mixed. In both sections, the responses were similar between the two groups on half of the questions. In the other half of the questions, the FFSD students demonstrated higher internal efficacy and greater expectation to engage in politics as adults. FFSD students demonstrated significantly lower levels of trust in groups and institutions and decreased perception about access to opportunities for all racial groups and poor people in this country. The area in which FFSD students consistently showed considerably higher positive responses was on youth engagement: in both conventional and non-conventional forms of political engagement, FFSD students were more likely to be politically engaged.

FFSD and CIVED students had similar responses according to the Test of Proportions on the Citizenship and External Efficacy sections of the questionnaire, however, the distribution of responses, measured by the Goodness of Fit test, were mostly different. In the Citizenship section, responses on 12 of 14 questions were statistically similar between the two groups. On the two questions that revealed a difference, more FFSD students indicated that knowing your nation's history and following politics are 'Quite important' or 'Very important' behaviors of good adult citizens. The distribution of responses, from 'Not at all important' to 'Very important,' were different on 12 out of 14 questions about citizenship. Two trends emerged. More FFSD students answered in the extreme positive ('Very important') and fewer answered in the extreme negative ('Not at all important') on the following questions about behaviors of good citizens: votes, knows nation's history, follows politics, and participates in peaceful protests. A different pattern was evident on the following questions in the Citizenship section: good adult citizens show respect, obey laws, and are patriotic. Fewer FFSD students answered

'Very important' and fewer FFSD students answered 'Not at all important,' with most responses in the middle.

In the section measuring external efficacy, students responded similarly on five of six questions, but the question that elicited a different response had to do with concentration of political power in the hands of a few people. More FFSD students (68%) asserted that 'in this country, a few individuals have a lot of political power while the rest of the people have very little power.' Overall, the external efficacy results indicated a low opinion of government responsiveness. In both groups, fewer than 50% of participants indicated that government cares what regular people think about new laws or government is doing its best to find out what people want. Over 50% of both FFSD and CIVED participants 'Agreed' or 'Strongly agreed' that leaders care very little about people's opinions or that leaders listen when people get together to demand change. Over 60% of both groups believed that politicians quickly forget the needs of the voters who elect them. This is a dismal view of young people's external political efficacy. It should be noted, however, the extent to which young people in this study did not believe that government was responsive or that political participation was worthwhile was not worse than the attitudes of their CIVED American counterparts in 1999. The consistency of positive responses across two very different samples of students 15 years apart should be alarming to government leaders.

There were two sections of the questionnaire in which the FFSD positive student responses were consistently lower than the CIVED group: Trust and Opportunities. Of all of the sections in the questionnaire, the Trust section revealed the greatest variance in responses between the two groups of students. About half of FFSD and CIVED students

trusted the media and they shared a similar distrust of political parties, with close to 36% of both groups responding positively to that question. Otherwise, the FFSD students trusted governmental groups and institutions at levels far lower than the CIVED participants. CIVED students' trust in national government, local government, court system, Congress, and schools ranged from 64.5% to 71.1%, while the range for FFSD students' trust in the same institutions ranged from a low of 34.1% of students reporting trust in local government to about 46% who trusted the national government, Congress, and schools. The greatest difference (34 percentage points) in positive responses was trust in police: 71.1% of CIVED students trusted the police, while only 29.4% of FFSD students answered positively. Nearly 37% of FFSD students indicated they did not trust police at all. There was one area in which the FFSD students demonstrated higher levels of trust than the CIVED students. Despite comparatively low levels of trust in governmental groups and institutions, 45.8% of FFSD students trusted people in general who live in America, yet only 35.8% of CIVED participants responded the same way.

In the Opportunities section, there were significant differences on five out of six questions. The distribution on responses was different on all questions. The percentage of students in both groups that answered 'Agree' or 'Strongly agree' that all racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job was the same, at around 90%. The percentage of FFSD students who agreed strongly with that statement was 71%, while just over half of CIVED students felt as passionately. More students from FFSD believed that schools should teach respect of all racial groups and that members of all racial groups should be encouraged to run for political office. Fewer FFSD students believed that children from certain racial groups and poor children had equal chances to get a good

education and that adults from certain racial groups had equal chances to get a good job.

The results on the Internal Efficacy and Expected Adult Engagement sections were mixed, with differences between the two groups on half of the questions when comparing positive responses. On the questions that measured internal efficacy, or confidence in one's ability to make a difference through political action, more FFSD students asserted that they knew more about politics than most people their age and that they understood most political issues. There were no statistical differences between the two groups as to whether they took part in political discussions or were interested in politics, suggesting that the internal efficacy of FFSD students was similar to or higher than that of the CIVED counterparts.

While the Expected Adult Engagement responses were also mixed, with two questions that were the same and two questions that were higher for FFSD students, the results indicated higher levels of students' intentions to be politically engaged as adults. The questions in this section centered on electoral politics: voting, getting information about candidates, joining a political party, and being a candidate in a local election. The percentage of positive responses for FFSD and CIVED students on their expectation to vote in a national election (both about 84%) and research candidates (both close to 80%) was the same, however more FFSD students answered that they would 'Definitely' take part in these activities. In fact, over 50% of FFSD students said that they would definitely vote. On the other two questions, enthusiasm was lower, yet more FFSD students answered that they would join a political party and be a candidate in a local election than the CIVED students.

Finally, the responses on the 'Youth Engagement' section were different on every question; the FFSD students consistently more willing to engage in political activities in the near future. FFSD students were significantly more likely to be willing to volunteer in the community, collect money for a cause, or collect signatures for a petition. As to whether they would participate in a peaceful protest, nearly 70% of FFSD students answered positively, compared to 40% of CIVED students. The FFSD students also had higher positive responses to unconventional or illegal types of political engagement, with about a quarter to a third of students willing to consider spray-painting protest signs, blocking traffic, or occupying public buildings, compared to about 15% of CIVED students who said they would participate in those activities.

Hypotheses of Student Variables and RQ 5: What aspects of student personal and social background, such as gender, race, socioeconomic background, and literacy level are related to adolescents' political efficacy?

In this section, I address Hypotheses $H_0 2$ through $H_0 6$, comparative analyses of the student questionnaire data by gender, race, socioeconomic status, literacy level, and location within the district. I used to parametric and non-parametric statistical tests to determine whether the questionnaire participants' political attitudes were independent of student demographic variables of gender, race, literacy level, location within the district relative to the protest areas. I also intended to test for whether political attitudes were independent of socioeconomic status, but I was not able to gather enough data on family income. I used the *z*-Test of Proportions and the chi-square Test for Independence to test the variables. The *z*-Test of Proportions compared the positive responses of the two groups. The Test for Independence considered the entire range of responses, i.e.

'Strongly disagree,' 'Disagree,' 'Agree,' 'Strongly agree.' In the following analysis of results, I have discussed the major findings of both tests, as well as any pertinent qualitative data from the focus groups and adult interviews. Therefore, Research Question Five has been addressed in this section, as well: What aspects of student personal and social background, such as gender, race, socioeconomic background, and literacy level, are related to adolescents' political efficacy?

$H_0$2: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of gender.

Of the student demographic variables I considered in this study, gender was the one with the fewest statistical differences. Overall, on both the *z*-Test of Proportions, which compared positive responses, and the Test for Independence, which compared the entire range of possible responses, girls and boys responded similarly. In fact, there were no differences between boys and girls in the sections about access to opportunities, internal efficacy, external efficacy, and trust on either test.

Out of 100 questions, there were five statistical differences in positive responses, according to the *z*-Test of Proportions, and there were three statistical differences in the range of responses, according to the Test of Independence. Girls were more likely to participate in a church youth group, with 37.1% of girls and 21.7% of boys responding that they were engaged in this activity outside of school. In the section, 'Youth Engagement,' more girls reported that they would talk to others about politics (77.8% of girls compared to 61.4% of boys) and volunteer in the community (81.7% of girls compared to 68.1% of boys). Despite these differences, girls and boys placed similar value on the activities of engaging in political discussion and community service as behaviors of good citizens in the Citizenship section of the questionnaire. Furthermore,

although the percentages of positive responses were not different, the range of responses on the effectiveness of peaceful protests like marches, rallies, and demonstrations was different between boys and girls. Nearly twice as many girls (41.1%) responded that those political activities were 'Very effective' than boys (21.1%). The range of responses on whether all people should have the right to express their opinions was also different, with more girls responding 'Strongly agree' than boys. These are all social activities or activities that emphasize communication.

There were two areas in which boys had significantly higher positive responses. More boys responded that police should be about to hold suspects accused of threatening national security without a trial (44.3% of boys compared to 28.2% of girls). Also, boys were more likely to consider learning about our nation's history to be a behavior of good adult citizens (97.1% of boys compared to 82.1% of girls). My research on political attitudes and gender did not uncover any explanations for these differences.

Data from the focus groups did not support or refute any of the findings related to the specific differences between girls and boys revealed in the statistical tests. Girls in the focus groups did express concerns about gender equality in employment, both in terms of equal access to good jobs and equal pay. They also mentioned that men put women down or 'feel like they're over women.' A male student corroborated this to be true of some men, but not all. Some girls expressed excitement over the possibility of a female presidential candidate, and the boy said he was open to voting for a woman 'if they had the right thinking.' Interview subjects did not discuss differences in political attitudes between girls and boys.

When comparing the responses of boys and girls on the student questionnaire, the findings did not support research on political efficacy and gender discussed in Chapter Two. According to scholars, there was a gender gap in political efficacy and political participation between women and men. Women were less interested in politics, had less political knowledge, and tended to underestimate their political knowledge (Barabas et al., 2014; Marshall et al., 2007; Ondercin et al., 2011; Preece, 2016). Also, women were less likely to enjoy participating in political discussion and less likely to consider running for political office (Fox & Lawless, 2010, 2011; Mendelberg et al., 2014). Studies of adolescent girls supported these results (Fox & Lawless, 2014; Schulz, 2005). This study, however, suggested that there was not a gender gap in political efficacy, youth political participation, or expected adult participation for the eighth grade students in the Ferguson-Florissant School District. In fact, female respondents were more likely to talk to others about politics and more of them participated in a church youth group outside of school or were willing to volunteer in the community than male respondents in this study. In all other areas measuring efficacy and participation, girls and boys had statistically similar responses, including their interest in politics, confidence in their knowledge about politics, and their willingness to run for public office. There was no indication of a gender gap in the focus group discussions, either. These are encouraging results for those who study gender differences in political efficacy and participation.

$H_0$3: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of race.

In this study, I wanted to investigate whether political efficacy and expected political engagement were dependent on race. I used the *z*-Test of Proportions and the chi-squared Test of Independence, as I did to test the other demographic variables of

gender, literacy, and location relative to the protest areas. I would have liked to be able to test each racial group (Asian, Black, Hispanic, Mixed Race, and White) as separate entities, but there were not enough participants from each of those groups to run those statistical tests. Of 180 students who completed the questionnaire, 147 students were Black (81.7%) and 33 (18.3%) self-identified as one of the other racial groups. For this reason, I compared Black students to students who were not Black. This was not ideal, as there were certainly differences between the experiences of each group. Moreover, I was concerned about including Mixed Race students in the 'not Black' group, as most of them had one Black parent. This was a limitation of this study that I noted in Chapters One and Three.

Despite this challenge, there were more statistical differences based on race than any other variable I tested. On 12 of the 100 questions, responses of the two groups were different on one or both of the tests I ran, and there were other questions in which the results were very close to meeting the level of significance (alpha ≤ 0.05), which were discussed in Chapter Four. In the Activities Outside of School section, Black students were more than twice as likely to participate in a church youth group, and the range of responses was different for participation in a youth group not affiliated with a church, with more Black students answering that they participated in a youth group outside of school 'Daily or almost daily.' A larger percentage of Black students (58.2%) believed that children from some racial groups have fewer chances to get a good education in this country than students who were not Black (39.4%).

The following differences between the two racial groups pertained to issues of external efficacy and trust in groups and institutions. More Black students 'Strongly

disagree(d)' that police should be able to hold suspects without a trial, which is a question in the Views on Society section, but indicated a lack of trust in police to perform their jobs appropriately without due process protections in place. Twenty-five percent fewer Black students believed that government was doing its best to find out what people want, but 20% more students who were not Black indicated that political power in our country rests in the hands of a few individuals. This suggested that negative views of government responsiveness and power structures are not inherently tied to being Black, but that the two racial groups demonstrated their lack of faith in government manifesting in different ways. Lower trust in institutions was, however, tied to being Black. More students who were not Black 'Completely trusted' the Armed Forces than Black students, although general trust in the military was similar. Though not quite meeting the significance level ($a \leq 0.05$), the results showed that Black students were less trusting of local government and courts. The most significant difference in trust levels, not surprisingly, was trust in the police: 45.5% of students who were not Black trusted the police, compared to only 25.9% of Black students, with fewer than 5% of Black students indicating they trust police 'Completely' and 40.1% of them responding 'Not at all.' There were also differences related to political engagement. Black students were not as likely to believe that working in a local action group was an effective method of political action, which could be another indicator of low external efficacy. Black students were, however, more likely to be willing to volunteer in the community or to wear a badge or t-shirt with a political slogan. On the other questions in the Youth Engagement section, the responses were similar between the two groups. This indicated a willingness of Black students to engage politically, despite low trust levels in government institutions.

While the quantitative data revealed significant differences between Black students and the students who were in the other racial group, made up of Asian, Hispanic, Mixed Race, and White students, there were more questions in which responses were similar. Student responses on the questions that measured internal efficacy and expected adult engagement were the same between the two groups. The overall picture that emerged was one in which Black adolescents held similar attitudes as students from the group consisting of students from other races on these topics: the role of government in society, citizenship, their own confidence to engage politically, their willingness to engage in political activities as youth, their expectations to participate politically as adults, and the effectiveness of most political actions. Black students were markedly different in their trust in government institutions, which surfaced in their responses to questions in the Trust, Views of Society, and External Efficacy sections. Black students also participated in youth groups outside of school with more regularity and were more likely to participate in volunteer activities, showing engagement at the community level. In terms of electoral politics, a high percentage (85.4%) of Black students intended to vote as adults. This was approximately 20 percentage points higher than the voter turn-out of African-Americans in the 2008 (63%) and 2012 (66%) presidential elections. The voting rates between Black and White citizens were with a few percentage points from one another in those elections (Frey, 2013; Merolla et al., 2013). The primary difference between intention to vote and actual voter turn-out, then, was evident in age, but not by race. A lack of faith in government institutions of Black youth, however, could be a precursor to sinking external efficacy, which may negatively impact adult participation, despite high intentions as adolescents to be civically engaged as adults.

Qualitative results supported quantitative data pertaining to race as a factor that impacted political attitudes and engagement. There was representation of students from different races in two of the three focus groups, and race did not seem to affect students' comfort levels. The responses to questions were very similar regardless of race. There were no instances in which students actively disagreed with one another, although some students chose to remain quiet on a given question or to express views that indicated nuanced differences. Students from all racial backgrounds expressed overwhelmingly positive views of voting and high intentions to vote as adults. Students from different races also indicated a lack of faith in government to listen to regular people, an indicator of external efficacy. Black students were notably different in terms of their trust in police and their concerns about privacy. Black students specifically expressed a fear that if they shared personal information with school personnel, they might be referred to social services. Some Black students were particularly adamant that there was a need to improve race relations in their community.

The interview participants consistently responded to questions as though the students they were discussing were poor Black youth, therefore, they did not distinguish between Black adolescents and adolescents from other races in their answers. The themes of lack of faith in police and government institutions and concerns over social services/family courts were confirmed in interview discussions. Adult responses also supported the view that race relations need to be addressed in order to bring about positive changes in the community. Most adult interview subjects' responses did not support the students' positive perceptions about voting as adults. Adults also tended to suggest that students had higher levels of trust in schools, or at least in teachers, than

surfaced in the focus groups or the questionnaire data. Several adults mentioned specific groups outside of school in which adolescents participated, both those affiliated with churches and secular youth groups. Both students and adults articulated the need for increased opportunities for more young people to engage in activities outside of school.

The research on political efficacy and race, discussed in Chapter Two, contributed mixed results, with some studies showing that African-Americans showing higher levels of internal efficacy than White citizens (Emig et al., 1996; Williamson & Scicchitano, 2015), and others indicating the opposite was true (Merolla et al., 2013). Levels of trust, which was tied to external efficacy, appeared to be lower for African-Americans (Nunnally, 2012), which was supported by the results of this study. Also corroborating past studies, Black students were more engaged in church youth groups outside of school and more willing to volunteer, which indicated greater engagement at the community level. Intentions to vote among Black student in the study were similar to intentions of other students, which was in line with Black voter turn-out in the 2008 and 2012 elections (Frey, 2013; Merolla at al., 2013,). As scholars noted, descriptive representation and membership within a religious organization were factors that could boost political efficacy (Brown, 2011; Harris, 1994; Logan et al., 2012; Uhlander & Scola, 2016; Vanderleeuw & Sowers; 2007).

The relationship between race and socioeconomic status was discussed in Chapter Two. While the relationship between race and low socioeconomic status resulted in decreased political participation for many disadvantaged minorities, once education and income levels were accounted for, there was virtually no statistical difference between the likelihood of White, Black, and Hispanic citizens to be politically active (Schlozman

et al., 2012). This study, conducted in the Ferguson-Florissant School District demonstrated the views of students attending ‘super-majority’ schools, those with high percentages of high poverty and minority students. The term ‘double segregation’ was also used to describe similar schools. The toll of racial segregation and low socioeconomic status for 75% of more of the students in the school district was evident in student responses. Black students indicated that children from some racial groups had fewer chances to get a good education in the questionnaire. The theme of reduced access to educational and employment opportunities because of education, race, or socioeconomic status continued in the focus groups and interviews. Students’ views represented an affirmation of the extensive evidence in research on race, segregation, and income inequality, and indicated that young people in this study were fully aware of the realities of circumstances surrounding them.

H 0 4: One’s perception of political efficacy is independent of socioeconomic status (SES).

As discussed in Chapter Two, a body of scholarly work exists to investigate the impact of inequality, including the relationships that existed between race, socioeconomic status (SES), and inadequate educational opportunities on political efficacy and political participation (Beaumont, 2011; Hankins & Becker, 2014; Schlozman et al., 2012). Most of these researchers had studied adults, rather than adolescents. In this study, I hoped to widen the lens of available information to include young people. There were some limitations to this, and I did not gather the individual quantitative data that would have allowed me to draw a comparison of political attitudes and political engagements between students at a higher income level and those living in poverty. My intention was

to ascertain SES though the parent questionnaire: parents were given income ranges and asked to state the family income. Unfortunately, the information gained through the parent responses was limited by the number of parents who participated. Since 20 parents completed the survey, this was inadequate for running statistical analyses of this data. In the end, I could only report the free and reduced lunch percentage for the district, which gave context to the sample, but did not allow for analysis of SES of participants as a factor that may have contributed to student attitudes. The Ferguson-Florissant School District served over 11,000 K-12th grade students, 75% of whom were eligible for free and reduced lunch (Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2014, pp. 1-2). Even this information is questionable, as the previous year's total was 85% of students eligible for FRL, and the method of gathering this information has changed over the last three years. There were over 900 eighth graders enrolled in the 2014-15 school year, and more than 20% of those students completed the survey. It is reasonable to expect that approximately three-quarters of the students or more who participated in the study met the federal definition for poverty.

Although I did not have individual student data on the impact of SES on political efficacy and political participation, I was able to gather qualitative data of students' and adults' perceptions of the impact of poverty on political attitudes. This addressed the part of Research Question Five related to socioeconomic states. I did not ask any questions in the focus groups or interviews explicitly pertaining to SES, yet student and adult participants brought up the topic, especially in responses regarding equal access to opportunities. Student focus groups were acutely aware of SES as a factor in access to getting a good education or a good job in this country. Several students shared the

perception that private schools were better than public schools, and that wealthy people had greater access to a good education. This was supported by responses by questionnaire participants, 58.1% of whom responded that poor children have fewer chances to get a good education in this country. The theme that wealth positively impacted opportunities continued in a discussion about candidates who ran for elected office, as one student noted that ‘even wealth plays into politics, because the richer you are the more you can afford’ in paying for a campaign.

Students also had a sense that treatment by the police or likelihood of prosecution might be related to class, as well as race, noting that the police might let a wealthy person go ‘because you’re rich and you can get better lawyer than everybody else and you can get off no matter what you do.’ Participants in different focus groups agreed that some issues of discrimination were related to race, some to class, and some were inter-related. Students in focus groups never indicated that they thought they were poor, and it is unlikely that every student who participated lived in poverty. However, the discussions in focus groups seemed to indicate that students saw themselves as different from the people with the kind of wealth that would ensure them greater opportunities or an expectation of positive outcomes with the police or courts.

Interview participants often connected race and poverty as obstacles to equal access to opportunities for young people. Omarr noted that educational opportunities were not the same for everyone, and young people were aware of this. He said, ‘I think it varies when you say young people, like if we’re talking about Black poor youth? Oh, it’s terrible. There’s only one way to describe it.’ Derrick was clear about what young people he knew had to contend with just to survive, much less to rise above their circumstances:

> I would say what they're involved in is, in terms of the population I deal with, the hands-on maintenance and management of their family affairs. Watching younger brothers and sisters, working a job in order to sustain their own livelihood, dealing with parental issues . . . a lot of that has to do with their economic standing, their level of stability, as far as how and where they can extend themselves.

The research on the relationship between socioeconomic status and political efficacy and political participation was extensive. Because I was unable to disaggregate student responses by socioeconomic status, this study does not contribute to that body of work through quantitative data. The information gleaned through student focus groups and adult interviews supported the research, however, that systems of inequality negatively impacted the political voice of the least advantaged citizens. As both adolescent and adult participants pointed out, access to opportunities for poor Americans, as well as educational and employment outcomes were inherently unequal. Disparities in income and wealth resulted in a political system that rewarded well-educated, wealthy Americans. Economically advantaged citizens made demands on the government leaders who were consequently more likely to be responsive to their needs, leading to policies that perpetuated cycles of inequality. Research showed, however, that efforts to boost political efficacy of young people and offer opportunities for exposure to political activities could mitigate the negative impact of poverty on political participation (Goodman & Cocca, 2013; Sohl, 2014). Students' internal efficacy and willingness to be politically engaged in this study were encouraging for their future political participation, so long as momentum was not lost later in adolescence.

$H_0$5: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of literacy level.

In this study, literacy level was determined by using the grade equivalent reading scores from the STAR Reading Assessment developed by Renaissance Learning (The Research Foundation for STAR Assessments, 2014). Students took this assessment within weeks of completing the questionnaire. Eighth grade students who scored 8.1 or higher were considered to be on grade level or above grade level in reading. The rest of the students were considered to be below grade level in reading. There were statistical differences between students below reading level and those who were on or above reading level on eight of the 100 questions, however those differences tell a compelling story about the political efficacy and views of citizens who cannot read well.

Both groups of students agreed that all people should have their social and political rights respected, however, 64.1% of students in the higher literacy groups 'Strongly agree(d)' with this statement, compared to 48.1% of students reading below grade level. Similarly, although the results did not quite meet the degree of confidence, more students who read at or above grade level indicated that people from all racial groups should have equal rights and responsibilities (96.8%) than students in the lower reading group (88.7%). Students who read better had a higher, more fervent expectations related to rights of citizens in this country.

Two of the questions measuring internal efficacy and two of the questions measuring expected adult engagement also demonstrated a difference between the two groups of students. More students who could read at or above grade level responded that they knew more about politics than others their age. Better readers also indicated that they had a good understanding of issues facing the country. In terms of expected adult

engagement, 91.9% of students in the higher literacy group expected to vote in national elections, compared to only 79.8% of students reading below grade level. Likewise, 90.2% of grade level readers expected to get information about candidates, compared to 76.7% of students in the lower literacy group.

Only one difference in students' responses regarding citizenship met the 95% confidence level, which was that more students reading on or above grade level believed that good citizens violate anti-human rights laws. This is a nuanced issue of political ethics. There were also two questions that were very close to meeting the significance level: whether good citizens obey the law and follow politics. In both cases, there was a higher percentage of students who could read who agreed with those statements. Students at the lower literacy level were much more likely to believe that illegal protest activity was effective: 43.9% of students reading below grade level responded positively compared to 19.4% of students reading on level. Finally, more than three times the percentage of students reading below grade level indicated that religion should no longer matter in the modern world. Religion, like civil society, has some built-in expectations for rule-following.

The students who participated in the focus group discussions represented a large range of literacy levels, with approximately 70% of them reading below grade level. High intentions of the students to vote as adults, as well as negative views of the effectiveness of illegal protest activity, seemed to be universal, which did not support the quantitative results. In addition, students in the focus groups suggested that good citizens participate in the electoral process by voting and researching candidates, and they obey

the law. While focus groups discussion did not address the role of religion in the modern world, most students belonged to churches and attended services with their families.

In these focus group conversations, students at lower reading levels did not speak up or contradict the people who spoke positively about the electoral process and responsibilities of good citizens and negatively about illegal protest activity. In fact, there were more students in the focus groups who read below grade level than those who read at or above grade level, yet the views expressed by the students did not match the questionnaire results for the lower literacy group. It was possible that these students were influenced by others in the group once conversation began. It was also plausible that these students in the focus groups had a sense of what they thought they were supposed to say, yet felt more comfortable responding truthfully on the questionnaire. The focus group setting allowed for participants to simply remain quiet when they do not feel comfortable or do not agree with others, which would be a logical behavior of middle school students who were lacking in confidence about their own understanding of political issues. This was evident on responses to the internal efficacy questions on the questionnaire. Regardless of why the qualitative data did not fully support the quantitative data, this study suggests that young people with lower reading abilities were less confident in themselves to as political actors, less committed to law-abiding behaviors, and less likely to engage in electoral politics.

Most of the research related to this topic referenced in Chapter Two centered on the relationship between educational attainment and political efficacy and political participation, which was not relevant in a study of eighth grade students. The scholarship on literacy and political efficacy did not include youth, however the results of previous

studies on adult literacy matched the findings from this study. Adults with lower literacy levels were more cynical about politics and less trustful of political institutions, which were both related to external efficacy. Also, they reported they were less interested in politics, an indicator of internal efficacy (Dugdale & Clark, 2008; OECD, 2013). In this study, levels of internal political efficacy were negatively affected by literacy levels: fewer students in the lower reading group responded that they knew more about politics or had a good understanding of political issues. External efficacy and trust were not impacted by reading ability; those results were low for both reading groups. Students in the lower reading group also reported lower expected political participation. Their intentions to vote in presidential elections or to get information about candidates were significantly lower. This supports research on education and political participation (APSA Task Force, 2004; Berinsky & Lenz, 2011; Fulwood, 2014 Southwell, 2012; Patterson, 2012). The results of this study add to this limited body of work by investigating how young people's political efficacy and expected political engagement were affected by their reading ability.

H 0 6: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of location within the district.

In the months of August through November of 2014, students in the Ferguson-Florissant School District experienced the effects of civil unrest in the area. The district covers over 25 square miles and the locations that saw the greatest amount of protests, both peaceful and violent, were localized to the southeast section of the district. People in the community who did not live in the immediate proximity of the protests were aware of civil unrest through the news, social media, and personal accounts, however, I wanted

to investigate whether living close to the protests areas impacted students' political attitudes. I found that there was a significant difference on nine of the 100 questions on the student questionnaire. Students who lived near one of the two primary areas of protest, the stretch of W. Florissant Road, near the Canfield Apartments where Michael Brown was shot and the Ferguson Police Station on S. Florissant Road, did demonstrate differences that suggest that more immediate exposure to political activity impacted their political views.

Students living near the protest areas had significantly greater internal efficacy on two of the four questions that measure that construct. Significantly more of those students indicated that the understood most political issues and took part in political discussions. In addition, only 12.5% of students living inside the protest area stated they 'Never or hardly ever' talked to their friends about politics, compared to 39.0% of other students who answered that way. This corroborates an increased number of students who stated that they talked with friends about politics. Likewise, more students living in that area answered in the extreme positive ('I will definitely do this') as to whether they would collect signatures for a petition.

On the section of the questionnaire about access to opportunities, significantly more students living near the protest area 'Strongly agree(d)' that schools should teach students to respect members of all racial groups (66.9%) than those who lived outside that area (49.0%). Also, more students inside the protest area indicated they thought that poor children in this country have fewer chances to get a good education. These students also did not consider patriotism to be an important behavior of good adult citizens, and felt differently than their counterparts outside the protest area about whether religious

leaders should have more power, answering more positively according to the Contingency test. Finally, the responses of students living inside the protest areas were different from those who lived in other parts of the district on the statement ‘Political protests should never be violent’: 93.6% of those students positively, higher than the students who loved outside the protest area, yet there were more students who lived outside the protest area who ‘Strongly agree(d)’ protests should never be violent.

Findings from questionnaire about the political attitudes of the students who lived closest to the protest areas suggest that these students were more politicized than the other students who lived a short distance away in a several significant ways. These young people were more engaged in political conversations and more confident in their ability to talk about politics and understand what was happening. They were concerned about issues related to education, stating that schools should teach respect and that poor children have limited access to a high quality education. They were dubious about the value of patriotism and had different views about violent political protests and the roles of religions leaders. When woven together with what these students experienced in their immediate vicinity over the course of several months, it seemed that exposure to political action inspired political discourse and may have increased students’ internal efficacy. These students were likely to have heard or engaged in conversations about the role of education in the systems of inequality that were part of the Ferguson narrative during that time. It is possible that these students were likely to have taken note of clergy members who stood at the front line of protests, de-escalating conflicts between protesters and police.

Political activity in the Ferguson area was centered on what protesters deemed to be a reaction to inherent systemic inequalities in this nation, which young people may have taken to be a call to question authority with the result of de-valuing patriotism. This was supported by students in focus groups who recounted experiences with immediate family members trying to get to their homes during the time the curfew was in effect. These students were highly critical of police enforcement of the curfew. Moreover, students who attended protests along W. Florissant Rd. in August of 2014 were also critical of police response to peaceful marches and demonstrations. One girl said, 'We was doing our peaceful thing and then all of a sudden the officers start shooting, telling us to get off the street.' A different student continued, 'That's what made everybody escalate to a whole 'nother level.' Finally, students' negative comments about violent protest activity, as well as government response to the riots on the night of the non-indictment announcement in November of 2014, indicated severe dissatisfaction with how authorities handled unrest. One student who lived near W. Florissant Road, the area that suffered the greatest damage, said,

> Like when all this stuff was burning they (authorities) waited 'til after and you could have come during and all our buildings would have been still standing. Could have been, but the whole city, like where we live has to get repaired 'cause you guys waited 'til everything was gone.

Witnessing events like this led to greater politicization of young people closest to the protest zones.

The investigation into how proximity to a protest area would impact political efficacy and expected civic engagement was a new addition to the literature. As protest

activity, whether specifically related to police involved shootings or other societal issues, continued to become more common in the United States, research into this topic may increase. Protests in Ferguson were unique in terms of the duration, intensity, and government response. Without points of comparison, however, it was pre-emptive to suggest that those factors exacerbated differences that emerged between those adolescents who lived closest to the protest area and those who lived in other neighborhoods within the district boundaries. More research in this area was warranted.

RQ1: What are adolescents' perceptions of their own political efficacy, including trust in institutions, attitudes about political systems, and equality of opportunities?

I collected qualitative data from student focus groups and adult interviews in my efforts to address the research questions. In the pages that follow, I have triangulated data from the qualitative components of this study with the questionnaire results whenever appropriate. This allowed me to determine whether focus group data confirmed or refuted the quantitative findings in this study. Whenever data within sections of the questionnaire was or was not consistent, I noted that, as well. Finally, information from the adult interviews also served to form a more complete answer to the research questions about students' perceptions of political efficacy.

Political efficacy. This analysis of adolescents' political efficacy is divided into internal and external political efficacy, as it has been throughout the dissertation.

Internal efficacy. Confidence in one's ability to make a difference through political action was a key component of internal efficacy. Student questionnaire responses on the Internal Efficacy section were supported overall by focus group findings. In response to the statement 'I am interested in politics,' 43.6% of students

responded positively. When this question was posed in the focus groups, with few exceptions, students did not express much interest in politics. In fact, students in the three groups asked me to clarify the meaning of the word politics, despite civics education in Social Studies class. Taken out of context, the concept of politics was unfamiliar. After a brief explanation, students in all three focus groups indicated that they had a good understanding of political issues facing our country when they volunteered the following responses: debt, taxes, terrorism, wars, other countries, crime and violence, gender and racial equality, stereotypes, and social status. Students immediately recognized issues pertaining to policing in the United States as a political issue and referred to racism, use of excessive force, abuse of power, excessive ticketing, lack of representative police forces, militarization of police, and police training. The students demonstrated in focus groups what they had answered in the questionnaire: 71.9% of students responded that they understood most political issues, and 69.5% of students agreed that they had a good understanding of political issues facing our country. Confidence was lower when asked if they knew more about politics than others the same age: only 41.9% answered positively to that question.

Atypically in this study, the students' responses within the questionnaire and between the questionnaire and focus group results on some components of internal efficacy were not consistent. This was evident in the questions about political discussions. In the Internal Efficacy section, 59.2% of students stated that they took part in political discussions. But when asked whether they talked about politics outside of school, 38.4% of students said they talked about politics to their parents and 36.8% of students said they talked about politics to their friends. Focus group data supported that

most students rarely engaged in political conversation outside of school. As to their view about the value of engaging in political discussion, 55.9% of students indicated it was a behavior of good adult citizens, which was similar to the number who said they did so in the Internal Efficacy section. However, their intention to talk to others about politics in the Youth Engagement section was much higher: 71.3%. Students who participated in the focus groups demonstrated that they were highly capable of taking part in political discussions, and stated that they wanted to engage in this type of interaction more often. Students advocated for opportunities outside of school to voice their opinions and talk to adults about ways to improve their community. Their strong requests for increased forums, expressed in all three focus groups, contradicted the student responses in the questionnaire, in which only about 60% of students believed they had political opinions worth listening to. Students specifically referenced their focus group experience in this study as an example of what they thought should be more widely available to young people; some students asked if we could get together more often to talk about issues that mattered to them. This supported the theory that exposure to political activity, in this case political discussion, increased confidence and the expectation to engage in political activity in the future.

Students' confidence in their ability to participate in politics as adults was out of line with their future expectations to engage in politics. Just fewer than 60% of students responded that they would be able to take part in politics as adults. Yet, over 80% of students intended to vote in local and national elections and to get information about candidates before voting. Students in focus groups also indicated a strong expectation to participate in the voting process and a willingness to engage in politics in a variety of

other ways, both as youth and as adults. These may be found in response to Research Question Four: Expected Political Participation later in this chapter.

The interview participants seemed to underestimate the confidence in young people to engage politically, based on what I found in the questionnaire and focus group results. Four of the six adults contended that young people lacked awareness of how they could make a difference in their community, did not understand how they fit into the broader community, and were not sufficiently exposed to politics through school or other influences. All interview participants pointed to the role of adults in increasing exposure to political engagement and 'amplifying youth voice.' Several adults pointed to the increased confidence in young people based on their experiences related to the protest movement following the shooting of Michael Brown. In some cases, participants noted that young people did not necessarily understand what they were speaking out against; one person cited the example of a middle-school walk-out. Other adults had witnessed a greater clarity in the purpose of young people expressing voice since Michael Brown's death. In describing the young people who participants had encountered, they used words like 'engaged,' 'mobilized,' 'quickened,' 'resolved,' 'ambitious,' and 'charged' to engage in actions to make a difference. Two adults who worked with middle school students also noted a change. One of them said, 'I see the attitudes of the kids understanding that they do have a voice, and I don't think that they felt that they had a voice before,' and the other participant noticed "an awakening" in her students.

External efficacy. External efficacy is the perception of how well government leaders respond to the needs of the people and whether political engagement is worthwhile. The questionnaire results indicated that students' external efficacy was

lower than their internal efficacy and more closely aligned to a lack of trust in groups and institutions, discussed in the next section. External efficacy and trust are often linked. Just over 40% of students who completed the questionnaire thought that the government cares a lot about all of us think about new laws and the government is doing its best to find out what people want. However, 52.8% of students responded that leaders listen when people get together to demand change. In the focus groups, students often referenced the word ‘listen,’ nearly always to suggest that leaders do not listen the needs of regular people or people in their community. There were some variations on the theme of listening. Some students gave leaders the benefit of the doubt, suggesting that they want to listen, but have too many people to please or that leaders try to listen, but fail to follow through on their promises. Other students noted that leaders listen when they want to get elected, but ‘don't do what they were elected for.’ This supports the questionnaire results in which 65.5% of students agreed that politicians quickly forget the needs of the voters who elected them.

Students indicated government responsiveness in the form of change in the community as the greatest indicator that leaders were doing a good job. One student said, ‘I think they're interested, but I think actions speak louder than words, so I don't know until I see it.’ Students did not see change happening, which gave way to some cynicism: one student said that government leaders were only interesting in benefiting themselves. This was consistent with the fact that 68% of students agreed with this statement: ‘In this country a few individuals have a lot of political power while the rest of the people have very little power.’ Throughout focus group discussions in all three groups, students talked about the relationship between wealth and power. They noted

that people who were wealthy had greater access to opportunities, ranging from attending better schools and colleges, manipulating the police and justice system, and using resources and connections to get elected to public office. The subtext was clear: the students in this study were different from those people, and wealthy people did not have much incentive to be responsive to the needs of the types of communities where the students lived.

Adult participants reiterated the same message: a lack of government responsiveness resulted in low external efficacy for young people. One participant suggested that government had been a 'dismal failure' and another pointed out that young people were politically conscious, but distrusted politicians. In one example, a participant shared how a group of young people invited superintendents, elected officials, and other leaders to a forum about school suspension, which disproportionately affects African-American students. Leaders did not show up, which sent a powerful negative message about the value these people placed on the needs of young, Black people in this region. A middle school teacher described the letters her students wrote to President Obama about events in Ferguson, 'They felt betrayed by the government, they felt betrayed by the police,' and she said they felt abandoned by the president himself, for failing to come to Ferguson to address the unrest. Students in focus groups gave similar responses, suggesting that their lack of faith in government was tied to direct experiences of the failure of leaders to respond effectively when young people reached out and asked to be heard.

Trust in groups and institutions. This study generated a substantial amount of data about trust in groups and institutions. The qualitative data from student focus groups

and the adult interviews substantiated the quantitative data from the student questionnaire. Levels of trust were low, and students and adults generated extensive discussion related to trust. Fewer than half of the students who completed the questionnaire responded that they trusted all groups but one 'Quite a lot' or 'Completely.' Sixty percent of respondents trusted the Armed Forces, although students in the focus groups expressed concerns about the trustworthiness of the military. Between 40% and 50% of students trusted national government, state government, Congress, schools, the court system, the media, and people in general who live in America. Less than 40% of the students trusted political parties, local government, the court system, and the police.

The lowest level of trust of all groups or institutions, at 29.4%, was students' trust in the police, and 36.7% marked that they did not trust the police at all. In the first focus group, students introduced the topic of trust in the police as soon as I asked the first question, which was about their interest in politics. Students in the three focus groups suggested that their experience of events in Ferguson, including the police shooting of Michael Brown, the police response to peaceful protest, the police response to violent protest, and the enforcement of the curfew negatively impacted their trust in police. They did say that problems such as excessive ticketing, excessive force, and abuse of power of the police were evident prior to August 9, 2014. Some students expressed concerns that, once national attention to Ferguson had passed, efforts to change how the police handled situations in their community would return to how they had been before. All six interview subjects discussed lack of trust in the police. One adult said that 'now, nobody trusts the police' and another adult noted, 'I hate to say that the children have been taught

to mistrust the police, but their experiences are what they've seen in their own lives and their families' lives.'

Students in the focus groups, despite very specific examples of negative experiences with the police, were able to draw a distinction between police officers who abused their power and others who performed their jobs responsibly. One student, who expressed a strong distrust of police initially, softened her stance and referred to a 'stereotype' of police officers. She said, 'I don't trust [the police], 'cause something happened with them, but I wouldn't say I don't trust them all.' In a different focus group, in reference to a perception that 'police officers think they can do whatever they want to do,' a student followed, 'Well, it's not all the cops, but like crooked cops, they're making it bad for all the other cops.' Students in the focus groups offered a number of recommendations for improving their community concerning the police: better hiring of police officers, a more representative police force, and better training. In the focus groups, students indicated that they trusted one or both of the School Resource Officer and security officer, which was not aligned to low levels of trust in the police. This suggested that when law enforcement officers built relationships with young people, trust was positively impacted.

Trust in government was also tied to students' knowledge and experiences of events in Ferguson. On the questionnaire, 46.1% of students trusted the national government, 48.0% of students trusted the state government, and 34.1% of students trusted the local government. Students in the focus groups had very little to say about their trust in local government, therefore did not shed light on why trust in local government was lower than trust in state or national government. They may have seen or read news coverage of local government in Ferguson and other municipalities in St. Louis

County, which was highly critical of those institutions. Focus group discussions indicated that students did not have a clear understanding of the levels of government, or how actions at each level of government impacted them. At first, students expressed a higher level of trust in state than national government, until they realized that it was Jay Nixon, governor of Missouri, who called up the National Guard in the fall of 2014 and failed to activate them the night of the non-indictment announcement. One student changed his answer, explaining, 'You all have guns, these people just trying to go home, y'all have power but y'all act like you need the same amount of [National Guard] to control [protesters].' In another focus group one student had no trust in the state government at all, 'because our governor made a lot of bad decisions in times when he needed to make good ones.' Regarding trust in the national government, responses in the focus groups were mixed, although some students believed that President Obama's presence in Ferguson would have had a positive effect, and may have negated the need to send the National Guard. Interview participants also indicated that young people's trust in government institutions was low, with one adult saying it was 'little to none.' One interview subject pointed out that 'the calls for accountability are so high among young adults that I take that as an indication of distrust.'

Fewer than half of students (45.8%) of students indicated that they trusted schools 'Completely' or 'Quite a lot.' This was fairly consistent across all groups, in that there were no statistical differences to indicate that student variables like gender, race, location, or literacy level impacted trust in schools. In the focus groups, students expressed significant concerns that that there were threats to their privacy in school. More than one child mentioned a fear of school personnel referring their families to social services.

Interview subjects had a different view of adolescents' trust in schools. Some adult comments suggested they thought students believed their teachers had their best interests at heart, were comfortable challenging their teachers, were satisfied with their school, and trusted their teachers more than the school district or Board of Education. One interview subject, a high school teacher, said that they 'trust schools too much.' Some or all of these things may have been true, but adult perceptions did not seem to be well aligned to data gathered from student focus groups or the questionnaire results, which indicated lower levels of trust in schools.

Students' trust in the court system was also low on the questionnaire, with 40% of students responding positively. Data from focus groups could offer two possible explanations. First, as previously mentioned, students shared negative experiences related to what they determined to be excessive ticketing of police officers and police overreach that led to arrests. The result of some negative experiences with the police could lead to a negative perception of the court system. Another plausible explanation for students' lack of trust in the courts could be due to the relationship between family courts and social services. Several students talked about a fear that adults in schools could betray their confidentiality and relay information to the state or to social services. As adults in schools were legally mandated to report suspicion of child abuse or neglect, this was a reasonable fear for some students. One student said he would not talk about personal issues at schools, because 'they can go back and tell social services and then my momma have to deal with it. And then they can take me away from my family. I could be in foster care. I don't want that.' One interview participant specifically referenced low trust in family courts, due to what he described as the 'high

level of targeting of Black parents, specifically Black single mothers,' which corresponded with the students' comments.

Attitudes about political issues. In this study, most data about students' views on society was generated from the questionnaire. Students in focus groups were not explicitly asked questions pertaining to the same types of topics in the questionnaire in that section, however, they expressed attitudes that supported questionnaire findings in discussions about other things. This is also true, to a lesser extent, of interview participants. This section in the questionnaire resulted in the greatest number of questions in which more than 90% of students answered positively. Over 90% of students responded 'Agree' or 'Strongly agree' to the following statements: all people should have their rights respected (94.9%), people should be free to speak up against the government (92.2%), people should be able to elect leaders freely (93.9%), people should be able to protest an unfair law (91.0%), people should be able to stand up for their rights (97.2%), and people should have the right to express their opinions (93.3%). On that statement about the right to express their opinions, 60% of students answered 'Strongly agree.' In response to the statement 'political protests should never be violent,' 86.8% of students answered positively, with nearly half responding that they 'Strongly agree.' Notably, only about a third of students responded that police should be able to hold people suspected of threatening national security in jail without a trial. These responses may have been impacted by civics education in eighth grade, which included extensive discussion of the Bill of Rights and laws related to due process rights. During the 2014-15 school year in the Ferguson-Florissant School District, instruction on the

First Amendment (especially Freedoms of Speech and Assembly), was often connected with class conversations about events in their community.

In some cases, students' perceptions about rights of citizens were informed by what they witnessed or experienced in their community in the summer and fall of 2014. This was supported by focus group discussions. Some students mentioned participating in peaceful protests, and were critical of police and government response to breaking up protests and limiting speech. Students spoke strongly about the lack of effectiveness and the terrible consequences of violent protests in their community. Students' negative views of the police, based on a variety of interactions they cited (excessive ticketing, use of force, threats of arrest during the curfew, abuse of power, and militarized response to protests), corresponded to a concern about curtailing due process rights of suspects, even those accused of threatening national security.

Qualitative data from student focus groups and adult interviews offered a view into the types of engagement in which young people participated that were predicated on First Amendment rights, discussed in the section about expected political engagement. To this end, participants did not need to overtly say that they believed all people should be able to stand up for their rights. Students' intentions to participate in acts of free and open political engagement, particularly in protest situations, was indicative of a fundamental expectation of the free speech rights of citizens in the United States.

Opportunities. In keeping with the theme that the vast majority (over 90%) of students asserted that all people should have their rights respected and people should be able to speak up for their rights, student responses to questions about equal rights and

access to opportunities in this country were overwhelmingly positive. More than 90% of students answered ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly agree’ to these statements in the Opportunities section: people from all racial groups should have equal rights and responsibilities (91.6%), people from all racial groups should have equal rights to get a good education (91.1%), and schools should teach students to respect members of all racial groups (92.2%). Agreement that members from all racial groups should be encouraged to run for elected office was also high (89.2%), but this did not translate into enthusiasm for actually running for office. Fewer than 50% of students expected to be a candidate for local office and the focus group responses to that question were mixed.

Students’ perceptions that, in this country, there were equal opportunities to get a good education or job for all Americans was dramatically lower. More than half of the students believed that children from some racial groups and poor children have fewer chances to get a good education in this country. In addition, 54.2% of students who completed the questionnaire responded that members of some racial groups had fewer chances to get a good job. Focus group discussion supported these results. Students linked high quality education to increased job opportunities for adults. Several students expressed the opinion that many children do not have access to the best schools or the best teachers, with some students asserting that private schools provided better opportunities for graduates. Students asserted that people with greater wealth are able to send their children to private schools and ensure that they could go to college. In terms of equal access to employment, students pointed to discrimination in hiring practices based on race, gender, religion, and other attributes, and gave several examples from stories of family members and friends. They believed that the government had a

responsibility to promote equal opportunities in access to good jobs, but did not think enough was being done to accomplish this.

Adult interview participants echoed these views about unequal access to education and job opportunities. Two participants, neither of whom worked in schools, noted unequal access to high quality education, especially for poor, Black children. Both of them asserted that young people were aware of it, which was supported by the students' comments in the focus groups. One participant mentioned two notorious high schools in St. Louis City and said students know 'what the community thinks of their school and so that connects with the opportunity that they would have had at another school.' He also pointed out the differences for children that are able to gain access to a specific track of high performing magnet schools in St. Louis City. His comment, 'Clearly we know how to create the environment, but we don't create it for everyone,' cut to the core of debates about inequality in education in this country. Adults also discussed lack of access to college, low ability to realistically pay for college, and unequal access to find good jobs, even for those who are able to earn a college degree.

Although this was not included in the questionnaire, participants in the student focus groups and adult interviews discussed the need for increased access to high-quality activities outside of the school day. Five out of six interview participants specifically mentioned the types of programs that were available for the young people with whom they were in contact. These were, in nearly every case, identical to the activities outside of school that the students mentioned in the focus groups. Adults pointed out that funding for programming had been cut and there had been fewer opportunities over the years for many students to be involved in activities. Two educators noted that

opportunities had increased in the 2015-16 school year, and one of them made the connection to attention given to Ferguson after the shooting of Michael Brown and subsequent protest movement. One interview participant who worked with high school students argued that students' abilities to participate in activities outside of school was limited by their family's financial constraints. He saw that some young people were focused on 'the hands-on maintenance and management of their family affairs' which kept them from extending themselves to extracurricular activities. Several students in the focus groups expressed the notion that government leaders should play a role in increasing opportunities for young people to get involved in activities that would allow them to have a greater voice in their community. One student said leaders should 'go to the community and reach out to the kids because kids are basically our future.' Students drew a connection between these types of experiences outside of the school day to two inherently good outcomes: community improvement and increased opportunities for their futures.

RQ2: What are adolescents' perceptions of citizenship and civic participation?

In this discussion, I have described students' responses about behaviors of good adult citizens and the effectiveness of political action on the student questionnaire. Because several of the questions posed to students about effectiveness of political action were also discussed in the youth engagement or expected adult political engagement sections, I have included those results only when applicable. Finally, I have explained how quantitative data was supported by information gleaned from student focus groups and adult interviews.

Eighth grade students in this study were consistent in their responses across separate sections of the questionnaire that applied to behaviors and political activities of citizens. Likewise, the responses to questions related to good citizenship in all three focus groups supported quantitative data from the questionnaire. Students in the focus groups described behaviors of good adult citizens in four categories: good character, voting, participating in activities to benefit people in the local community, and obeying the law. When answering questions as to whether they thought that the adults they knew were good citizens, students added 'working hard' as a quality of good citizenship. The questionnaire did not include a question about good character, but the Citizenship section did refer to the other characteristics students identified.

A high percentage of students responded that good citizens vote (85.3%), which connected to their intention to vote as adults (local elections - 85.8%, national elections - 84.7%) and their perception that voting is effective (77.1%). The slightly lower percentage for the effectiveness of voting may have been tied to lower external efficacy, but it was probably not a large enough difference to be relevant. In the focus groups, students indicated that engagement in electoral politics, especially voting and researching candidates before voting, was a characteristic of a good adult citizen. Students' perceptions of voting, as well as their intentions to vote as adults, were overwhelmingly positive in all three groups, with one student saying, 'I can't wait to vote!' Some students noted that their parents and family members voted, which they considered to be an indicator of good citizenship. Students in the focus groups discussed the responsibility of citizens to learn about candidates so they could make appropriate decisions, and expressed that there could be negative consequences when the wrong people are

elected. This supported the questionnaire results in which 81.6% of participants expected to get information about candidates as adults. Joining a political party was also connected to electoral politics. Only 46.1% of students thought that good citizens join political parties, 54.9% of them planned to join a political party, and 52.8% thought joining a political party was effective. There was no discussion in focus groups about joining political parties, which indicated that students did not prioritize it as an important indicator of good citizenship.

Regarding community service, 83.6% of students considered it to be a behavior of good adult citizens, and 76.4% volunteered as youth or planned to do so. The greatest number of responses in all three focus groups were related to community service. Students mentioned specific actions: helping communities in need, participating in community clean-up efforts, helping the homeless, donating to charities, and giving what they could. Toward the end of each focus group discussion, students made recommendations as to ways to better their community. While some students mentioned a need to bring people of different races together, many of the responses were focused on community service activities to improve the area.

Students indicated in the questionnaire and the focus groups that good adult citizens follow the law and work hard. Ninety-two percent of students responded that good citizens obey laws. In all three focus groups, students mentioned following the law when asked about characteristics of good citizens. One student said a good citizen was 'someone who obeys the law, pays their taxes, doesn't get arrested a lot, doesn't cause a lot of commotions.' Students in the three focus groups indicated that their parents were good citizens, and immediately made the connection to the fact that they felt their parents

worked hard. On the questionnaire, 94.4% of students identified working hard as a behavior of good adult citizens, with 74.2% responding that it was 'Very important.' With the exception of two questions in the Views on Society section ('All people should have their rights respected' and 'People should be able to stand up for their rights'), more students agreed that good citizens work hard than they responded positively to any other question.

Students did not explicitly mention peaceful political protest as a behavior of good adult citizens in the focus groups, however, the topic was discussed when students discussed the effectiveness of political action. In the Citizenship section in the questionnaire, responses pertaining to participation in peaceful protests were positive in the questionnaire: 77.8% indicated that it was something good adult citizens do, 69.3% planned to attend a peaceful protest in the next few years, and 68.7% thought that attending peaceful marches, rallies, or demonstrations was effective. In the focus groups, the students had mixed responses to the effectiveness of peaceful political protests in general, but expressed negative views about the effectiveness of peaceful protests in Ferguson. Several students specifically stated that they did not think that authorities were 'listening.' In fact, one of these students said, 'It's just like we weren't being heard. So they [some protesters] felt like they needed to be heard and they started rioting.' In all three focus groups, students agreed that riots were ineffective and had catastrophic consequences to the community. A different student, referring to the decision not to indict Darren Wilson of a crime in the police shooting of Michael Brown, said,

> And they found out he wasn't in jail and they thought that 'Aw, we're going to do it again, if we do it louder then they're probably going to hear us,' so they burned down more buildings and it wasn't [effective], but caused more damage.

While nearly every student in the focus groups spoke negatively about illegal protest activity in the form of riots in their community, 34.1% of questionnaire participants indicated that illegal protest activities were effective. It was possible that the passionate discussion of some students in the focus groups led others who may have thought that illegal protests were effective to remain quiet. Students responding to the questionnaire were not specifically asked about the effectiveness of violent political protest or riots, and may have been responding more generally to the effectiveness of other types of illegal protest activity, as illegal protest was not exclusively violent.

RQ3: What are adolescents' perceptions of their own school efficacy?

School efficacy, the extent to which students believe they can make a difference in their school communities, was discussed in focus groups. While it may seem to be a reach to suggest that young people would employ political action to affect change in their schools, however, is was clear that students used the same types of strategies in schools that adults used in the political realm. Young people could initiate meetings with teachers or school leaders, sign petitions, write letters, participate in community service, raise money to benefit the school, join organizations like Student Council, run for student government, vote in school elections, boycott events, or stage walk-outs. In this study, I did not gather quantitative data on school efficacy. There was one question related to schools on the questionnaire in the Trust in Groups or Institutions section. Results revealed that 45.8% of students trusted schools 'completely' or 'quite a lot.' School

efficacy may be linked to trust in schools, although my data did not explicitly offer evidence that there was a connection.

Students did discuss some elements of school efficacy in the focus groups. Students in the focus groups were hesitant when asked whether they thought they could make a difference in their school. While most students did agree that there were some adults they felt they could go to in the school, they were somewhat dubious that going to a teacher to advocate for change in the school would be effective. Several students discussed the viability of asking principals (building principals or grade level assistant principals) to make changes, although there was some concern that principals might want to help but would not have time. This student statement spoke to an overarching theme of lack of faith in the effectiveness of seeking changes:

> Yeah, I think [I could make a difference] . . . Just making petitions, talking to the principal or, not to go too far, but asking the school district to improve more on the school instead of just telling us they're doing to do it but they're not going to do it.

Adult interview participants mentioned different ways they had observed students demonstrating school efficacy by employing political actions to address problems in schools. Referring to St. Louis City, not Ferguson-Florissant School District, Elijah referred to a walk-out at a particularly turbulent high school to draw attention to issues at the school. Mark mentioned efforts student letters to the Board of Education and walk-outs when a popular superintendent was placed on administrative leave in fall of 2013. Most encouraging, Derrick, an interview participant, outlined various ways in which high school students had successfully advocated for changes in their school through an

organization called Spirit Council, initiated by a program sponsored by the Department of Justice in the fall of 2014. He noted, 'Now the kids are feeling heard' as a result of positive adult response to students' advocacy efforts.

RQ4: What is the extent of adolescents' expected political participation?

In both the focus group discussions with students and the interviews with adults, the concept of expected political participation was inherently linked to electoral politics, i.e. political engagement through voting, researching candidates, or running for office. To that end, students' intentions to participate in electoral politics was different from what the adults assumed about young people based on interview responses. Students were overwhelmingly positive about voting. The questionnaire data showed that 85.8% of participants planned to vote in local elections and 84.7% of participants planned to vote in national elections. More than 80% of students also intended to get information about candidates. Furthermore, 88.3% of participants indicated they considered voting to be a behavior of good adult citizens. This was supported by the focus group data. Nearly every student responded positively to voting, with comments that included, 'I want my voice to be heard,' and 'I want to vote but I can't.' Students also expressed frustration with adults who complain, but do not vote or fail to make responsible voting decisions.

In the focus group discussions, students were not nearly as positive about their willingness to run for political office, citing a wide variety of obstacles that ran from discrimination (gender, racial, and socioeconomic status) in getting elected to the perception of the extreme stress of having to work so hard to please constituents. Throughout these conversations in the three focus groups, most students seemed seriously

daunted by the idea of running for office, however, some students noted that they would probably do a good job or that they would be open to running if the people currently in office were not doing a good job. Of students who completed the questionnaire, 45.7% of the participants responded that they would ‘probably’ or ‘definitely’ be a candidate in a local election. The focus group findings were mixed, but several students were not completely opposed to running for office and the questionnaire indicated that nearly half of the students were open to it.

The issue of electoral politics was one of the few in which adult interview data did not support student questionnaire or focus group data. Most adult interview participants held a negative view about the interest or intention of young people in voting or running for political office. Two participants mentioned voting, both of whom were educators. The middle school teacher talked about seeing some former students at the polls on election day, and said they credited their Social Studies teachers with inspiring them to vote. The high school teacher was pessimistic about the interest of young people, especially young Black people, to vote because they saw a lack of qualified candidates who would advocate for them. He pointed out that exposure to the practice of voting at home impacted the knowledge and interest of young people in participating in conventional politics, specifically voting.

When adults were asked a question about young people’s expectation to be involved politically as adults, several interview participants assumed that the question was geared toward the likelihood of young people to run for political office as adults. One participant took some time to process the fact that he had made this assumption and noted that in 15 years of working extensively with youth in different

capacities, he had only known one young man who expressed any interest in entering politics. Two other interview participants noted that young people they knew were more focused on economic stability than ‘going into politics to change the world.’ A fourth interview participant pointed out that while young people were not engaged in electoral politics, they were politically aware and engaged in other ways.

While the interview participants underestimated the positive perception of electoral politics of the eighth graders in this study, the fact that young people were engaged or willing to be engaged politically in other ways was evident in questionnaire, focus group, and interview data. In the ‘Youth Engagement’ section of the questionnaire, more than half of students would ‘Probably’ or ‘Definitely’ participate in these activities: volunteer in the community (76.4%), collect money to support a cause (78.2%), collect signatures for a petition (58.2%), participate in a peaceful protest (69.3%), write to a newspaper (54.7%), wear a badge or a t-shirt expressing a political view (74.3%), talk to others about politics (71.3%), join an organization for a cause (50.6%), or contribute to an online discussion (50.6%). Fewer than half of the students answered that they would contact a representative (46.9%), which supported the evidence that participants lacked trust in government institutions or a positive perception of government responsiveness. Focus groups participants also shared that they did not have faith that reaching out to representatives would result in any kind of change.

In the focus groups, students mentioned a variety of ways outside of voting that they had engaged or would be willing to engage politically. Many of the actions students identified were the same as those in the questionnaire. Students explicitly discussed volunteering in the community or in schools, raising money to buy things needed in the

community or in schools, collecting signatures for a petition to change things in schools, participating in peaceful protests, holding protest signs, wearing t-shirts, writing letters to political leaders, writing essays for school, talking to others about political issues, or participating in Ferguson Youth Initiative, Student Council, and other clubs. While adults tended to focus on electoral politics when I explicitly asked a question about young people's intentions to engage politically, they all tended to weave in political activities that they witnessed young people doing throughout the interviews (see Table 17). The students in the focus groups cited most of the same activities.

The qualitative data from this study suggested that young people were politically engaged and positive about remaining engaged as adults, even electorally, despite what adults assumed about them. One of the key findings of this study was that youth engagement and expected adult engagement were directly linked to exposure. Some of the political activities that adults cited that were not discussed by students were not likely to have been activities that these fourteen year olds had witnessed or experienced: direct action, occupying public buildings, conferences/forums, meeting with elected officials, creating documentaries, or using Social Media to organize protest. These are forms of political engagement that adults mentioned in the context of discussions of high school students or young adults.

In conclusion, the young people who participated in this study had positive perceptions about engaging in the political process. Their primary interest in electoral politics was limited to the voting process. Low external efficacy and lack of trust in public institutions and political figures created an obstacle to enthusiasm to engage in other types of conventional or electoral politics. Nonetheless, students were still willing

to consider those activities. Quantitative and qualitative data suggested that students were already actively involved or intended to participate in a significant number of other types of youth and adult political engagement that they had witnessed or experienced.

H_0 7: One's perception of political efficacy is independent of parental attitudes

RQ6: How do parental attitudes about political efficacy/civic engagement impact students' perceptions of their own political efficacy?

The study also compared parent/guardian responses on an abbreviated questionnaire, with the purpose of determining whether parental attitudes were a factor influencing the attitudes of the adolescents. In this section, I have identified findings from questionnaire data from twenty student-parent pairs. I used the Gamma test to compare student responses to their parents on a slightly abbreviated questionnaire that contained 78 of the same questionnaire completed by their children. This test computed the degree to which the responses of two subjects – in this case, a student and his or her parent – were in line with each other. This was done by calculating the number of agreements and inversions among the responses for each student-parent pair. These sums fold into the Gamma statistic, which ranged from -1 (perfect inverse correlation) to 1 (perfect correlation). Results indicated that, of the 20 pairs, there was a statistically significant correlation ($p \leq 0.05$) difference on 12 pairs. This meant that 60% of the students' responses were closely correlated to their parents' responses on the questionnaire. On eight of the nine sections of the questionnaire, 50% or more of the student-parent pairs were significantly correlated.

The Citizenship section, which asked respondents to place a value on certain behaviors of good adult citizens from 'Very important' to 'Not at all' important, was the

one section in which fewer than half of the student-parent pairs were correlated. Five of the 20 student-parent pairs (25%) showed a correlation, suggesting that parental attitudes had less impact on their children's views on that subject than on other areas related to political attitudes. Nevertheless, students in focus groups said they thought their parents were good citizens, citing that their parents voted, obeyed the law, and worked hard. Their views of their parents as good citizens may be related to very high positive responses in those behaviors on the questionnaire: 88.3% of students responded that good citizens vote, 92% of students responded that good citizens obey laws, and 94.4% of students responded that good citizens work hard, with nearly 80% answering 'Very important.'

The two sections of the questionnaire in which there were the most student-parent correlations were Activities Outside of School and Opportunities. Fourteen of 20 pairs (70%) were closely correlated on the section designed to gage how often students and their parents engaged in activities such as talking about political issues with each other or with peers or accessing news about political issues from different sources. The relationship between political discussion at home (or lack thereof) and student interest in politics was supported by some student responses in focus groups. One focus group student said that she was very interested in politics, then explained that her parents, particularly her father, loved talking about political issues. Most students, however, expressed that they were not interested in politics and that they did not discuss politics at home. One student said, 'No one talks about that stuff,' and another student indicated that even when adults do talk about political issues, their children were not included in the conversations. However, on the questionnaire, 38.4% of the students responded that

they talked with parents about politics, which is higher than what students indicated in focus group discussion.

The highest number of student-parent pairs were correlated on the section about access to opportunities for all Americans: 16 out of 20, or 80%. These questions focused on whether all American should have equal opportunities regardless of racial background or socioeconomic status, and whether respondents felt that Americans from different groups actually did have equal opportunities. According to the results of the Gamma test, student responses were closely tied to their parents. In the focus groups, students shared their perspectives as to whether they thought all people in this country had equal opportunities to get a good education or to get good jobs when they are adults. In all three focus groups, the answers were consistently negative. Two themes emerged related to discrimination and socioeconomic status, suggesting that race and poverty could be barriers to opportunities. On the topic of opportunities, however, students did not explicitly mention their parents, yet the number of significant correlations between the student-parent pairs was high enough to indicate that their parents' views were similar.

Throughout the focus group discussions on many topics, students referenced their parents, either sharing incidents they witnessed or things their parents told them that impacted their own political attitudes. A student discussed his mother's experiences with excessive ticketing by police. Two different students described incidents in which police threatened to arrest their parents when they were stopped from getting to their houses due to street closures or the curfew put in place due to civil unrest in Ferguson. In the final focus group question, in which I asked students whether they were more hopeful or hopeless that positive change was coming to their community, a student said she only had

a little bit of hope 'because sometimes change doesn't happen, and my mom tells me not to expect things.' Her comment elicited agreement from the group.

Interview participants did not respond to any questions specifically related to the impact of parental attitudes on their children, although several comments suggested a strong relationship. Sheila said, 'children have been taught to mistrust the police' and Omar said that young people had negative experiences with family courts due to what he called the 'high level of targeting of Black parents, particularly Black single mothers.' Both of these statements were supported by student comments in the focus groups related to lack of trust in police and social services/family courts in connection to their parents. This was further supported by the questionnaire data: only 29.4% of students trusted the police and 40% of students trusted the courts. On the gamma test, 12 of 19 parent pairs who completed the Trust section of the questionnaire were correlated.

Interview subjects consistently related exposure to political engagement, usually though adult guidance, to how likely young people were to be willing to be politically active. Three interview subjects related ways in which parents exposed their children to political activities and explicitly tied the actions of parents to their children's awareness and participation. Derrick posited that young people's views on voting and other forms of conventional political action were dependent on what they saw at home. Eileen saw that students who were attending community meetings related to events in Ferguson with their parents had greater confidence in expressing their political views. Omar pointed out a history of mothers who brought their young sons to marches, 'in part to communicate to them that they are part of a historical struggle.'

The following statement was a good summary of my findings related to the impact of parental attitudes on their children:

> The children reflect their parents in the middle school. I still believe it carries on into high school. There's a lot of questioning going on in the high school level, but they're still reflecting what they're hearing from their parents.

Both quantitative results from the questionnaire and qualitative data from the student focus groups and interviews indicated a relationship between parental attitudes on issues related to politics and the attitudes of their eighth grade children who participated in this study.

Research into the influence of parents on political efficacy and political participation was extensive. Scholars agreed that political development occurred in youth that there was a strong connection between parental attitudes and the political efficacy and views of their children (Beaumont, 2011; Sohl, 2014). Exposure to politics at home, even when it was not intentional, affected the political efficacy and political engagement of young people (Jennings & Niemi, 1974; Šerek et al., 2012). In some studies, political views of young people were closely tied to their parents (Lyons, 2005). In this study, it was clear that exposure or lack of exposure to politics at home impacted students. The eighth grade participants' political attitudes were similar to their parents in most sections in the questionnaire. The qualitative data from the focus groups and interviews corroborated the questionnaire results and illuminated the close relationship between the political views of adolescents and their parents. This was often due to the experiences of young people who witnessed family member's interactions with government institutions

or from discussions at home. This study supported previous research on this topic and added more detail through questionnaire results and qualitative data.

Personal Reflections

When I set out to begin this study, I wanted to give young people voice, to allow them a forum to express their attitudes. It was striking during the student focus groups the extent to which students appreciated the opportunity to speak and to have someone listen. It was also striking how appealing the act of expressing their opinions turned out to be. Students immediately advocated for more avenues to speak up and insisted that they had ideas to contribute that would make a difference in their communities, if they could only be given the chance. What I came to discover when I triangulated the results of the student questionnaire, student focus groups, and adult interviews, was that the age of participants was significant. In the instances in which there was a disconnect between how students actually responded and how adults expected them to respond, the students in this study tended to be less jaded, less sure that they have it figured out, less inclined to be cynical, and more likely to engage.

Some of the differences between 14-year-olds and adults in how they processed political ideas and articulated their attitudes and intentions related to politics became particularly noticeable when comparing the focus group data to the interview data. On the one hand, the eighth graders who participated in the groups demonstrated confidence in their willingness to contribute to political discussion, aptitude in their awareness and grasp of political issues, and the ability to formulate viewpoints that were more nuanced than some adults might have expected from them. Their attitudes were very much impacted by multiple and varied sources: the media, their parents, their friends, school,

and their own experiences. A thorough reading of the part of Chapter Four that relates the focus group data, however, showed that the attitudes of these young people were formed, but not fixed. These students were remarkably open to listen to one another and, without fully changing their responses, willing to soften them to consider a less rigid position. Many times, students from all backgrounds answered ‘it depends,’ as though they understood that there were areas of gray. Even in their discussions of trust in police, students who adamantly decried the police one moment, were quick to acknowledge that some bad cops make it hard for the good ones or they trusted their School Resource Officer.

Students this age also tended to be solution-seekers, and took issue with adults who did not participate in any kind of processes to improve outcomes in the community. A few students even indicated that they would run for office, despite some significant reservations, if it became necessary because those in office were not doing a good job and no one else was willing to step up, because, according to one young lady, ‘if you want change then you gotta make a step.’

The adult interview section of the qualitative reporting in Chapter Four demonstrated that that the attitudes of adults appeared to be fully formed and less flexible. The adults all seemed to be willing to learn from young people and respond when young people held them accountable. Yet, each of the adults entered the discussion from a very specific set of personal and professional experiences. They had spent a lifetime witnessing circumstances and events that that impacted themselves and their communities, including the youth. Due to their experiences, their political attitudes were fixed, particularly relative to the adolescents in this study. They had a sense of how the

political system worked or did not work, and made assumptions about the views of young people that did not always turn out to be as fixed as those of the adults. Several of these adults had what could be termed an advocacy agenda, but certainly all of the interview participants realized that adults played an essential role in listening to young people and standing up for them. One participant described this is as a deliberate commitment to 'amplifying youth voices.'

This study illuminated the role of adults, particularly at home and in schools, to impact the political efficacy and attitudes of youth. The participants in this study were very clear about their intentions to be politically engaged, despite their lack of trust or faith in government institutions to be responsive to their concerns. They were clear about the obstacles of unequal access to opportunities and resolved that government leaders had a responsibility to act to address systems of inequality. Yet these students, 14 years of age and a few months from beginning high school, were largely dependent on adults to provide them with opportunities to express their voices, to get involved in their schools and communities, and to engage in experiences that would facilitate future political participation. If there was ever a call to action for adults who genuinely strive to increase political engagement of all citizens, this is it.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study answered many questions about the political attitudes and expected political engagement of adolescents in the Ferguson-Florissant School District, but it also revealed new questions for future research. First, researchers may be interested in how the 'Ferguson Effect' affected the results of this study. I did not try to separate my findings in the questionnaire from students' experiences of political action in their

community. In fact, I have argued that young people's likelihood to engage in political activity was directly impacted by their exposure to a variety of forms of engagement. Future research might consider how strong the 'Ferguson Effect' may have been in the responses of students in this study by repeating the study five years later in this school district or implementing it in another district with similar demographics. Likewise, future researchers might try to determine how student racial and socioeconomic characteristics impacted results by repeating the study in two school districts with different student demographics.

In this study, I alluded to the role of schools in impacting students' political efficacy and expected political engagement, which was fully supported by a body of research on the topic. While some studies examined the link between school efficacy and engagement with attitudes about politics and expected engagement in political activities outside of school, more research would be beneficial. In the same context, I suggest that researchers test more avenues in which middle and high schools may take steps to increase positive political attitudes or increase student political engagement though exposure. In my last recommendation related to schools, I suggest that researchers seek a link between schools and views about citizenship. In this study, I found that parental attitudes on citizenship were not closely correlated to their children's views, despite close links in other areas. This begs the question: What does impact adolescent attitudes on citizenship?

Finally, I recommend further research on how age affects differences between young people's political attitudes and expected engagement. While scholars have identified adolescence and young adulthood as crucial ages for political socialization,

more investigation is warranted into the relevance of age, and the comparison between different ranges of middle school, high school, and young adults. This study looked specifically at students in the eighth grade, most of whom were 14-years-old when they participated. Researchers should consider to what extent the age of participants accounted for the disconnect between how adult participants predicted that young people felt, and how the students actually responded, particularly on the topic of electoral politics. Furthermore, future researchers should study how age impacted the correlation between middle school student and parental attitudes, to determine whether a comparison of high school student and parental attitudes would yield similar results.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to uncover the political attitudes of young people in the Ferguson, Florissant, and Berkeley communities, as well as their expectations to engage in political action as adolescents or adults. My goal was to determine to what extent young people were willing, now or in the future, to act as political agents in their communities to in order to effect positive change. I also wanted to know whether young people, at 14 years of age, were already disengaged in the politics that shaped their circumstances, or had already decided to opt out of political action. I found that the young people in the Ferguson-Florissant School District had been exposed to or had engaged in a wide variety of political activities, from community service and writing letters to the President to marches and school walk-outs. Students expressed a positive view of participating in electoral politics in both the questionnaire and the focus groups; one student insisted, ‘I want my voice to be heard.’

The challenge is to tap into the positive attitudes of adolescents related to conventional and unconventional political action so that these young people are still willing to be engaged as adults. Exposure and experience in youth in a variety of political activities, especially the types of engagement that are not overtly political – like community service – connect young people to their communities. That real-world exposure helps youth develop the sense that they can make a difference and that it is worth trying. Students in this study indicated a willingness to participate in a variety of political activities, as well as an openness to listen and consider other viewpoints. Moreover, the students explicitly and repeatedly insisted that they had political opinions and should be given opportunities to contribute now. They were adamant that adults, government leaders especially, listen to their ideas as to how to make their communities better.

This study revealed a number of relatively small and reasonable solutions that could serve to encourage political engagement of young people at a pivotal age. These ideas come from the 14-year-olds themselves, which demonstrates two things: young people have political ideas worth listening to and positive results may come when adults serve to amplify youth voices, as I tried to do with this work:

- Increased after-school activities, possibly with leadership development, community service learning, or other types of engagement built in
- Increased opportunities in classrooms, through Social Studies or advisory/character education classes, to engage in activities like writing letters to elected representatives or media outlets

- Increased Civics Education in middle or elementary school that is experiential and relevant
- Increased opportunities in schools to engage in activities like Student Government/Student Council, Amnesty International, Model UN, or similar organizations
- Opportunities in schools to engage in electoral politics at a local level: finding information about candidates/issues, campaigning, mock voting
- Exposure to government or community leaders: career day, guest speakers, Youth Forums, community meetings
- Allow students to weigh in on Social Studies curriculum. The standards in each state are fixed, but specific content and delivery methods are flexible. Districts should increase inclusivity in the curriculum and cultural responsive teaching

Our democracy depends on participation. Political socialization is the process of engaging youth in action that will result in their decision to opt into the political sphere as adults. The purpose of civic engagement is to make significant and long-lasting change in local communities, states, and nations that will positively impact citizens from all backgrounds. The fundamental idea behind a representative democracy is that citizens are the determining factors behind policy decisions that affect them.

The young people I encountered were very clear: they intend to opt in. The young people I encountered were very clear: they intend to opt in. Adults have a unique opportunity to encourage young citizens who are willing to engage, but too young to vote, to use their voices now so the habit of speaking and being heard will carry on into adulthood.

It is my strong recommendation that educators and community leaders increase youth engagement and expected adult engagement though increased exposure and positive experiences to political activities while students are in middle school, and continue this through high school. I challenge adults, above all, to listen to young people and to devise ways to facilitate engagement of all varieties. Only then, will the promise of democracy have a chance to become a reality for all Americans.

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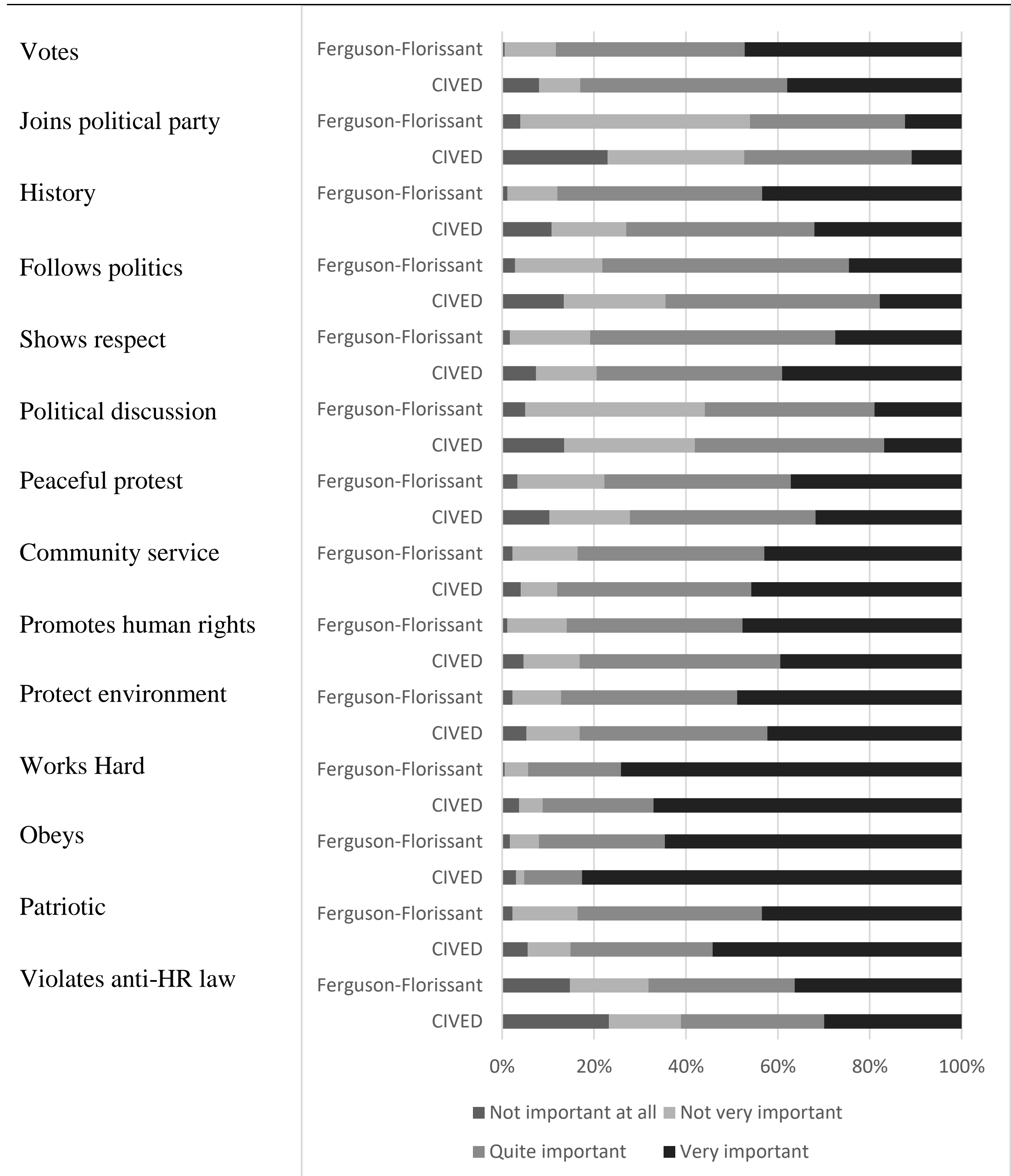
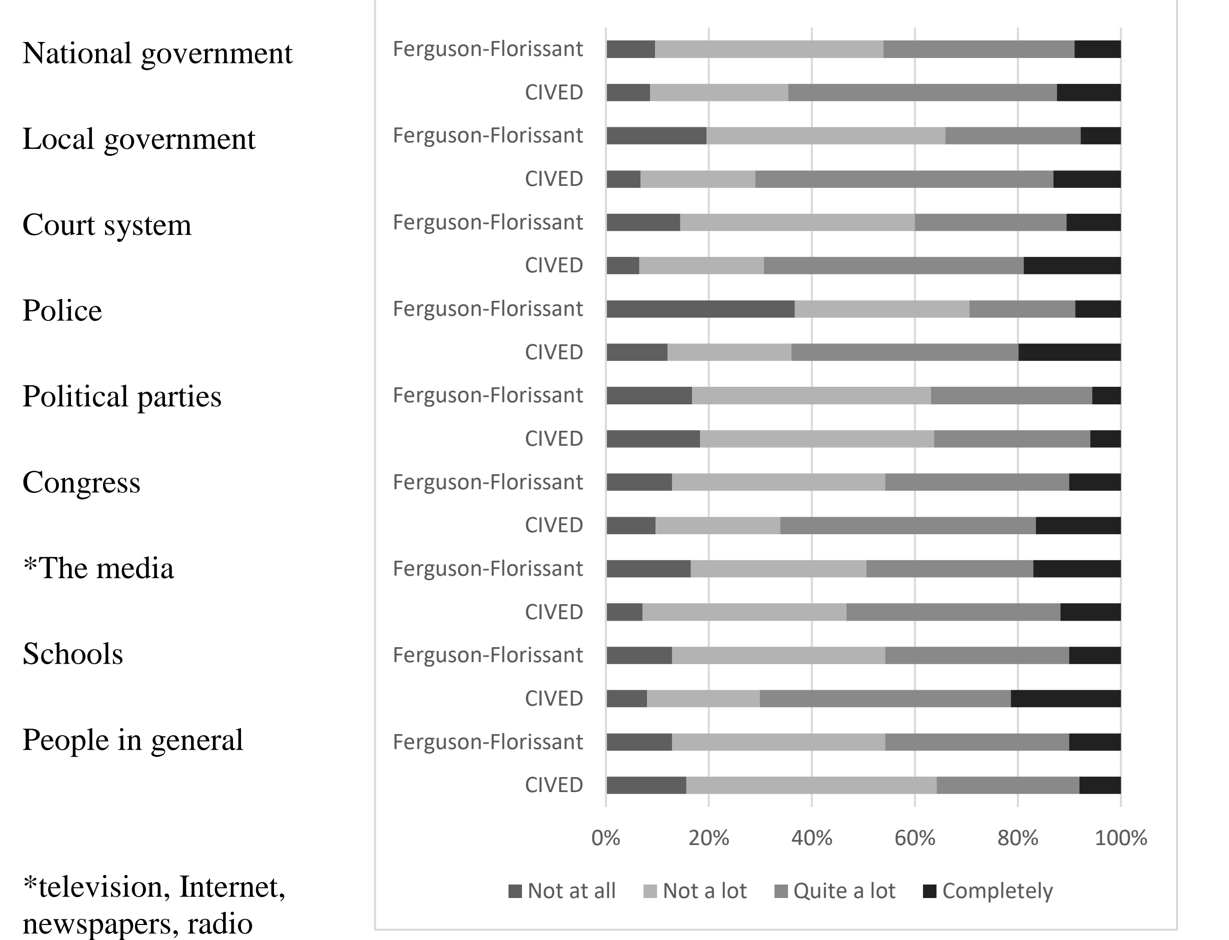
Appendices

Appendix A: Comparison of FFSD and CIVED Students: Goodness of Fit Test Results

CIVED Comparison: Citizenship Chi-squared Goodness of Fit Test

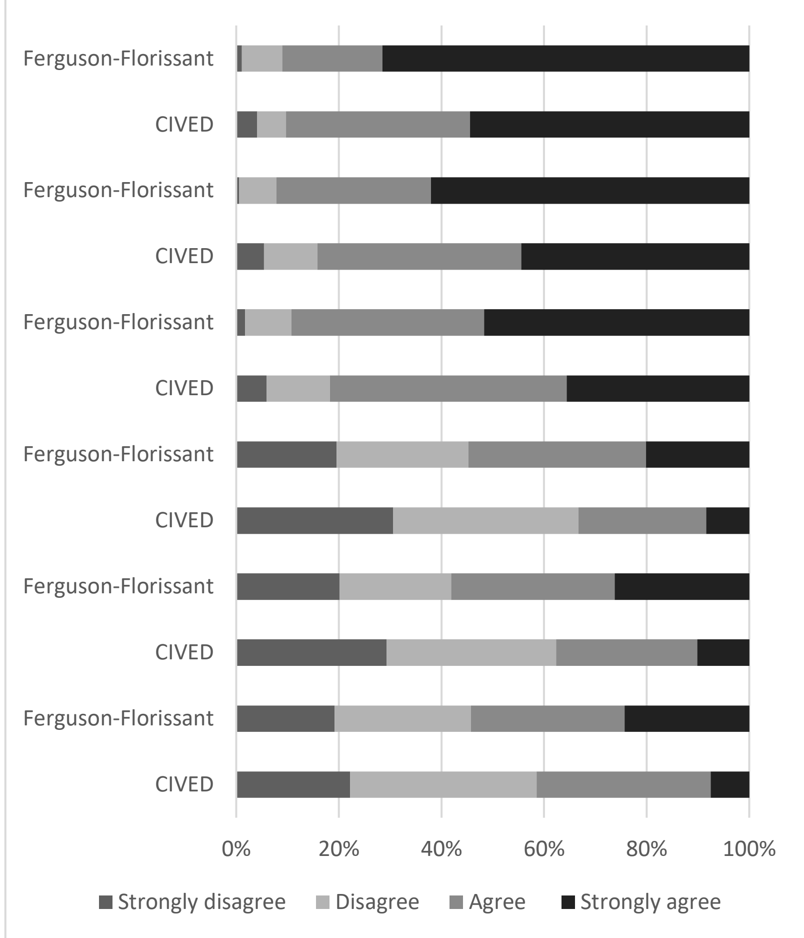


CIVED Comparison: Trust Chi-squared Goodness of Fit Test



CIVED Comparison: Opportunities Chi-squared Goodness of Fit Test

All racial groups equal chances (jobs)	
Schools should teach respect	
All racial groups should be encouraged to run for office	
Some racial groups have fewer chances (education)	
Poor children have fewer chances (education)	
Some racial groups have fewer chances (jobs)	



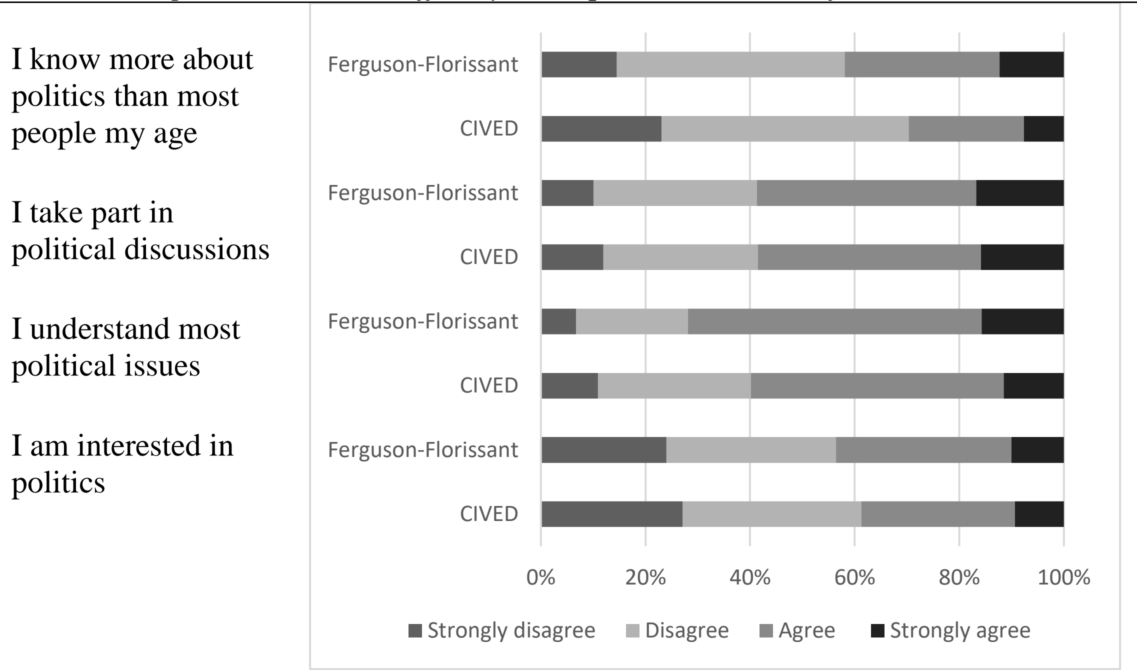
CIVED Comparison: Internal Efficacy Chi-squared Goodness of Fit Test

I know more about politics than most people my age

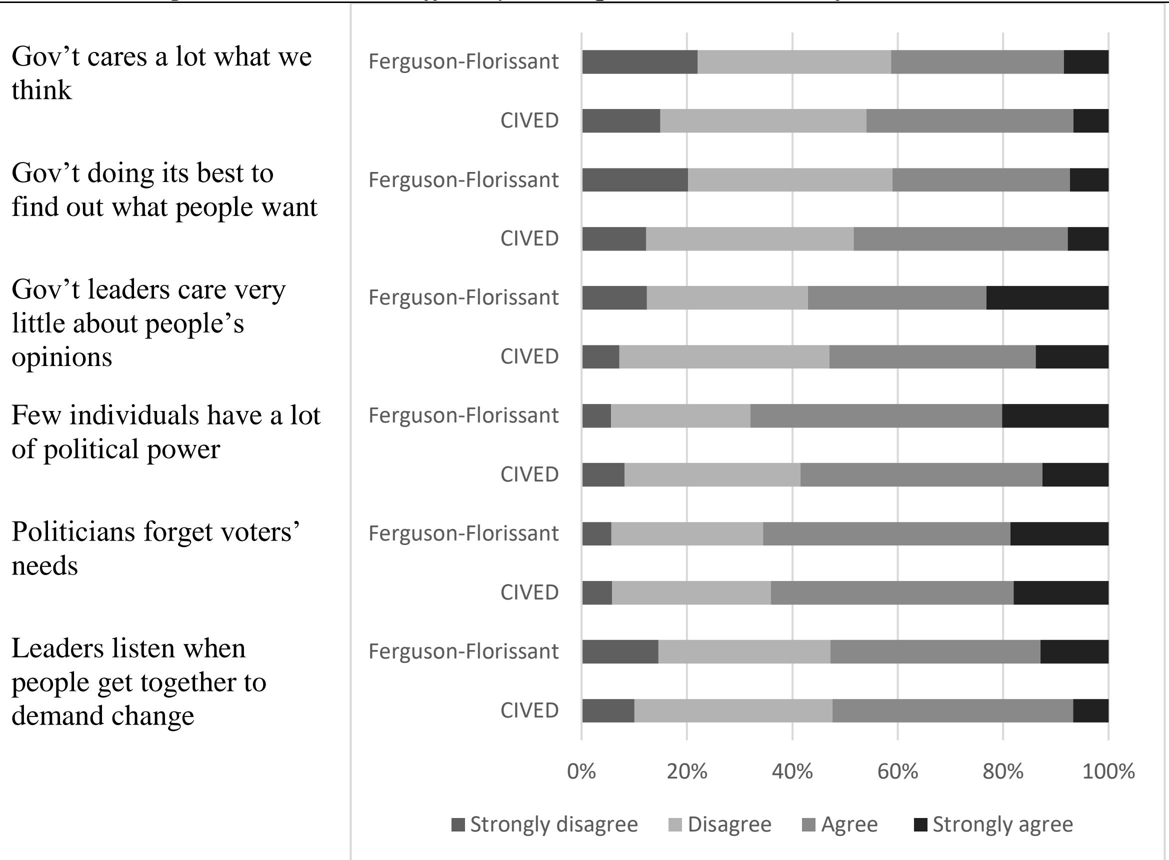
I take part in political discussions

I understand most political issues

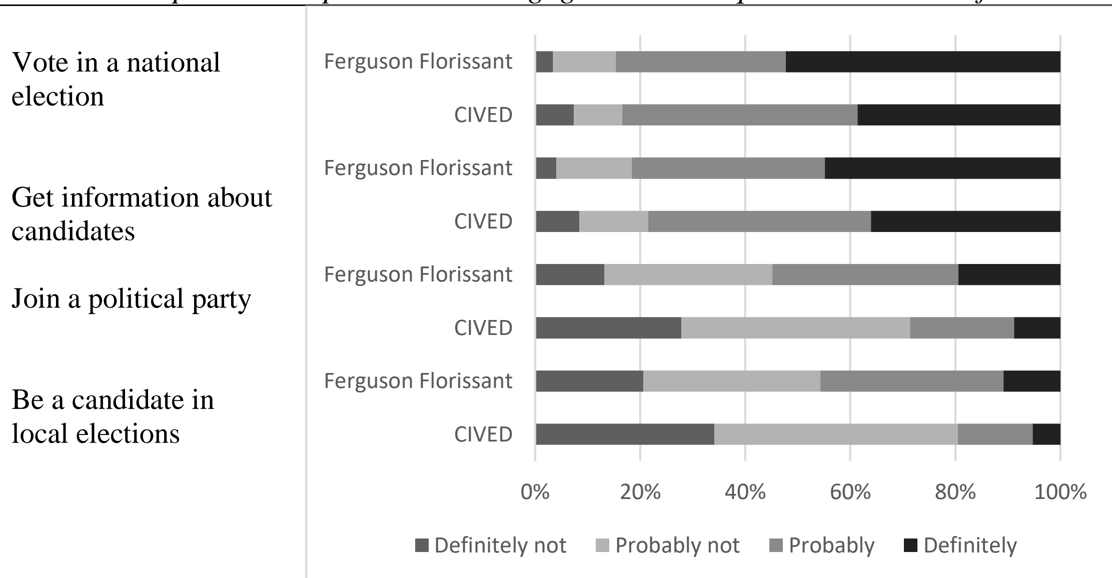
I am interested in politics



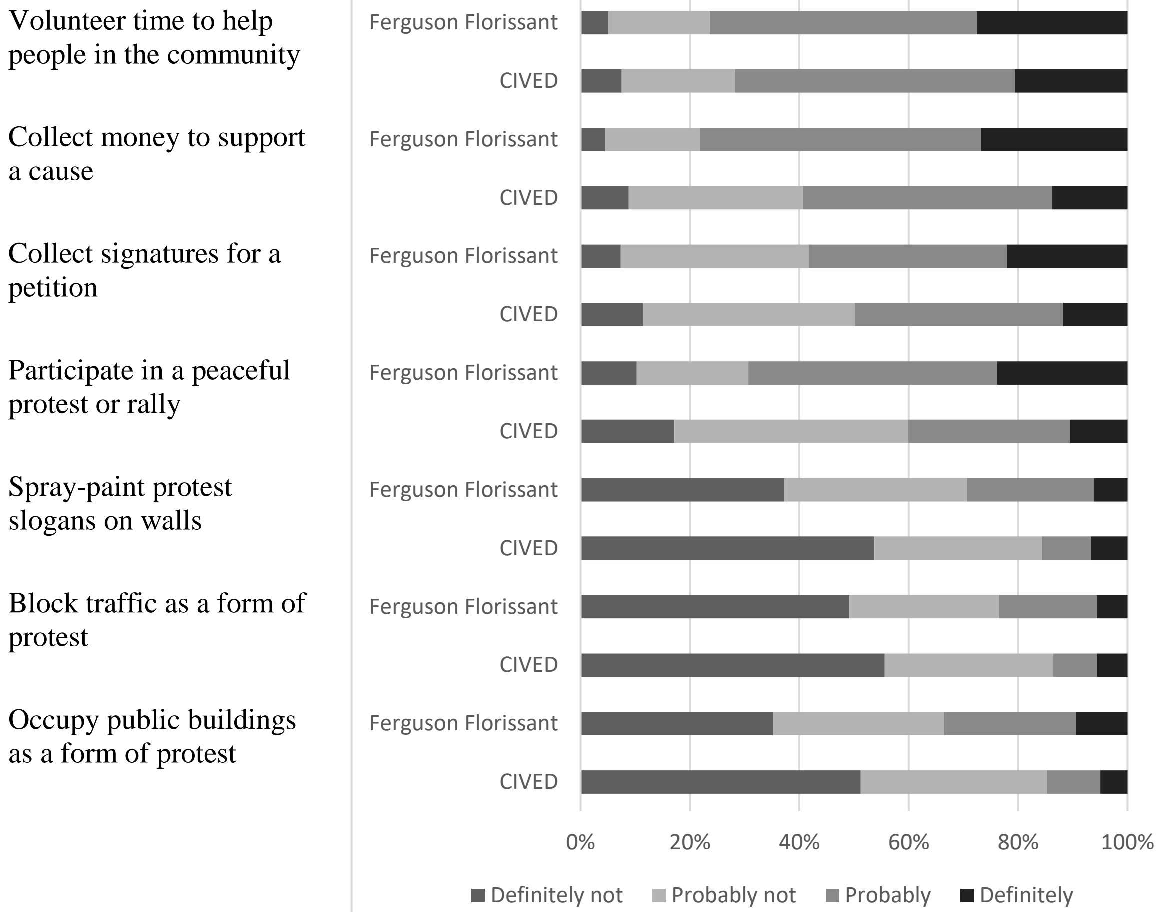
CIVED Comparison: External Efficacy Chi-squared Goodness of Fit Test



CIVED Comparison: Expected Adult Engagement Chi-squared Goodness of Fit Test



CIVED Comparison: Youth Engagement Chi-squared Goodness of Fit Test



Appendix B: Student Variable Tables: Gender, Race, Literacy, Location

Gender

Activities Outside of School - Gender

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	female	*male*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Talking with parents about politics	0.438	0.299	1.828	0.0675	3	172	4.472	0.2148
Watching news on TV	0.660	0.706	- 0.630	0.5285	3	171	0.532	0.9118
Reading newspaper for news	0.120	0.071	1.059	0.2895	3	178	6.104	0.1066
Talking with friends about politics	0.408	0.309	1.313	0.189	3	171	1.794	0.6162
Using Internet for news	0.629	0.523	1.365	0.1724	3	170	2.602	0.4572
Participating in youth group (not through church)	0.369	0.290	1.074	0.2828	3	172	2.395	0.4946
Participating in a church youth group	0.371	0.217	2.148	0.0317	3	174	5.286	0.152

Note α = 0.05

Views on Society: Gender

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	female	*male*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
People should have right to express opinions	0.927	0.943	-0.420	0.6748	3	180	8.752	0.0328
Leaders not allowed to give jobs	0.505	0.580	-0.977	0.3284	3	178	3.281	0.3503
Gov't should not control media	0.642	0.700	-0.798	0.4250	3	176	1.557	0.6692
Police should be able to hold suspects (national security)	0.282	0.443	-2.216	0.0267	3	180	5.272	0.1530
All people should have rights respected	0.954	0.943	0.327	0.7435	3	178	2.125	0.5468
People should be free to speak against gov't	0.899	0.957	-1.410	0.1585	3	179	2.730	0.4352
Gov't should be free to check letters, etc. (national security)	0.582	0.500	1.078	0.2810	3	180	1.613	0.6565
People should be free to elect leaders freely	0.955	0.914	1.120	0.2629	3	180	6.469	0.0909
People should be able to protest unfair law	0.917	0.899	0.409	0.6825	3	178	0.401	0.9400
People should be able to stand up for rights	0.972	0.971	0.039	0.9689	3	176	1.044	0.7905
Political protests should never be violent	0.907	0.806	1.914	0.0556	3	174	4.799	0.1872
Differences in income should be small	0.692	0.691	0.014	0.9889	3	175	0.204	0.9769
Gov't should be allowed to control media (national security)	0.541	0.493	0.625	0.5322	3	178	1.740	0.6281

Note α = 0.05

Behaviors for Being a Good Adult Citizen: Gender

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	female	*male*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Votes	0.882	0.886	-0.081	0.935	3	180	2.189	0.5342
Joins a political party	0.495	0.406	1.161	0.2458	3	178	5.185	0.1587
Learns nation's history	0.821	0.971	-2.984	0.0028	3	175	14.453	0.0023
Follows politics	0.755	0.826	-1.120	0.2627	3	179	1.481	0.6867
Shows respect	0.833	0.771	1.028	0.304	3	178	1.655	0.6469
Political discussions	0.564	0.551	0.170	0.8646	3	179	3.947	0.2672
Peaceful protests	0.764	0.800	-0.566	0.5712	3	180	6.081	0.1077
Community service	0.844	0.824	0.350	0.7266	3	177	2.861	0.4136
Promotes human rights	0.862	0.855	0.131	0.8958	3	178	0.463	0.9270
Protects environment	0.909	0.814	1.861	0.0627	3	180	4.266	0.2345
Work hard	0.954	0.928	0.734	0.4630	3	178	2.512	0.4732
Obeys laws	0.936	0.894	0.993	0.3209	3	175	2.163	0.5392
Patriotic	0.852	0.812	0.701	0.4832	3	177	4.266	0.2341
Violates anti-human rights laws	0.710	0.638	1.001	0.3167	3	176	2.505	0.4744

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Opportunities, Internal Efficacy, External Efficacy - Gender

	Z Test of Two Proportions				Chi-Square Contingency Test			
	female	*male*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Opportunities								
All racial groups should have equal chances (education)	0.917	0.900	0.389	0.6973	3	179	5.038	0.1690
Schools should teach respect of all racial groups	0.927	0.914	0.316	0.7519	3	179	2.645	0.4497
All racial groups should be encouraged to run for office	0.897	0.884	0.271	0.7861	3	176	2.770	0.4284
All racial groups should have equal rights and responsibilities	0.917	0.914	0.070	0.9439	3	178	3.710	0.2945
Some racial groups have fewer chances (education)	0.514	0.600	-1.128	0.2593	3	179	1.990	0.5745
Poor children have fewer chances (education)	0.578	0.586	-0.106	0.9157	3	179	5.477	0.1400
Some racial groups have fewer chances (jobs)	0.514	0.586	-0.940	0.3472	3	177	2.153	0.5412
Internal Efficacy								
I know more about politics than others my age	0.385	0.471	-1.138	0.2551	3	179	1.544	0.6721
I take part in political discussions	0.615	0.557	0.771	0.4410	3	179	2.304	0.5118
I understand most political issues	0.734	0.696	0.550	0.5826	3	178	1.511	0.6797
I have political opinions worth listening to	0.611	0.565	0.608	0.5435	3	177	1.799	0.6151
As an adult - able to take part in politics	0.602	0.594	0.106	0.9157	3	177	0.985	0.8049
I understand issues facing country	0.692	0.700	-0.113	0.9100	3	177	0.088	0.9932
I am interested in politics	0.459	0.400	0.777	0.4373	3	177	1.556	0.6693
External Efficacy								
Gov't cares a lot what we think	0.402	0.429	-0.357	0.7212	3	177	0.600	0.8964
Gov't doing its best to find out what people want	0.426	0.386	0.530	0.5961	3	178	0.552	0.9074
Gov't leaders care very little about people's opinions	0.611	0.507	1.363	0.1728	3	177	5.802	0.1216
Few individuals have a lot of political power	0.685	0.671	0.196	0.845	3	178	2.057	0.5607
Politicians forget voters' needs	0.682	0.614	0.931	0.352	3	177	4.693	0.1957
Leaders listen when people get together to demand change	0.556	0.486	0.914	0.3608	3	178	1.248	0.7415

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Trust in Groups or Institutions: Gender

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	female	*male*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
National Government	0.435	0.500	-0.850	0.3954	3	178	2.000	0.5724
Local government	0.339	0.343	-0.055	0.9561	3	179	0.416	0.9368
Court system	0.391	0.414	-0.307	0.7588	3	180	2.218	0.5284
Police	0.273	0.329	-0.804	0.4216	3	180	1.943	0.5844
Political parties	0.382	0.348	0.459	0.6463	3	179	0.584	0.9001
Congress	0.468	0.443	0.328	0.7432	3	179	5.170	0.1598
The media	0.495	0.493	0.026	0.9793	3	178	0.837	0.8405
The Armed Forces	0.582	0.629	-0.627	0.5303	3	180	2.442	0.4859
Schools	0.556	0.657	-1.341	0.1799	3	178	4.637	0.2004
People in general	0.330	0.362	-0.438	0.6612	3	178	1.846	0.6049
State government	0.491	0.464	0.352	0.7249	3	179	6.056	0.1089

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Expected Adult Engagement, Youth Engagement: Gender

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	female	*male*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Expected Adult Engagement								
Vote in local elections	0.879	0.826	0.983	0.3255	3	176	1.362	0.7145
Vote in national elections	0.869	0.812	1.024	0.3056	3	176	2.477	0.4795
Get information about candidates	0.81	0.826	-0.266	0.7899	3	174	1.725	0.6314
Help during an election campaign	0.505	0.559	-0.697	0.4856	3	175	2.900	0.4072
Join a political party	0.551	0.544	0.091	0.9277	3	175	3.979	0.2637
Join a union	0.585	0.574	0.143	0.8859	3	174	2.069	0.5583
Be a candidate in local elections	0.402	0.544	-1.838	0.0661	3	175	7.069	0.0697
Youth Engagement								
Volunteer in the community	0.817	0.681	2.082	0.0373	3	178	4.343	0.2267
Collect money to support a cause	0.826	0.714	1.771	0.0765	3	179	4.095	0.2513
Collect signatures for a petition	0.62	0.522	1.289	0.1973	3	177	2.320	0.5087
Participate in a peaceful protest	0.717	0.657	0.845	0.3982	3	175	5.477	0.1400
Spray-paint protest slogans	0.299	0.286	0.186	0.8527	3	177	0.835	0.8410
Block traffic	0.211	0.271	-0.924	0.3553	3	179	1.068	0.7847
Occupy public buildings	0.312	0.371	-0.816	0.4145	3	179	0.736	0.8647
Write to a newspaper	0.541	0.557	-0.210	0.8338	3	179	3.786	0.2855
Wear a badge or t-shirt	0.743	0.743	0.000	1.0000	3	179	5.692	0.1276
Contact a representative	0.463	0.478	-0.195	0.8454	3	177	1.448	0.6943
Choose not to buy products	0.664	0.667	-0.041	0.9672	3	176	0.379	0.9446
Talk to others about politics	0.778	0.614	2.364	0.0181	3	178	6.408	0.0934
Join an organization for a cause	0.556	0.514	0.549	0.5829	3	178	2.289	0.5146
Contribute to online discussion	0.528	0.471	0.743	0.4575	3	178	3.71	0.2945

Note α = 0.05

Effectiveness of Political Action - Gender

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	female	*male*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Working in political parties	0.509	0.557	-0.627	0.5309	3	178	0.466	0.9263
Working in local action groups	0.633	0.614	0.256	0.7977	3	179	1.161	0.6565
Belonging to a union	0.615	0.543	0.955	0.3398	3	179	3.013	0.3896
Voting in elections	0.806	0.716	1.378	0.1681	3	175	4.910	0.1758
Contacting influential people	0.705	0.623	1.127	0.2596	3	174	1.645	0.6491
Marches, rallies, demonstrations	0.697	0.671	0.366	0.7143	3	179	8.731	0.0331
Attention through media	0.661	0.643	0.247	0.8049	3	179	0.729	0.8663
Illegal protest activities	0.346	0.333	0.178	0.8590	3	176	0.273	0.9650

Note α = 0.05

Views on Religion - Gender

	Z Test of Two Proportions				Chi-Square Contingency Test			
	female	*male*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Religion is more important than politics	0.673	0.643	0.415	0.6785	3	180	3.568	0.3120
Religion helps me to decide between right and wrong	0.700	0.657	0.605	0.5455	3	180	0.860	0.8351
Religious leaders should have more power	0.459	0.529	-0.906	0.3648	3	177	1.516	0.6786
Religion should influence behavior	0.673	0.629	0.606	0.5448	3	180	0.702	0.8727
Rules based on religion - more important than civil laws	0.404	0.507	-1.336	0.1817	3	176	4.777	0.1888
Religion should not matter in modern world	0.273	0.314	-0.592	0.5541	3	180	1.667	0.6442

Note α = 0.05

Race

Activities Outside of School - Race

	z-Test of Two Proportions				Chi-Square Contingency Test			
	Black	*not Black*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Talking with parents about politics	0.374	0.424	-0.531	0.5954	3	172	2.738	0.4339
Watching news on TV	0.674	0.697	-0.254	0.7994	3	171	3.877	0.2751
Reading newspaper for news	0.117	0.030	1.496	0.1346	3	178	2.385	0.4964
Talking with friends about politics	0.362	0.394	-0.342	0.7321	3	171	0.447	0.9303
Using Internet for news	0.590	0.581	0.092	0.9266	3	170	0.082	0.9939
Participating in youth group (not through church)	0.343	0.313	0.324	0.7460	3	172	8.191	0.0422
Participating in a church youth group	0.345	0.156	2.088	0.0368	3	174	8.118	0.0436

Note α = 0.05

Views on Society: Race

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	black	*not black*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
People should have right to express opinions	0.939	0.909	0.624	0.5324	3	180	1.034	0.7931
Leaders not allowed to give jobs	0.507	0.656	-1.530	0.1260	3	178	2.724	0.4362
Gov't should not control media	0.643	0.758	-1.261	0.2072	3	176	4.308	0.2301
Police should be able to hold suspects (national security)	0.327	0.424	-1.060	0.2893	3	180	9.861	0.0198
All people should have rights respected	0.952	0.939	0.308	0.7584	3	178	6.630	0.0847
People should be free to speak against gov't	0.925	0.909	0.309	0.7572	3	179	1.557	0.6692
Gov't should be free to check letters, etc. (national security)	0.537	0.606	-0.720	0.4715	3	180	2.786	0.4258
People should be free to elect leaders freely	0.939	0.939	0.000	1.0000	3	180	1.237	0.7440
People should be able to protest unfair law	0.918	0.875	0.770	0.4412	3	178	1.825	0.6094
People should be able to stand up for rights	0.972	0.970	0.062	0.9503	3	176	2.434	0.4873
Political protests should never be violent	0.851	0.939	-1.344	0.1791	3	174	2.823	0.4197
Differences in income should be small	0.676	0.758	-0.919	0.3583	3	175	3.056	0.3831
Gov't should be allowed to control media (national security)	0.510	0.576	-0.685	0.4933	3	178	0.859	0.8352

Note α = 0.05

Behaviors for Being a Good Adult Citizen: Race

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	black	*not black*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Votes	0.878	0.939	-0.501	0.6162	3	180	1.104	0.7760
Joins a political party	0.479	0.375	1.069	0.2851	3	178	2.708	0.4389
Learns nation's history	0.887	0.848	0.621	0.5346	3	175	1.487	0.6852
Follows politics	0.808	0.667	1.772	0.0764	3	179	6.459	0.0913
Shows respect	0.814	0.788	0.343	0.7317	3	178	1.187	0.7560
Political discussions	0.568	0.515	0.554	0.5797	3	179	1.055	0.7878
Peaceful protests	0.769	0.818	-0.612	0.5406	3	180	2.026	0.5669
Community service	0.847	0.788	0.826	0.4088	3	177	2.798	0.4238
Promotes human rights	0.870	0.813	0.840	0.4006	3	178	1.600	0.6594
Protects environment	0.878	0.848	0.467	0.6409	3	180	0.533	0.9116
Work hard	0.938	0.970	-0.721	0.4712	3	178	2.897	0.4077
Obeys laws	0.902	1.000	-1.847	0.0647	3	175	3.829	0.2806
Patriotic	0.826	0.879	-0.742	0.4581	3	177	2.634	0.4516
Violates anti-human rights laws	0.688	0.656	0.352	0.7572	3	176	2.405	0.4927

Note α = 0.05

Opportunities, Internal Efficacy, External Efficacy - Race

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	black	*not black*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Opportunities								
All racial groups should have equal chances (education)	0.904	0.939	-0.636	0.5245	3	179	1.978	0.5770
Schools should teach respect of all racial groups	0.904	1.000	-1.855	0.0636	3	179	3.696	0.2962
All racial groups should be encouraged to run for office	0.895	0.879	0.267	0.7895	3	176	1.934	0.5861
All racial groups should have equal rights and responsibilities	0.904	0.969	-1.199	0.2306	3	178	5.458	0.3262
Some racial groups have fewer chances (education)	0.582	0.394	1.960	0.0500	3	179	4.928	0.1772
Poor children have fewer chances (education)	0.589	0.545	0.463	0.6436	3	179	5.135	0.1622
Some racial groups have fewer chances (jobs)	0.563	0.455	1.123	0.2613	3	177	3.587	0.3097
Internal Efficacy								
I know more about politics than others my age	0.404	0.485	-0.852	0.3944	3	179	0.953	0.8127
I take part in political discussions	0.603	0.545	0.612	0.5403	3	179	6.081	0.1078
I understand most political issues	0.731	0.667	0.738	0.4603	3	178	1.640	0.6504
I have political opinions worth listening to	0.621	0.469	1.584	0.1131	3	177	2.951	0.3993
As an adult - able to take part in politics	0.604	0.576	0.296	0.7672	3	177	2.947	0.3999
I understand issues facing country	0.701	0.667	0.383	0.7020	3	177	1.133	0.7690
I am interested in politics	0.432	0.455	-0.241	0.8098	3	179	4.623	0.2015
External Efficacy								
Gov't cares a lot what we think	0.375	0.576	-2.116	0.0344	3	177	6.499	0.0897
Gov't doing its best to find out what people want	0.366	0.606	-2.530	0.0114	3	178	8.535	0.0362
Gov't leaders care very little about people's opinions	0.572	0.563	0.093	0.9258	3	177	5.511	0.1380
Few individuals have a lot of political power	0.641	0.848	-2.300	0.0214	3	178	6.378	0.0946
Politicians forget voters' needs	0.625	0.788	-1.777	0.0755	3	177	4.736	0.1921
Leaders listen when people get together to demand change	0.531	0.515	0.166	0.8680	3	178	3.252	0.3544

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Trust in Groups or Institutions: Race

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	black	*not black*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
National Government	0.434	0.576	-1.477	0.1397	3	178	4.694	0.1956
Local government	0.308	0.485	-1.937	0.0527	3	179	4.931	0.1769
Court system	0.367	0.545	-1.886	0.0593	3	180	3.957	0.2661
Police	0.259	0.455	-2.232	0.0256	3	180	18.110	0.0004
Political parties	0.384	0.303	0.871	0.3837	3	179	2.297	0.5131
Congress	0.438	0.545	-1.114	0.2652	3	179	4.419	0.2458
The media	0.493	0.500	-0.072	0.9428	3	178	0.388	0.9428
The Armed Forces	0.585	0.667	-0.869	0.3849	3	180	7.869	0.0488
Schools	0.593	0.606	-0.137	0.8908	3	178	1.425	0.6998
People in general	0.345	0.333	0.131	0.8957	3	178	1.144	0.7664
State government	0.483	0.469	0.144	0.8858	3	179	4.784	0.1883

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Expected Adult Engagement, Youth Engagement: Race

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	black	*Not black*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Expected Adult Engagement								
Vote in local elections	0.854	0.875	-0.308	0.7582	3	176	0.598	0.8970
Vote in national elections	0.854	0.813	0.582	0.5605	3	176	0.511	0.9166
Get information about candidates	0.824	0.781	0.567	0.5706	3	174	2.685	0.4428
Help during an election campaign	0.556	0.387	1.709	0.0874	3	175	3.143	0.3700
Join a political party	0.569	0.452	1.187	0.2350	3	175	3.368	0.3383
Join a union	0.566	0.645	-0.808	0.4191	3	174	0.655	0.8838
Be a candidate in local elections	0.469	0.406	0.647	0.5178	3	175	0.967	0.8092
Youth Engagement								
Volunteer in the community	0.786	0.667	1.453	0.1462	3	178	9.329	0.0252
Collect money to support a cause	0.788	0.758	0.377	0.7061	3	179	3.028	0.3873
Collect signatures for a petition	0.604	0.485	1.250	0.2113	3	177	4.24	0.2367
Participate in a peaceful protest	0.716	0.606	1.201	0.2296	3	176	4.035	0.2577
Spray-paint protest slogans	0.313	0.212	1.149	0.2506	3	177	11.35	0.0100
Block traffic	0.260	0.121	1.702	0.0888	3	179	4.264	0.2353
Occupy public buildings	0.363	0.212	1.660	0.0970	3	179	3.657	0.3010
Write to a newspaper	0.548	0.545	0.031	0.9751	3	179	0.143	0.9862
Wear a badge or t-shirt	0.781	0.576	2.434	0.0149	3	179	6.715	0.0816
Contact a representative	0.466	0.455	0.114	0.9089	3	177	1.908	0.5917
Choose not to buy products	0.681	0.594	0.943	0.3457	3	176	5.377	0.1462
Talk to others about politics	0.738	0.606	1.514	0.1301	3	178	3.77	0.2874
Join an organization for a cause	0.572	0.394	1.852	0.0641	3	178	3.588	0.3095
Contribute to online discussion	0.517	0.455	0.643	0.5203	3	178	1.984	0.5758

Note α = 0.05

Effectiveness of Political Action - Race

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	black	*not black*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Working in political parties	0.545	0.455	0.935	0.3499	3	175	2.413	0.4912
Working in local action groups	0.589	0.788	-2.133	0.0329	3	179	10.957	0.0120
Belonging to a union	0.603	0.515	0.927	0.3539	3	179	1.197	0.7536
Voting in elections	0.748	0.875	-1.547	0.1220	3	175	2.561	0.4644
Contacting influential people	0.671	0.677	-0.065	0.9486	3	174	1.286	0.7324
Marches, rallies, demonstrations	0.692	0.667	0.280	0.7797	3	179	0.766	0.8576
Attention through media	0.678	0.545	1.450	0.1470	3	179	2.561	0.4644
Illegal protest activities	0.371	0.212	1.737	0.0824	3	176	3.741	0.2908

Note α = 0.05

Views on Religion - Race

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	black	*not black*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Religion is more important than politics	0.667	0.636	0.340	0.7339	3	180	1.465	0.6904
Religion helps me to decide between right and wrong	0.694	0.636	0.647	0.5175	3	180	2.143	0.5432
Religious leaders should have more power	0.490	0.469	0.215	0.8297	3	177	3.100	0.3764
Religion should influence behavior	0.680	0.545	1.475	0.1403	3	180	2.422	0.4896
Rules based on religion - more important than civil laws	0.455	0.387	0.692	0.4891	3	176	2.475	0.4799
Religion should not matter in modern world	0.293	0.273	0.229	0.8188	3	180	0.779	0.8545

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Literacy

Activities Outside of School - Literacy

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	below grade level	*on grade level*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Talking with parents about politics	0.402	0.367	0.441	0.6590	3	162	1.061	0.7866
Watching news on TV	0.680	0.656	0.314	0.7532	3	161	0.820	0.8447
Reading newspaper for news	0.121	0.066	1.137	0.2556	3	168	2.775	0.4276
Talking with friends about politics	0.416	0.283	1.693	0.0904	3	161	3.815	0.2821
Using Internet for news	0.637	0.542	1.187	0.2353	3	161	2.924	0.4034
Participating in youth group (not through church)	0.320	0.371	-0.666	0.5052	3	162	4.572	0.2059
Participating in a church youth group	0.350	0.246	1.391	0.1643	3	164	4.604	0.2032

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Views on Society: Literacy

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	below grade level	*on grade level*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
People should have right to express opinions	0.953	0.889	1.573	0.1156	3	170	4.947	0.1757
Leaders not allowed to give jobs	0.505	0.573	-0.830	0.4067	3	168	0.780	0.8543
Gov't should not control media	0.642	0.738	-1.277	0.2016	3	167	5.574	0.1343
Police should be able to hold suspects (national security)	0.355	0.349	0.079	0.9370	3	170	3.094	0.3774
All people should have rights respected	0.934	0.968	-0.952	0.3412	3	167	8.563	0.0357
People should be free to speak against gov't	0.915	0.921	-0.137	0.8912	3	169	1.679	0.6416
Gov't should be free to check letters, etc. (national security)	0.561	0.556	0.063	0.9494	3	170	0.307	0.9588
People should be free to elect leaders freely	0.916	0.968	-1.331	0.1832	3	170	2.579	0.4611
People should be able to protest unfair law	0.886	0.937	-1.090	0.2756	3	168	4.167	0.2440
People should be able to stand up for rights	0.971	0.968	0.110	0.9126	3	166	4.228	0.2379
Political protests should never be violent	0.863	0.871	-0.146	0.8841	3	164	2.045	0.5631
Differences in income should be small	0.650	0.746	-1.294	0.1956	3	166	3.314	0.3457
Gov't should be allowed to control media (national security)	0.566	0.452	1.428	0.1534	3	168	6.411	0.0932

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Behaviors for Being a Good Adult Citizen: Literacy

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	below grade level	*on grade level*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Votes	0.888	0.873	0.293	0.7694	3	170	1.001	0.8011
Joins a political party	0.486	0.444	0.528	0.5975	3	168	0.539	0.9103
Learns nation's history	0.883	0.855	0.523	0.6012	3	165	0.601	0.8963
Follows politics	0.736	0.857	-1.839	0.0659	3	169	5.356	0.1475
Shows respect	0.792	0.825	-0.523	0.6008	3	169	1.733	0.6297
Political discussions	0.547	0.587	-0.507	0.6123	3	169	2.846	0.4160
Peaceful protests	0.776	0.762	0.210	0.8339	3	170	0.658	0.8830
Community service	0.798	0.873	-1.240	0.2149	3	167	3.188	0.3635
Promotes human rights	0.858	0.839	0.334	0.7385	3	168	2.858	0.4141
Protects environment	0.879	0.841	0.700	0.4842	3	170	0.573	0.9025
Work hard	0.934	0.952	-0.476	0.6342	3	168	3.082	0.3792
Obeys laws	0.883	0.968	-1.898	0.0577	3	165	6.841	0.0771
Patriotic	0.840	0.820	0.333	0.7390	3	167	3.405	0.3333
Violates anti-human rights laws	0.619	0.770	-2.002	0.0453	3	166	4.296	0.2312

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Opportunities, Internal Efficacy, External Efficacy - Literacy

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	below grade level	*on grade level*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Opportunities								
All racial groups should have equal chances (education)	0.887	0.952	-1.437	0.1508	3	179	5.038	0.1690
Schools should teach respect of all racial groups	0.906	0.937	-0.707	0.4796	3	179	2.645	0.4497
All racial groups should be encouraged to run for office	0.857	0.935	-1.534	0.1251	3	176	2.770	0.4284
All racial groups should have equal rights and responsibilities	0.887	0.968	-1.833	0.0668	3	178	3.710	0.2945
Some racial groups have fewer chances (education)	0.585	0.460	1.576	0.1150	3	179	1.990	0.5745
Poor children have fewer chances (education)	0.575	0.571	0.051	0.9594	3	179	5.477	0.1400
Some racial groups have fewer chances (jobs)	0.552	0.532	0.251	0.8020	3	177	2.153	0.5412
Internal Efficacy								
I know more about politics than others my age	0.364	0.524	-2.039	0.0414	3	170	4.459	0.2159
I take part in political discussions	0.589	0.603	-0.180	0.8575	3	170	5.571	0.1345
I understand most political issues	0.698	0.778	-1.130	0.2585	3	169	5.996	0.1118
I have political opinions worth listening to	0.557	0.661	-1.325	0.1851	3	168	2.363	0.5005
As an adult - able to take part in politics	0.585	0.645	-0.768	0.4423	3	168	4.792	0.1876
I understand issues facing country	0.648	0.794	-2.004	0.0451	3	168	7.171	0.0666
I am interested in politics	0.467	0.413	0.684	0.4940	3	170	3.102	0.3762
External Efficacy								
Gov't cares a lot what we think	0.406	0.426	-0.253	0.8005	3	167	3.570	0.3118
Gov't doing its best to find out what people want	0.443	0.339	1.325	0.1851	3	168	2.161	0.5397
Gov't leaders care very little about people's opinions	0.566	0.590	-0.302	0.7626	3	167	0.917	0.8212
Few individuals have a lot of political power	0.679	0.677	0.027	0.9786	3	168	1.921	0.5889
Politicians forget voters' needs	0.667	0.645	0.290	0.7721	3	167	2.189	0.5342
Leaders listen when people get together to demand change	0.528	0.548	-0.251	0.802	3	168	0.394	0.9414

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Trust in Groups or Institutions: Literacy

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	below grade level	*on grade level*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
National Government	0.486	0.419	0.842	0.3998	3	169	3.075	0.3802
Local government	0.368	0.286	1.090	0.2756	3	169	3.142	0.3703
Court system	0.383	0.397	-0.181	0.8565	3	170	0.387	0.9429
Police	0.262	0.333	-0.987	0.3236	3	170	3.926	0.2696
Political parties	0.415	0.286	1.683	0.0925	3	169	7.775	0.0509
Congress	0.500	0.397	1.299	0.1940	3	169	4.394	0.2219
The media	0.505	0.476	0.364	0.7159	3	168	0.627	0.8902
The Armed Forces	0.551	0.651	-1.279	0.2007	3	170	5.568	0.1347
Schools	0.600	0.587	0.166	0.8680	3	168	2.397	0.4942
People in general	0.358	0.290	0.902	0.3669	3	168	5.987	0.1123
State government	0.500	0.429	0.894	0.3714	3	169	3.697	0.2961

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Expected Adult Engagement, Youth Engagement: Literacy

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	below grade level	*on grade level*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Expected Adult Engagement								
Vote in local elections	0.856	0.887	-0.570	0.5688	3	166	1.745	0.6271
Vote in national elections	0.798	0.919	-2.075	0.0380	3	166	5.080	0.1660
Get information about candidates	0.767	0.902	-2.161	0.0307	3	164	5.199	0.1578
Help during an election campaign	0.534	0.516	0.224	0.8225	3	165	3.149	0.3314
Join a political party	0.544	0.581	-0.463	0.6430	3	165	0.576	0.9019
Join a union	0.608	0.484	1.552	0.1208	3	164	4.095	0.2514
Be a candidate in local elections	0.490	0.403	1.088	0.2765	3	166	2.403	0.4932
Youth Engagement								
Volunteer in the community	0.733	0.802	-1.134	0.2566	3	168	3.026	0.3876
Collect money to support a cause	0.783	0.778	0.076	0.9394	3	169	1.520	0.6777
Collect signatures for a petition	0.533	0.645	-1.414	0.1572	3	167	2.689	0.4422
Participate in a peaceful protest	0.683	0.661	0.293	0.7698	3	166	3.374	0.3375
Spray-paint protest slogans	0.358	0.230	1.720	0.0854	3	167	4.387	0.2226
Block traffic	0.274	0.190	1.232	0.2180	3	169	2.557	0.4650
Occupy public buildings	0.368	0.270	1.309	0.1906	3	169	1.816	0.6114
Write to a newspaper	0.528	0.635	-1.358	0.1745	3	169	2.005	0.5714
Wear a badge or t-shirt	0.726	0.810	-1.232	0.2180	3	169	1.649	0.6484
Contact a representative	0.490	0.444	0.577	0.5639	3	167	0.555	0.9067
Choose not to buy products	0.619	0.758	-1.847	0.0648	3	167	4.216	0.2390
Talk to others about politics	0.705	0.746	-0.573	0.5665	3	168	2.214	0.5292
Join an organization for a cause	0.566	0.500	0.828	0.4074	3	168	1.173	0.7594
Contribute to online discussion	0.500	0.500	0.000	1.0000	3	168	1.303	0.7283

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Effectiveness of Political Action - Literacy

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	below grade level	*on grade level*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Working in political parties	0.491	0.581	-1.127	0.2597	3	168	1.582	0.6634
Working in local action groups	0.589	0.694	-1.360	0.1737	3	169	1.990	0.5745
Belonging to a union	0.570	0.613	-0.547	0.5844	3	169	0.629	0.8897
Voting in elections	0.757	0.790	-0.488	0.6258	3	165	6.614	0.0853
Contacting influential people	0.644	0.717	-0.958	0.3380	3	164	4.729	0.1927
Marches, rallies, demonstrations	0.664	0.694	-0.401	0.6883	3	169	0.926	0.819
Attention through media	0.636	0.710	-0.981	0.3268	3	169	5.454	0.1414
Illegal protest activities	0.439	0.194	3.220	0.0013	3	167	9.866	0.0197

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Views on Religion - Literacy

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	below grade level	*on grade level*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Religion is more important than politics	0.645	0.714	-0.924	0.3552	3	170	1.136	0.7684
Religion helps me to decide between right and wrong	0.626	0.746	-1.608	0.1079	3	170	4.318	0.2291
Religious leaders should have more power	0.495	0.484	0.137	0.8907	3	167	0.776	0.8552
Religion should influence behavior	0.673	0.651	0.293	0.7692	3	170	0.930	0.8181
Rules based on religion - more important than civil laws	0.453	0.417	0.449	0.6535	3	166	3.790	0.2851
Religion should not matter in modern world	0.355	0.109	2.742	0.0061	3	170	8.996	0.0293

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Location

Activities Outside of School - Inside or Outside Protest Area

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	inside	*outside*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Talking with parents about politics	0.348	0.397	-0.585	0.5586	3	172	0.854	0.8365
Watching news on TV	0.761	0.648	1.403	0.1607	3	171	4.513	0.2111
Reading newspaper for news	0.083	0.108	-0.491	0.6235	3	178	4.386	0.2270
Talking with friends about politics	0.458	0.333	1.523	0.1278	3	171	11.468	0.0094
Using Internet for news	0.600	0.584	0.187	0.8517	3	170	1.869	0.6000
Participating in youth group (not through church)	0.422	0.307	1.402	0.1609	3	172	6.720	0.0814
Participating in a church youth group	0.298	0.315	-0.215	0.8296	3	174	0.428	0.9344

Note α = 0.05

Views on Society: Inside or Outside Protest Area

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	inside	*outside*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
People should have right to express opinions	0.936	0.932	0.094	0.9247	3	180	3.601	0.3079
Leaders not allowed to give jobs	0.596	0.511	1.002	0.3163	3	178	0.839	0.8401
Gov't should not control media	0.766	0.628	1.716	0.0862	3	176	3.979	0.2638
Police should be able to hold suspects (national security)	0.362	0.338	0.298	0.7660	3	180	0.174	0.9816
All people should have rights respected	0.957	0.947	0.268	0.7884	3	178	3.451	0.3271
People should be free to speak against gov't	0.872	0.939	-1.419	0.1418	3	179	5.667	0.1290
Gov't should be free to check letters, etc. (national security)	0.638	0.519	1.410	0.1587	3	180	7.657	0.0537
People should be free to elect leaders freely	0.957	0.932	0.615	0.5385	3	180	4.526	0.2100
People should be able to protest unfair law	0.915	0.908	0.144	0.8855	3	178	1.888	0.5960
People should be able to stand up for rights	1.000	0.962	1.314	0.1889	3	176	3.002	0.3913
Political protests should never be violent	0.936	0.843	1.608	0.1078	3	174	8.339	0.0395
Differences in income should be small	0.717	0.682	0.441	0.6590	3	175	0.685	0.8766
Gov't should be allowed to control media (national security)	0.468	0.542	-0.871	0.3836	3	178	10.444	0.0151

Note α = 0.05

Behaviors for Being a Good Adult Citizen: Inside or Outside Protest Area

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	inside	*outside*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Votes	0.918	0.870	0.893	0.3719	3	180	1.534	0.6745
Joins a political party	0.510	0.442	0.813	0.4162	3	178	0.743	0.8632
Learns nation's history	0.851	0.891	-0.722	0.4705	3	175	0.831	0.842
Follows politics	0.776	0.785	-0.130	0.8965	3	179	0.605	0.8953
Shows respect	0.755	0.829	-1.122	0.2619	3	178	3.286	0.3496
Political discussions	0.625	0.534	1.086	0.2774	3	179	1.181	0.7575
Peaceful protests	0.816	0.763	0.761	0.4465	3	180	4.862	0.1822
Community service	0.809	0.846	-0.587	0.5570	3	177	4.992	0.1724
Promotes human rights	0.854	0.862	-0.136	0.8916	3	178	1.587	0.6623
Protects environment	0.918	0.855	1.127	0.2598	3	180	1.507	0.6807
Work hard	0.938	0.946	-0.206	0.8370	3	178	2.939	0.4011
Obeys laws	0.875	0.937	-1.349	0.1774	3	175	6.469	0.0909
Patriotic	0.735	0.875	-2.252	0.0243	3	177	5.851	0.1191
Violates anti-human rights laws	0.708	0.672	0.457	0.6479	3	176	1.962	0.5804

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Opportunities, Internal Efficacy, External Efficacy - Inside or Outside Protest Area

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	inside	*outside*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Opportunities								
All racial groups should have equal chances (education)	0.878	0.923	-0.941	0.3467	3	179	7.172	0.0666
Schools should teach respect of all racial groups	0.918	0.923	-0.111	0.9115	3	179	8.223	0.0416
All racial groups should be encouraged to run for office	0.875	0.898	-0.438	0.6615	3	176	0.443	0.9313
All racial groups should have equal rights and responsibilities	0.875	0.945	-1.581	0.1138	3	178	2.040	0.5642
Some racial groups have fewer chances (education)	0.612	0.523	1.067	0.2861	3	179	1.530	0.6754
Poor children have fewer chances (education)	0.714	0.531	2.213	0.0269	3	179	5.637	0.1307
Some racial groups have fewer chances (jobs)	0.551	0.539	0.143	0.8860	3	177	1.536	0.6739
Internal Efficacy								
I know more about politics than others my age	0.531	0.377	1.862	0.0626	3	179	4.37	0.2242
I take part in political discussions	0.755	0.531	2.719	0.0065	3	179	8.891	0.0308
I understand most political issues	0.837	0.674	2.161	0.0307	3	178	5.312	0.1503
I have political opinions worth listening to	0.681	0.562	1.423	0.1547	3	177	5.782	0.1227
As an adult - able to take part in politics	0.510	0.633	-1.494	0.1352	3	177	4.593	0.2041
I understand issues facing country	0.660	0.708	-0.612	0.5402	3	177	3.973	0.2644
I am interested in politics	0.531	0.400	1.576	0.1150	3	179	2.597	0.4590
External Efficacy								
Gov't cares a lot what we think	0.479	0.388	1.093	0.2742	3	177	3.330	0.3435
Gov't doing its best to find out what people want	0.469	0.388	0.981	0.3264	3	178	6.466	0.0910
Gov't leaders care very little about people's opinions	0.563	0.574	-0.131	0.8954	3	177	4.602	0.2034
Few individuals have a lot of political power	0.714	0.667	0.600	0.5483	3	178	3.046	0.3845
Politicians forget voters' needs	0.735	0.625	1.378	0.1683	3	177	2.224	0.5272
Leaders listen when people get together to demand change	0.633	0.488	1.731	0.0835	3	178	3.586	0.3098

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Trust in Groups or Institutions: Inside or Outside Protest Area

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	inside	*outside*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
National Government	0.510	0.442	0.813	0.4162	3	178	1.180	0.7578
Local government	0.396	0.321	0.938	0.3483	3	179	2.268	0.5186
Court system	0.388	0.405	-0.207	0.8358	3	180	1.221	0.7479
Police	0.388	0.282	1.367	0.1715	3	180	0.760	0.8589
Political parties	0.469	0.331	1.706	0.0879	3	179	5.249	0.1545
Congress	0.510	0.438	0.862	0.3887	3	179	3.025	0.3878
The media	0.551	0.473	0.930	0.3525	3	178	0.935	0.817
The Armed Forces	0.633	0.588	0.549	0.5833	3	180	1.126	0.7708
Schools	0.646	0.577	0.832	0.4052	3	178	3.154	0.3685
People in general	0.429	0.310	1.494	0.1351	3	178	2.498	0.4756
State government	0.551	0.454	1.158	0.2468	3	179	4.310	0.2299

Note α = 0.05

Expected Adult Engagement, Youth Engagement: Inside or Outside Protest Area

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	inside	*outside*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Expected Adult Engagement								
Vote in local elections	0.879	0.826	0.983	0.3255	3	176	2.160	0.5398
Vote in national elections	0.869	0.812	1.024	0.3056	3	176	2.122	0.5476
Get information about candidates	0.810	0.826	-0.266	0.7899	3	174	4.992	0.1724
Help during an election campaign	0.505	0.559	-0.697	0.4856	3	175	0.616	0.8927
Join a political party	0.551	0.544	0.091	0.9277	3	175	2.129	0.5461
Join a union	0.585	0.574	0.143	0.8859	3	174	0.405	0.9393
Be a candidate in local elections	0.402	0.544	-1.838	0.0661	3	175	1.442	0.6957
Youth Engagement								
Volunteer in the community	0.809	0.748	0.845	0.3981	3	178	1.614	0.6562
Collect money to support a cause	0.771	0.786	-0.215	0.8295	3	179	0.951	0.8131
Collect signatures for a petition	0.702	0.538	1.954	0.0508	3	177	8.206	0.0419
Participate in a peaceful protest	0.717	0.685	0.404	0.6859	3	176	3.589	0.3093
Spray-paint protest slogans	0.375	0.264	1.441	0.1495	3	177	3.038	0.3859
Block traffic	0.333	0.198	1.888	0.0590	3	179	7.195	0.0659
Occupy public buildings	0.375	0.321	0.678	0.4978	3	179	2.141	0.5436
Write to a newspaper	0.646	0.511	1.608	0.1079	3	179	3.935	0.2685
Wear a badge or t-shirt	0.729	0.748	-0.258	0.7966	3	179	0.182	0.9805
Contact a representative	0.511	0.454	0.671	0.5022	3	177	1.365	0.7139
Choose not to buy products	0.604	0.688	-1.051	0.2931	3	176	1.463	0.6907
Talk to others about politics	0.771	0.692	1.035	0.3009	3	178	1.723	0.6318
Join an organization for a cause	0.646	0.500	1.734	0.0829	3	178	4.317	0.2292
Contribute to online discussion	0.532	0.496	0.423	0.6719	3	178	1.892	0.5952

Note α = 0.05

Effectiveness of Political Action - Inside or Outside Protest Area

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	inside	*outside*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Working in political parties	0.531	0.527	0.048	0.9619	3	178	0.517	0.9152
Working in local action groups	0.571	0.646	-0.925	0.3552	3	179	1.186	0.7564
Belonging to a union	0.612	0.577	0.424	0.6716	3	179	5.047	0.1684
Voting in elections	0.761	0.775	-0.194	0.8461	3	175	0.904	0.8245
Contacting influential people	0.681	0.669	0.150	0.8810	3	174	1.604	0.6584
Marches, rallies, demonstrations	0.633	0.708	-0.965	0.3346	3	179	1.143	0.7668
Attention through media	0.633	0.662	-0.364	0.7162	3	179	2.868	0.4125
Illegal protest activities	0.327	0.346	-0.238	0.8116	3	176	0.197	0.9781

Note α = 0.05

Views on Religion - Inside or Outside Protest Area

	Z Test of Two Proportions				*Chi-Square Contingency Test*			
	inside	*outside*	*z-score*	*p-value*	*d.f.*	*n.*	χ^2	*p-value*
Religion is more important than politics	0.592	0.687	-1.199	0.2307	3	180	4.535	0.2092
Religion helps me to decide between right and wrong	0.592	0.718	-1.618	0.1058	3	180	4.428	0.2188
Religious leaders should have more power	0.429	0.508	-0.941	0.3468	3	177	8.619	0.0348
Religion should influence behavior	0.653	0.656	-0.038	0.9699	3	180	0.216	0.975
Rules based on religion - more important than civil laws	0.348	0.477	-1.514	0.1301	3	176	3.749	0.2898
Religion should not matter in modern world	0.306	0.282	0.316	0.7518	3	180	3.183	0.3643

Note α = 0.05

Appendix C: Parent-Student Gamma Test Results by Questionnaire Section

Activities Related to Politics Outside of School

	Correlation of Rankings	
	G	*p-value*
Pair 1	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 2	0.714	0.2272
Pair 3	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 4	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 5	-1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 6	-0.714	0.2272
Pair 7	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 8	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 9	0.750	0.1515
Pair 10	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 11	0.000	1.0000
Pair 12	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 13	-1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 14	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 15	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 16	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 17	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 18	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 19*		
Pair 20	0.000	1.0000

Note α = 0.05
** Incomplete participant responses*

Views on Society Related to Politics

	Correlation of Rankings	
Parent/Student Pairs	*G*	*p-value*
Pair 1	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 2	0.771	0.0467
Pair 3	0.091	0.8844
Pair 4	0.000	1.0000
Pair 5	0.789	0.1199
Pair 6	0.933	< 0.0001
Pair 7	0.862	0.0082
Pair 8	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 9	0.286	0.6617
Pair 10	0.871	0.0044
Pair 11	0.043	0.9538
Pair 12	0.625	0.2091
Pair 13	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 14	0.600	0.4205
Pair 15	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 16	0.867	0.0083
Pair 17	0.000	1.0000
Pair 18	0.931	0.0001
Pair 19	0.000	1.0000
Pair 20	0.714	0.1342

Note α = 0.05

Behaviors for Being a Good Adult Citizen

	Correlation of Rankings	
Parent/Student Pairs	*G*	*p-value*
Pair 1	-0.769	0.1009
Pair 2	0.500	0.3827
Pair 3	0.333	0.6885
Pair 4	0.000	1.0000
Pair 5	0.053	0.9471
Pair 6	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 7	0.882	0.0388
Pair 8	0.714	0.1946
Pair 9	0.636	0.3011
Pair 10	-0.034	0.9589
Pair 11	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 12	0.644	0.1308
Pair 13	0.073	0.8963
Pair 14	-0.545	0.4146
Pair 15	-0.500	0.4739
Pair 16	0.111	0.8577
Pair 17	0.826	0.0512
Pair 18	0.814	0.0141
Pair 19	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 20	0.647	0.1860

Note α = 0.05

Internal Efficacy

	Correlation of Rankings	
	G	*p-value*
Pair 1	0.000	1.0000
Pair 2	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 3	0.600	0.5262
Pair 4	-1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 5	-0.750	0.2254
Pair 6	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 7	-0.333	0.7237
Pair 8	0.333	0.6885
Pair 9	0.000	1.0000
Pair 10	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 11	0.714	0.3074
Pair 12	0.778	0.1606
Pair 13	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 14	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 15	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 16	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 17	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 18	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 19	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 20	1.000	< 0.0001

Note α = 0.05

External Efficacy

	Correlation of Rankings	
	G	*p-value*
Pair 1	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 2	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 3	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 4	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 5	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 6	-0.333	0.8026
Pair 7	0.750	0.1904
Pair 8	0.000	1.0000
Pair 9	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 10	0.500	0.5050
Pair 11	-1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 12	-0.333	0.7237
Pair 13	0.667	0.3711
Pair 14	-1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 15	0.000	1.0000
Pair 16	0.600	0.4936
Pair 17	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 18	0.200	0.7921
Pair 19	0.714	0.2703
Pair 20	1.000	< 0.0001

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Views on Rights, Opportunities, and Responsibilities

	Correlation of Rankings	
Parent/Student Pairs	*G*	*p-value*
Pair 1	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 2	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 3	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 4	0.867	0.0174
Pair 5	-0.250	0.7963
Pair 6	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 7	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 8	0.000	1.0000
Pair 9	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 10	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 11	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 12	-1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 13	-0.385	0.5953
Pair 14	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 15	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 16	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 17	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 18	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 19	0.333	0.7077
Pair 20	1.000	< 0.0001

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Trust in Groups or Institutions

	Correlation of Rankings	
Parent/Student Pairs	*G*	*p-value*
Pair 1	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 2	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 3	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 4	0.875	0.0293
Pair 5	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 6	0.130	0.8491
Pair 7	0.077	0.9056
Pair 8	0.500	0.7277
Pair 9	0.250	0.7029
Pair 10	0.000	1.0000
Pair 11		
Pair 12	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 13	0.600	0.3811
Pair 14	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 15	0.905	0.0033
Pair 16	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 17	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 18	0.556	0.5456
Pair 19	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 20	1.000	< 0.0001

Note α = 0.05
** Incomplete participant responses*

Effectiveness of Political Action to Influence Decisions in Society

	Correlation of Rankings	
	G	*p-value*
Pair 1	0.714	0.3397
Pair 2	0.385	0.5953
Pair 3	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 4	0.000	1.0000
Pair 5	0.600	0.4017
Pair 6	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 7	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 8	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 9	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 10	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 11*		
Pair 12	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 13	-0.636	0.3334
Pair 14	-1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 15	0.833	0.0648
Pair 16	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 17	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 18	-0.333	0.6650
Pair 19	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 20	0.882	0.0063

Note α = 0.05
** Incomplete participant responses*

Views on Religion in Society

	Correlation of Rankings	
	G	*p-value*
Pair 1	0.200	0.7921
Pair 2	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 3	0.710	0.3074
Pair 4	0.090	0.9089
Pair 5	-1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 6	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 7	0.830	0.0484
Pair 8	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 9	0.290	0.6733
Pair 10	-1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 11*	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 12	0.200	0.8073
Pair 13	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 14	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 15	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 16	0.500	0.6625
Pair 17	-0.600	0.3700
Pair 18	-0.540	0.3839
Pair 19	1.000	< 0.0001
Pair 20	0.830	0.0330

Note $\alpha = 0.05$

Appendix D: Questionnaire Responses for Entire FFSD Sample

Activities Outside of School

	positive	*negative*	*strongly disagree*	*disagree*	*agree*	*strongly agree*
Talking with parents about politics	38.4%	61.6%	55	51	44	22
Watching news on TV	67.8%	32.2%	26	29	57	59
Reading newspaper for news	10.1%	89.9%	116	44	13	5
Talking with friends about politics	36.8%	63.2%	54	54	41	22
Using Internet for news	58.8%	41.2%	28	42	53	47
Participating in youth group (not through church)	33.7%	66.3%	85	29	35	23
Participating in a church youth group	31.0%	69.0%	94	26	27	27

Views on Society

	positive	*negative*	*strongly disagree*	*disagree*	*agree*	*strongly agree*
People should have right to express opinions	93.3%	6.7%	5	7	60	108
Leaders not allowed to give jobs	53.4%	46.6%	23	60	77	18
Gov't should not control media	66.5%	33.5%	8	51	72	45
Police should be able to hold suspects (national security)	34.4%	65.6%	60	58	46	16
All people should have rights respected	94.9%	5.1%	3	6	71	98
People should be free to speak against gov't	92.2%	7.8%	3	11	86	79
Gov't should be free to check letters, etc. (national security)	55.0%	45.0%	42	39	80	19
People should be free to elect leaders freely	93.9%	6.1%	3	8	74	95
People should be able to protest unfair law	91.0%	9.0%	3	13	78	84
People should be able to stand up for rights	97.2%	2.8%	3	2	74	97
Political protests should never be violent	86.8%	13.2%	6	17	68	83
Differences in income should be small	69.1%	30.9%	12	42	72	49
Gov't should be allowed to control media (national security)	51.1%	48.9%	27	62	68	25

Behaviors for Being a Good Adult Citizen

	positive	*negative*	*strongly disagree*	*disagree*	*agree*	*strongly agree*
Votes	88.3%	11.7%	1	20	74	85
Joins a political party	46.1%	53.9%	7	89	60	22
Learns nation's history	88.0%	12.0%	2	19	78	76
Follows politics	78.2%	21.8%	5	34	96	44
Shows respect	80.9%	19.1%	3	31	95	49
Political discussions	55.9%	44.1%	9	70	66	34
Peaceful protests	77.8%	22.2%	6	34	73	67
Community service	83.6%	16.4%	4	25	72	76
Promotes human rights	86.0%	14.0%	2	23	68	85
Protects environment	87.2%	12.8%	4	19	69	88
Work hard	94.4%	5.6%	1	9	36	132
Obeys laws	92.0%	8.0%	3	11	48	113
Patriotic	83.6%	16.4%	4	25	71	77
Violates anti-human rights laws	68.2%	31.8%	26	30	56	64

Opportunities, Internal Efficacy, External Efficacy

	positive	*negative*	*strongly disagree*	*disagree*	*agree*	*strongly agree*
Opportunities						
All racial groups should have equal chances (education)	91.1%	8.9%	2	14	35	128
Schools should teach respect of all racial groups	92.2%	7.8%	1	13	54	111
All racial groups should be encouraged to run for office	89.2%	10.8%	3	16	66	91
All racial groups should have equal rights and responsibilities	91.6%	8.4%	3	12	47	116
Some racial groups have fewer chances (education)	54.7%	45.3%	35	46	62	36
Poor children have fewer chances (education)	58.1%	41.9%	36	39	57	47
Some racial groups have fewer chances (jobs)	54.2%	45.8%	34	47	53	43
Internal Efficacy						
I know more about politics than others my age	41.9%	58.1%	26	78	53	22
I take part in political discussions	59.2%	40.8%	18	55	76	30
I understand most political issues	71.9%	28.1%	12	38	100	28
I have political opinions worth listening to	59.3%	40.7%	19	53	77	28
As an adult - able to take part in politics	59.9%	40.1%	16	55	78	28
I understand issues facing country	69.5%	30.5%	20	34	94	29
I am interested in politics	43.6%	56.4%	43	58	60	18
External Efficacy						
Gov't cares a lot what we think	41.2%	58.8%	39	65	58	15
Gov't doing its best to find out what people want	41.0%	59.0%	36	69	60	13
Gov't leaders care very little about people's opinions	57.1%	42.9%	22	54	60	41
Few individuals have a lot of political power	68.0%	32.0%	10	47	85	36
Politicians forget voters' needs	65.5%	34.5%	10	51	83	33
Leaders listen when people get together to demand change	52.8%	47.2%	26	58	71	23

Trust in Groups or Institutions

	positive	*negative*	*strongly disagree*	*disagree*	*agree*	*strongly agree*
National Government	46.1%	53.9%	17	79	66	16
Local government	34.1%	65.9%	35	83	47	14
Court system	40.0%	60.0%	26	82	53	19
Police	29.4%	70.6%	66	61	37	16
Political parties	36.9%	63.1%	30	83	56	10
Congress	45.8%	54.2%	23	74	64	18
The media	49.4%	50.6%	29	60	57	30
The Armed Forces	60.3%	39.7%	25	46	58	50
Schools	45.8%	54.2%	23	74	64	18
People in general	45.8%	54.2%	23	74	64	18
State government	48.0%	52.0%	25	68	62	24

Expected Adult Engagement, Youth Engagement

	positive	*negative*	*strongly disagree*	*disagree*	*agree*	*strongly agree*
Expected Adult Engagement						
Vote in local elections	85.8%	14.2%	7	18	72	79
Vote in national elections	84.7%	15.3%	6	21	57	92
Get information about candidates	81.6%	18.4%	7	25	64	78
Help during an election campaign	52.6%	47.4%	16	67	70	22
Join a political party	54.9%	45.1%	23	56	62	34
Join a union	58.0%	42.0%	20	53	70	31
Be a candidate in local elections	45.7%	54.3%	36	59	61	19
Youth Engagement						
Volunteer in the community	76.4%	23.6%	9	33	87	49
Collect money to support a cause	78.2%	21.8%	8	31	92	48
Collect signatures for a petition	58.2%	41.8%	13	61	64	39
Participate in a peaceful protest	69.3%	30.7%	18	36	80	42
Spray-paint protest slogans	29.4%	70.6%	66	59	41	11
Block traffic	23.5%	76.5%	88	49	32	10
Occupy public buildings	33.5%	66.5%	63	56	43	17
Write to a newspaper	54.7%	45.3%	29	52	76	22
Wear a badge or t-shirt	74.3%	25.7%	11	35	69	64
Contact a representative	46.9%	53.1%	27	67	65	18
Choose not to buy products	66.5%	33.5%	16	43	75	42
Talk to others about politics	71.3%	28.7%	11	40	83	44
Join an organization for a cause	53.9%	46.1%	21	61	71	25
Contribute to online discussion	50.6%	49.4%	28	60	67	23

Effectiveness of Political Action

	positive	*negative*	*strongly disagree*	*disagree*	*agree*	*strongly agree*
Working in political parties	52.8%	47.2%	28	56	71	23
Working in local action groups	62.6%	37.4%	19	48	84	28
Belonging to a union	58.7%	41.3%	27	47	71	34
Voting in elections	77.1%	22.9%	15	25	58	77
Contacting influential people	67.2%	32.8%	16	41	73	44
Marches, rallies, demonstrations	68.7%	31.3%	19	37	63	60
Attention through media	65.4%	34.6%	25	37	62	55
Illegal protest activities	34.1%	65.9%	78	38	38	22

Views on Religion

	Positive	*negative*	*strongly disagree*	*disagree*	*agree*	*strongly agree*
Religion is more important than politics	66.1%	33.9%	14	47	72	47
Religion helps me to decide between right and wrong	68.3%	31.7%	12	45	70	53
Religious leaders should have more power	48.6%	51.4%	23	68	59	27
Religion should influence behavior	65.6%	34.4%	15	47	74	44
Rules based on religion - more important than civil laws	44.3%	55.7%	25	73	51	27
Religion should not matter in modern world	28.9%	71.1%	79	49	35	17

Appendix E: Permission from Institutions

Permission from Ferguson-Florissant School District to Conduct Study

Approved by:

Farhad Jadali

Date: 11/12/2014

Dr. Farhad Jadali

Assistant Superintendent - CIO

Ferguson Florissant School District

Permission from IAE for Use of Student Questionnaire

4. Permission

Terms of agreement: Permission is granted for non-exclusive rights to reproduce the material requested above upon the terms and for the purpose indicated.

Signature: D. Hastedt Date: 12 march 2015
Name: Dirk Hastedt
Title: Executive Director

[X] Free [ ] Fee (payable to NL63ABNA0481961968):

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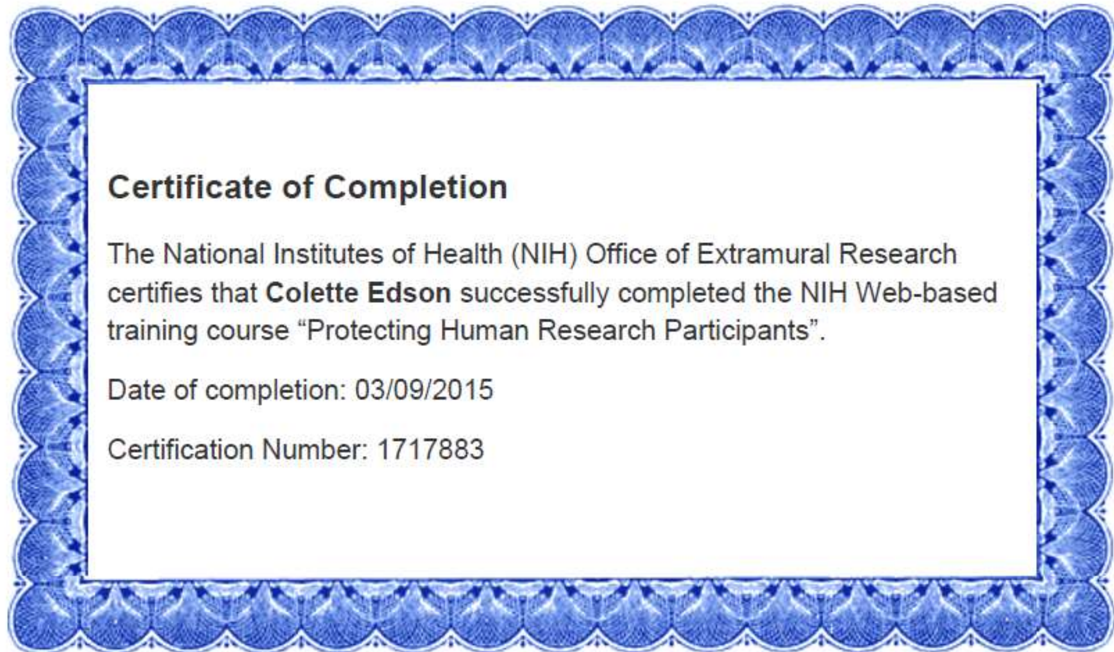
IEA - 15 - 004

Appendix F: Protecting Human Research Participants Certificate



Certificate of Completion

The National Institutes of Health (NIH) Office of Extramural Research certifies that **Colette Edson** successfully completed the NIH Web-based training course "Protecting Human Research Participants".

Date of completion: 03/09/2015

Certification Number: 1717883

Vitae

Educational Background	**Lindenwood University** - *St. Charles, MO*	
	Doctorate in Educational Administration (expected)	2017
	Canisius College - *Buffalo, NY*	
	Master of Science in Educational Leadership	2010
	Fordham University - *New York, NY*	
	Master of Arts in Teaching, Social Studies 7-12	2002
	Bachelor of Arts, History/Political Science	1999

Professional Experience	**Ferguson-Florissant School District**	*Ferguson, MO*
	Administration Building, Data Strategist	2016 - present
	Ferguson Middle School, Grade 8 Social Studies	2013-2016
	Mehlville School District	*Mehlville, MO*
	Margaret Buerkle Middle School, Grade 8 ELA/Reading	2010-2013
	South Buffalo Charter School	*Buffalo, NY*
	Instructional Coach, Grades 5-8	2009-2010
	Charter School for Applied Technologies	*Buffalo, NY*
	Instructional Coach, Grades 9-12	2007-2009
	New York City Department of Education	*Bronx, NY*
	New World High School, Grade 10 Global History	2006-2007
	The Urban Science Academy, Grade 5 Social Studies	2005-2006
	P.S. 83, Grade 6 Intervention; Grade 7 ELA/SS	2001-2004
	Bronx Preparatory Charter School	*Bronx, NY*
	Grade 6 ELA/Social Studies	2004-2005
	St. Angela Merici School	*Bronx, NY*
	Grades 6-8 Social Studies	1999-2001

Certification Areas	**Missouri Certification**	
	Principal (5-9, 9-12)	English Language Arts (5-9, 9-12)
	Social Sciences (5-9, 9-12)	Mild/Moderate Disability (K-12)
	New York Certification	
	School Building Leader (K-12)	English Language Arts (7-12)
	Social Studies (7-12)	

Professional Affiliations	Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society (inducted in 1999)
	Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society (inducted in 1999)
	Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
	La Salle Charter School Board, Vice President (2015 – present)