A comparative study of children's political socialization in two cultures

Chumsai Pathrasen

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CHILDREN'S
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN TWO CULTURES

A Project Submitted to
The Faculty of the School of Education
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of
Master of Arts
In
Education: Elementary Option

By

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1976

APPROVED BY:

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Advisor

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Committee Member
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INTRODUCTION

Numerous research studies in the area of children's political socialization have revealed that positive attitudes toward the American political system are acquired at an early age. Children begin to learn about government and politics before they enter school, but they think of them in nonpolitical terms. The formative years in politics appear to be those years between the ages of three and thirteen. Children become aware early of government and authority; they develop feelings about this during all their elementary school years.\(^1\)

In the United States, Elementary school social studies are intended not only to transmit information about American politics, but also to inculcate desirable values and attitudes. In the 1963 Bereday and Stretch study it was found that between grades five and twelve about 46 percent of the child's time in American school was allocated to social studies, including politics.\(^2\) In fact, among the major countries in the Western world, the United States probably includes more explicitly political material in its


school curriculum than does any other nation. With the current emphasis on basic skills, the percentage of time spent on social studies is probably somewhat less.

In Thailand the political system is quite similar to that found in the United States. The bases of democratic and political structure are presently incorporated in the social studies of Thai elementary schools. A typical class teaches Thai children about family, school, their home town, the local and state regime, etc. This is similar to the American approach to teaching social studies.

This study is designed to compare the political socialization of two distinct groups of children. It deals with differences in political socialization learning experiences that children undergo as they obtain knowledge and develop attitudes and values amid the changing social and political conditions in their respective countries.

The writer is interested in comparing sex differences in the political socialization of Thai boys and girls with a comparable group of children from the United States. The results of this research will prove useful to teachers in Thailand and the United States. One will then be able to concentrate one's teaching in those areas where the tests show the most need. In this way, both the students and the

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Review of Literature

The field of political socialization is the primary concern of this research. Political socialization is the process through which children acquire their political orientation, or the way a child obtains knowledge and develops attitudes and values about the political world.

Previous research studies of process of political socialization have revealed that positive attitudes toward the American political system are acquired at a very early age. The period between nine and thirteen years seems to be the period of greatest change in political learning, and this continues into high school and adult years.

As Easton and Hess have observed, "Every piece of evidence indicates that the child's political world begins to take shape well before he even enters elementary school and that it undergoes the most rapid change during these years." They conclude in their research that "processes of attachment to the political community and the regime begin at a considerably earlier age than one would expect." According to Easton and Hess, children learn they are Americans early. In the primary grades they mention "freedom" but they think of it in nonpolitical terms. In the higher elementary grades, children will list "democracy" as government, voting and constitution, etc.

Jack Dennis⁶ and Herbert H. Hyman⁷ in doing research in the field of political socialization, found the same thing, i.e., that most American children acquire early in life the belief that individual political action can influence governmental decision making. They demonstrate positive and supportive feelings toward the government and political leaders and develop a sense of efficacy as early as the third grade. They believe it is important to vote and are not as politically cynical as adults.

Easton and Dennis⁸ have described the child's political socialization as follows: "The child is initiated into a supportive stance by what is probably high exposure to cues and messages about government even while he is essentially unconcerned with such matters and too young to do much about them even if he wished. He learns to like the government before he really knows what it is. . . . The child has somehow formed a deep sympathy for government even before he knows that he is in some way potentially part of it."

The extreme contrast between adult-child attitudes toward politics has led several researchers to offer


⁷Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), 63.

explanatory hypotheses. Again, Easton and Hess\textsuperscript{9} have found in their research that adults show a strong tendency to shelter young children from the realities of political life. Adults tend to paint politics for the child in rosier hues and the younger the child the more pronounced is this protective tendency.

According to Easton and Dennis,\textsuperscript{10} children in the lower grades especially see government as competent, helpful, and benevolent; "The child . . . begins with deep sympathy for government, and this early aura of approval is likely to remain at the base of his acceptance of the government, whatever later modifications and limitations he puts on his trust and approval." Similarly, Greenstein\textsuperscript{11} has described how young students in New Haven, Connecticut, view the role of the President as one who provides services to children, carries out benevolent activities, and makes moral judgments. Also, he hypothesized that since children cannot be completely insulated from adult attitudes of distrust toward politics, they simply don't perceive or otherwise screen out the discordant elements in the adult political environment.


\textsuperscript{11}Fred I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," The American Political Science Review 54 (December 1960): 934-43.
The quality of later political socialization experience is dependent to a considerable extent upon what is initiated in the family. Family relationships afford an opportunity to acquire a democratic orientation to authority which is likely to persist throughout life. Such family authority systems tend to foster positive feelings toward the home environment which is transferable to the broader political world. Unlike certain other societies, such as Japan and Germany, authority in the American family tends to be egalitarian. Whereas Japanese and German fathers are the sole authority figure in the home, such is not the case in the typical American family where children are extended numerous opportunities to participate in making family decisions. Although the family has long been considered an important agent for political socialization, some recent researchers have questioned the contention that it is the most important agent. Following Hyman\textsuperscript{12} and Greenstein,\textsuperscript{13} Hess and Torney\textsuperscript{14} have done a study on elementary school children. Their study showed that family does not account for the full spectrum of political attitudes. They contend that the family's primary role is limited to the development of a small number of paramount attitudes, such as basic

\textsuperscript{12}Herbert H. Hyman, \textit{Political Socialization} (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), p. 33.


They found that in America the elementary school is the most important agent of political socialization.

In addition to the family and school, several other influences play a role in political socialization, including sex and socio-economic status.

Boys and girls in elementary school show political similarities. Indeed, although Greenstein\(^{15}\) found boys are more informed and politically aware than girls, Easton and Dennis\(^{16}\) in their national survey uncovered only very small sex differences with regard to attitudes. Other studies based on national samples of adolescent youth have uncovered a similar degree of politicalization between the two sexes. Boys and girls seem about equally interested or uninterested in political concerns.\(^{17}\) On the other hand, according to Hyman,\(^{18}\) studies in the United States and Western Europe show a greater political involvement among boys. French boys, for example, compared with girls, identify more with political figures and listen more often to adult discussions about politics.


Political attitudes and behavior of American children vary greatly according to socio-economic class. The family's socio-economic status influences the way in which political beliefs are transmitted to offspring.

Hess and Torney\textsuperscript{19} have found that children from homes of lower and middle social status view their parents as less interested in government and current events than do children from higher status homes. Greenstein\textsuperscript{20} states, "Studies of lower SES children show them to be less politically informed and less politically involved at each age level."

No formal studies of political attitudes of children have been conducted in Thailand. A perusal of the Thai required course of study, which is the same for elementary public schools throughout the country, suggests that Thai children have similar exposure to the study of the social sciences including politics as do children in the U.S.

From an early age, children learn about government and politics and begin to prepare for their adult political roles through processes which neither they nor those who instruct them are especially conscious of, but which nevertheless provide the basis of democratic political participation, knowledge, attitudes, norms, and values from generation to generation.


Hypotheses

1. Nationality: There is no significant difference in the political socialization of Thai children and American children.

2. Sex: There is no significant difference in the political socialization of boys and of girls.

3. There is no significant difference between the interactions of Nationality and Sex in political socialization.

Differences significant at $p < .05$ will reject each of the null hypotheses.
PROCEDURES

Subjects

During the winter and spring of 1975, the test in political socialization was conducted with eighty pupils in two countries. An elementary school in a middle-class suburb of San Bernardino, California, comprised the U.S. sample. The other sample came from a middle-class suburb of Bangkok, Thailand.*

The Questionnaire was administered to classrooms of forty sixth grade children within one school in each country. Twenty boys and twenty girls were randomly selected from age levels of 10-13, making a total of forty individuals for each group.

A Political Socialization Test was developed for administration to these two groups of children. Both groups were questioned in their native language. The items of the test or questionnaire were selected to elicit responses which would indicate knowledge of political socialization. The content areas considered were the Constitution and the national government, state and local government citizenship and political participation, and political direction and respect for government. The

*Two groups were selected from well-to-do middle-class areas where parental occupations are mainly clerical, professional, and administrative.
test contained twenty multiple choice questions, with four options for each question (see appendix A). The Thai questionnaire is identical except for needed language adaptations (see appendix B).

**Measures Used**

The questionnaire was basically developed from a study in Political Education by Charles F. Andrain in "Children and Civic Awareness." In this study a questionnaire was administered to approximately 2,700 children in the school district of Southern California in 1966. It contained forty multiple choice questions, with four options for each question.

To build the political socialization test for the two different cultures represented in this study, some of the questions and answer items of Andrain's questionnaire were adapted to fit their instructional objectives. Two faculty members at California State College, San Bernardino, Dr. Brij Khare, Professor of Political Science, and Dr. Margaret Lenz, Professor of Education, were asked to judge the items to certify content validity.

The two professors agreed that this test had valid meaning with sufficient validity to yield real differences in political socialization knowledge between these two different groups of children.

In order to validate the scores for each response, a panel of graduate students from three different fields (Education, Political Science, and Psychology) were asked
to determine the scale weight for each of the responses to the questions. The panel was told the definition of political socialization as used in this study and the purpose of the study. The questionnaire was then administered in a pilot test to this group. For each response they were rated according to what reflected the most political socialization to the least political socialization on a scale from 4 to 1, with a 4 indicating high political socialization and a 1 the least political socialization. Three items in the questionnaire (3, 15, 18) had a right or wrong answer. A score of 4 was assigned to a correct answer, and no score to a wrong answer.

Factor analysis was applied to pilot test data in order to determine the scale weight for each of the responses to each question. The factor loadings demonstrate the existence of four loading scores contributed by the pilot test data. These data constituted evidence to validate scores from the highest loading to the lowest loading and were designated 4-3-2-1. As a result of the factor analysis, the final test questionnaire items were scored as follows:

1. What makes you most proud to live in this country?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>It has the most representative form of government in the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>It is one of the independent countries in the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>It is the richest country in the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>It is the country in which I was born.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. How does your father influence the government?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Votes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Pays taxes.
2. Works at any job.
1. Do not know.

3. Which of the following people do not work for the government?

Score
4. T.V. repairman.
0. Policeman.
0. Postman.
0. Soldiers.

4. Which of the following persons do you think is the most important?

Score
4. The President.
3. The governor of a state.
2. Teacher.
1. Policeman.

5. What is the best way of describing Americans?

Score
4. All persons who believe in democracy.
3. All persons who live in the United States.
2. All persons who speak English.
1. All persons who dress alike.

6. Who makes the laws?

Score
4. The policemen in a country.
3. The politicians in a country.
2. The people who live in a country.
1. Do not know.

7. When you hear people talking about freedom, what do you think about?

Score
4. Your parents voting on election day.
3. Students protesting the way that the government is run.
2. Your father working in the job of his choice.
1. People going to the church of their choice.

8. If you were old enough to vote, why would you vote for a particular person?

Score
4. You like his ideas about how to make the country wealthier.
3 He is an honest and sincere person.
2 His promises to work for peace.
1 Your parents vote for him.

9. Which of the following is the most important for an elected government leader? He must be:

Score
4 Fair in his dealing with the people.
3 Honest.
2 Able to work with all kinds of people.
1 Very intelligent.

10. How do you think our government should spend most of its time?

Score
4 Making friends with new countries, and keeping friends with old ones.
3 Making sure that the people in our country learn to like the persons running the government, so that they can be elected again.
2 Keeping our country strong so we can win any wars.
1 Balancing our country's budget.

11. How much do you think the President knows?

Score
4 He knows a great deal more than most citizens.
3 He knows slightly more than most citizens.
2 He knows about the same as most citizens.
1 He knows less than most citizens.

12. How often do you think the government makes important decisions?

Score
4 Always.
3 Frequently.
2 Almost never.
1 Never.

13. What do you think is the most important thing the government should do?

Score
4 The government should maintain law and order.
3 The government should try to bring peace to the world.
2 The government should give money and food to the poor people.
1 I do not know.
14. If you were old enough to vote, which of the following persons would you probably vote for?

Score
4 One who offers detailed plans to solve particular problems.
3 One who points out today's problems that need solving.
2 One who suggests a new way of life.
1 One who promises to uphold our country's traditions.

15. Which of the following decides whether or not a law is constitutional?

Score
4 The Supreme Court.
0 The Senate.
0 The House of Representatives.
0 The President.

16. What do you think is the most important purpose of political parties?

Score
4 To give the people a choice between two different ideas about how to run the government.
3 To let people choose the best men to run the government.
2 To encourage people to vote.
1 To make certain that one party can always run the government and hold most of the offices.

17. Which of the following do you think is most important to our nation?

Score
4 The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.
3 The President.
2 A Military Leader.
1 A Senator.

18. Which one of the following statements agrees with our Constitution?

Score
4 Any citizen is free to criticize the government.
0 Labor unions are not legal.
0 The government controls what newspapers print.
0 Only a religious person may become an elected political leader.
19. Which statement best expresses your feeling about our Constitution?

Score
4 It does not need much change, because it is so well written.
3 It will need to be changed once in a while, because times change.
2 It needs many changes, because we live in a modern world.
1 It should never be changed, because it is sacred.

20. Who has more influence upon the government?

Score
4 Rich people.
3 Rich and poor people.
2 Poor people.
1 Do not know.

In addition, the same twenty questions were administered to ten children for test-retest reliability. A week later the questionnaire was given again to the same group. The test-retest procedure was designed to provide data with which to measure the reliability of the test. The reliability of this test is revealed in the high reliability. The median reliability coefficient derived from respondents in ten pairs of test-retest was .73.
STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Data from the political socialization questionnaire have been transformed into scores according to the scoring procedure. The highest score was 68 and the lowest was 45. The total number of points that can be achieved on this test is 80.

A 2x2 analysis of variance was used to measure the amount of difference between the nationality groups and sex. These two independent variables consisted of forty subjects each with forty in each factor. The following factors were:

1. Nationality - Thai and American.
2. Sex - Boys and Girls.

Table 1 shows the order of test administration to eighty children by nationality and sex of Thai Boys, Thai Girls, American Boys and American Girls. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the frequency distribution of scores from eighty children in the survey.

Assignment of test forms was based on randomized rotation according to the hypothesis listing by nationality groups, sex, and sex in each group. Descriptive statistics are shown in Table 2, where Mean, Variance, and Standard Deviation are present. Analysis of the variance using a two-way classification in Table 3 shows the difference
between nationality, sex and interaction. Also Figure 3 has been indicated in Table 3, where the interaction of nationality and sex are found.

**TABLE 1**

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION TEST SCORES RECEIVED BY FOUR GROUPS OF 20 SIXTH-GRADERS IN EACH GROUP. DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS SHOWS MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N=20</th>
<th>Variable</th>
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<tr>
<td>Thai Boys</td>
<td>Thai Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>55</td>
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<td>51</td>
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<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>57.20</th>
<th>52.85</th>
<th>53.65</th>
<th>56.60</th>
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<tr>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>4.96</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>7.26</td>
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</table>
TABLE 2

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS SHOWS MEAN, VARIANCE, STANDARD DEVIATION AND RANGE OF NATIONALITY GROUPS AND SEX DIFFERENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>MEAN</th>
<th>VARIANCE</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>RANGE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thai group</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55.02</td>
<td>9.46</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American group</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55.12</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55.42</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>54.72</td>
<td>7.03</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 1. Frequency distribution of the two nationality's test scores received by 40 Thai children and 40 American children. The vertical line represents the number of students who are found within the given intervals. The horizontal line shows the midpoints of the 5-score intervals.
Fig. 2. Frequency distribution of two sex test scores received by 40 boys and 40 girls. The vertical line represents the number of students who are found within the given intervals. The horizontal line shows the midpoints of the 5-score intervals.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Sum Squares</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F-Ratio</th>
<th>P</th>
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<tr>
<td>Nationality</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.0064</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>9.80</td>
<td>.3149</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction of Nationality and Sex</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>266.45</td>
<td>8.5621</td>
<td>P&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2365.1</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>31.12</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2641.5</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SHOWING INTERACTIONS AMONG NATIONALITY, THAI AND AMERICAN; SEX, BOYS AND GIRLS ON THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION TEST SCORES

22
Fig. 3. Illustration of Interaction effect: Two-way Analysis of Variance between nationality, Thai and American and Sex, Boys and Girls.
FINDINGS

In this study eighty sixth-grade children, forty from Bangkok, Thailand, and forty from San Bernardino, California were tested. These children are of the same socio-economic class and their test scores from the Political Socialization Questionnaire are shown in Table 1. Descriptive statistics in Table 1 show that there is a small difference among mean scores of the four groups. When the mean scores were compared, the highest mean of 57.20 was achieved by Thai Boys, and the American Girls score is the second highest mean of 56.60. Following, the American Boys have a mean score of 53.65, and the lowest mean score is that of the Thai Girls, which is 52.85.

Hypothesis One: Nationality is not a significant factor in the political socialization of Thai children and American children. A total of eighty subjects were used in this phase of the analysis, with forty subjects in each country. Comparative statistics presented in Table 2 show Thai children (N = 40) with a range of 19 and a mean of 55.02 compared to the American children (N = 40), with a range of 16 and a mean of 55.12. Figure 1 shows that at the midpoint score interval of 52 the American group has a higher frequency than the Thai group. Although the Thai group appears to show a higher frequency than the American
group at the score interval of 57, these differences were not found to be statistically significant. The final analysis shown in Table 3 indicates no significant differences at the .05 level (df = 1, MS = .20, F ratio = .0064, p > .05). Therefore, the first hypothesis was accepted: There are no significant differences between the children from Thailand and the children from the United States in Political Socialization.

Hypothesis Two: Boys and Girls will not differ significantly in knowledge as measured by the Political Socialization Test. The performance on data was based on randomized rotation. In this phase, a total of 80 subjects, with forty boys and forty girls from both countries were used. Comparative statistics presented in Table 2 show the boys (N = 40) with a mean of 55.42 and a range of 18, compared to the girls (N = 40) with a mean of 54.72 and a range of 23. Figure 2 shows that at the 47 midpoint of score interval, girls have a higher frequency than boys. Although the boys appear to show a higher frequency than the girls at the 57 midpoint score interval, these differences were not found to be statistically significant. The final analysis of results in Table 3 show that no significant differences at the .05 level (df = 1, MS = 9.8, F ratio = .314, p > .05) exist between boys and girls from both nationalities, Thai and American. Therefore, the second hypothesis was accepted: There are no significant differences between boys and girls in political socialization.
Hypothesis Three: There is no significant difference between the interactions of nationality and sex in political socialization. A two-way analysis of variance was employed to determine possible interactions among sex (boys and girls) and nationality (Thai and American) on test scores. A total of eighty subjects were used in this phase of the analysis, with twenty subjects in each group (see Table 1). As shown in the comparative statistics in Table 1, there is a small difference among mean scores, with the mean of Thai Boys being 57.20; Thai Girls, 52.85; American Boys, 53.65; and American Girls, 56.60. Figure 3 shows that the Thai Boys' mean scores are significantly higher than Thai Girls. On the other hand, American Girls show a significantly higher mean score than American Boys. In the final analysis in Table 3, significant interactions were found between Nationality (Thai and American) and Sex (Boys and Girls) at the .01 level (df = 1, MS = 266.45, F-ratio = 8.56, p > .01). Therefore, the third hypothesis was rejected: There are significant interactions of Nationality and Sex in Political Socialization.
DISCUSSION

Results of this study of political socialization knowledge among the two groups of children indicate that American girls have higher scores than American boys, or tend to have more political knowledge. In the Thai group, boys seem to have more political knowledge and better scores than girls. The interaction of Nationality and Sex were found to be significant at the .01 level.

Sex has been found to be an important discriminating variable of political socialization among children who acquire rapid socialization during the elementary school years. However, the finding of this study shows that boys' and girls'differences narrow, but are not statistically significant.

Therefore, the findings of this study supports that there were no significant differences between children from two different cultures, Thai and American, in their political socialization.
LIMITATIONS

Limitations of the present study are: The student's grade point average was not included as a variable. The study was confined to students in one grade only. The population sample was drawn from one socio-economic level, mainly from well-to-do middle class.

Participation of the Thai group had to be limited to forty students, although the researcher would have preferred a larger sample. The American sample could easily have been larger. No background information was asked for on the questionnaire.

More extensive research of children's political socialization would include all of the above.
APPENDIX A

AMERICAN POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Subject # ___

SEX:    Boy ___    Girl ___

AGE:    10 years ___  11 years ___  12 years ___  13 years ___

GRADE:  5th ___    6th ___

For each question, circle the one response which you think best answers the question. Not all questions have right or wrong answers. Choose the one answer which seems best to you.

1. What makes you most proud to live in this country?
   1. It is the richest country in the world.
   2. It is one of the independent countries of the world.
   3. It has the most representative form of government in the world.
   4. It is the country in which I was born.

2. How does your father influence the government?
   1. Votes.
   2. Works at any job.
   3. Pays taxes.
   4. Do not know.

3. Which of the following people do not work for the government?
   1. Postman
   2. Policeman
3. T.V. repairman
4. Soldiers

4. Which of the following persons do you think is the most important?
   1. Policeman
   2. Teacher
   3. The governor of a state
   4. The President

5. What is the best way of describing Americans?
   1. All persons who live in the United States.
   2. All persons who speak English.
   3. All persons who believe in democracy.
   4. All persons who dress alike.

6. Who enforces the laws?
   1. The people who live in a country
   2. The policeman in a country.
   3. The politicians in a country.
   4. Do not know.

7. When you hear people talking about freedom, what do you think about?
   1. Your father working in the job of his choice.
   2. Your parents voting on election day.
   3. Students protesting the way that the government is run.
   4. People going to the church of their choice.

8. If you were old enough to vote, why would you vote for a particular person?
   1. Your parents vote for him.
   2. You like his ideas about how to make the country wealthier.
3. He is an honest and sincere person.
4. His promises to work for peace.

9. Which of the following is the most important for an elected government leader?

He must be:
1. very intelligent
2. honest
3. able to work with all kinds of people.
4. fair in his dealings with the people.

10. How do you think our government should spend most of its time?
1. Keeping our country strong so we can win any wars.
2. Balancing our country's budget.
3. Making sure that the people in our country learn to like the persons running the government, so that they can be elected again.
4. Making friends with new countries, and keeping friends with old ones.

11. How much do you think the President knows?
1. He knows slightly more than most citizens.
2. He knows about the same as most citizens.
3. He knows less than most citizens.
4. He knows a great deal more than most citizens.

12. How often do you think the government makes important decisions?
1. Almost never.
2. Always.
3. Never.
4. Frequently.

13. What do you think is the most important thing the government should do?
1. The government should give money and food to the poor people.

2. The government should maintain law and order.

3. The government should try to bring peace to the world.

4. I do not know.

14. If you were old enough to vote, which of the following persons would you probably vote for?

1. One who promises to uphold our country's traditions.

2. One who points out today's problems that need solving.

3. One who offers detailed plans to solve particular problems.

4. One who suggests a new way of life.

15. Which of the following decides whether or not a law is constitutional?

1. The Senate

2. The Supreme Court

3. The House of Representatives

4. The President

16. What do you think is the most important purpose of political parties?

1. To make certain that one party can always run the government and hold most of the offices.

2. To give the people a choice between two different ideas about how to run the government.

3. To encourage people choose to vote.

4. To let people choose the best men to run the government.

17. Which of the following do you think is most important to our nation?

1. A Senator

2. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
3. The President
4. A Military leader

18. Which one of the following statements agrees with our Constitution?
   1. Labor unions are not legal.
   2. The government controls what newspapers print.
   3. Only a religious person may become an elected political leader.
   4. Any citizen is free to criticize the government.

19. Which statement best expresses your feeling about our Constitution?
   1. It will need to be changed once in a while, because times change.
   2. It does not need much change, because it is so well written.
   3. It should never be changed, because it is sacred.
   4. It needs many changes, because we live in a modern world.

20. Who has more influence upon the government?
   2. Poor people.
   4. Do not know.
APPENDIX B
THAI POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

ในแต่ละคำถาม ให้ลงตามหน้า ค่าตอบ ที่เห็นว่าข้อที่สุกกว่าข้อความนี้ คำถามบางข้อจะไม่มีค่าตอบที่ให้ตรงกับค่า ให้เลือกคำตอบที่ถูกที่สุด

1. อะไรเป็นสิ่งหน้าถูกที่สุดที่อยากอยู่ในประเทศไทย
   1. เป็นประเทศไทยที่มีคุณภพสุคที่สุดในโลก
   2. เป็นประเทศไทยที่สงบไม่เกิดสงครามเป็นเรื่องข้อของใคร
   3. เป็นประเทศไทยที่มีระบบการปกครองที่สมบูรณ์
   4. เป็นประเทศไทยที่มีเกียรติเกื้อรอง

2. บิดา แม่ คุณ มีส่วนเกี่ยวข้องกับรัฐบาลในทาง...
   1. สองฝั่งเสียงเดียวกัน
   2. ทางานในหน้าที่ท่อม
   3. เสียมา
   4. ไม่ทราบ
3. มุกคล่อยไปนี้ ใครที่จะให้คำานวณได้รับบ้าง.
   1. พูนไทร
   2. ทหาร
   3. ข้าราชการทั่วหนัง
   4. ทหาร

4. มุกคล่อยไปนี้ ใครที่ว่าหูที่สุดล่าท้ายวิธีการ.
   1. ทหาร
   2. ครู
   3. ผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัด
   4. นายกรัฐมนตรี

5. คนไทย เนื่องไทยไป
   1. มุกคล่อยช่วงอาสนโหยไปจนกระทาไทย
   2. มุกคลอยช่วงอยู่ราชการไทย
   3. มุกคล่อยช่วงเดินถ้อยไปจนกระทาธีปัเตย
   4. มุกคล่อยช่วงเดินทั่วไป

6. มุกคล่อยไปนี้ในเวลามีเริ่มต้นถูกมาน.
   1. ประธาน
   2. ทหาร
   3. นักการเมือง
   4. ไม่ทราบ

7. ทหาร ไม่มีวัน หมายถึง
   1. นิสิต ทหาร
   2. ทหาร นิสิต
   3. ทหาร
   4. นิสิต

8. ทหาร ปัญญา หมายถึง
   1. ปัญญา ทหาร ปัญญา
   2. ทหาร ปัญญา
   3. ทหาร ปัญญา
   4. ทหาร ปัญญา
4. น้ำมันเรือนไม่มีพิษต่อเนื้อเยื่อ ถ้าใส่ในเสื้อผ้าบุกหลังมี.

1. ให้เวลา บรรยากาศแห้งจะเย็นได้จากบุกหลังมี
2. บุกหลังมีกิ่วไม่เข้าที่พื้นผิวภายนอก
3. เป็นบุกหลังที่ต้องกลับสู่ชีวิต
4. บุกหลังมีกิ่วขนาดใหญ่ นำมาที่ต้องกลับสู่ชีวิต

5. บุกหลังต้องให้ร่างกายเย็นก่อนวางร่างกายหรือสับปะรดให้ค่อยไป

6. อาสา
7. ข้าราชการ
8. สาธารณชนที่มีประจำอยู่ทุกประเภท
9. ให้ความยุติธรรมแก่ประชาชน

10. ให้ความมั่นใจให้กับประชาชนในเวลาภายในสภาวะปราบปรามประเทศ

1. มองเห็นประชาชนได้จากกล่องยิ่งใหญ่
2. สิทธิการประจำอยู่ของประชาชน
3. หลายคนให้ระยะห่างที่มีคำในรัฐบาล
4. ส่งเสริมให้ประชาชนผลิตภัณฑ์

11. ให้ความยุติธรรมแก่ผู้ที่มีบุกหลังบุกหลังเรื่องที่รู้

1. มีความรู้เรื่องการประเรื่องที่เกิด
2. มีความรู้เกี่ยวกับการที่เกิด
3. มีความรู้เกี่ยวกับการที่เกิด
4. มีความรู้เกี่ยวกับการที่เกิด

12. ให้รู้ถึงความคิดเห็นระหว่างประชาชนในที่รัฐบาลที่ต้องการให้

1. บางครั้ง
2. ตลอดเวลา
3. ไม่เคย
4. ไม่เคย
๒๔. อะไรที่สำคัญที่สุดที่รัฐบาลควรจะกระทำ

๑. รัฐบาลควรใส่ใจและเอาความแก่คนจน
๒. รัฐบาลควรจะรักษาความสงบเรียบร้อย
๓. รัฐบาลควรแก้ไขปัญหาการเป็นชั้น
๔. ไม่ทราบ

๒๕. ถ้ามีเรียนมีสิทธิ์ในการเงินทั้งหมด มักจะทำให้การเงินจะไม่ผิด

๑. บุคคลที่มีฐานะการเงินแย่เป็นที่ยอมรับ
๒. บุคคลที่มีฐานะแย่เป็นที่ยอมรับ
๓. บุคคลที่มีฐานะแย่เป็นที่ยอมรับ
๔. บุคคลที่มีฐานะแย่เป็นที่ยอมรับ

๒๖. ใครคิดว่าที่จะต้องเกี่ยวข้องกับการรวมทุน คือกฎหมาย

๑. รัฐบาล
๒. ศาลปกครอง
๓. สมเด็จพระบรมวงศ์เธอ
๔. บรรดาธุรภักดี

๒๗. ขั้นสูงสุดที่พ่อค้าของธุรกิจเรียน

๑. ทราบทางธุรกิจ
๒. ได้ประโยชน์จากการเลิกกิจการ ซึ่งแสดงถึงเป็นสิทธิของ
๓. สมัครมณฑลระหว่างการจดทะเบียนยังไม่สิ้นสุด
๔. เปิดโอกาสให้ประชาชนได้เลือกบุคคลที่เหมาะสมที่สุด

๒๘. มักคุณจะไม่มีใครคิดถึงความร่ำรื่นที่สุดอย่างไรที่จะกระทำ

๑. มุขสุจริต
๒. หัวหน้าochrome
๓. บรรดาธุรภักดี
๔. ผู้นำทางการทหาร
๑๔. ข้อความต่อไปนี้ ช่วยกระจายภารกิจของวัฏจักรมนุษย์

๑. องค์กรการแรงงานปีกยุทธวิธี
๒. สร้างความยุติธรรมแรงงานที่ยั่งยืน
๓. ผู้มีความสามารถที่จะได้รับต่อให้เป็นผู้นำการเมือง
๔. ประชาชนมีสิทธิในการวิพากษ์วิจารณ์รัฐบาล

๑๕. วัฏจักรมนุษย์ของระเบียงโลก ควรจะ......

๑. เบ็ดบังแปลงคนไข้ให้สามารถเลือกเวลา
๒. ไม่ควรจะทำคนเก่า เพราะทำให้คนเอาใจข้างที่สุด
๓. ไม่ควรจะแปลงแปลงเร็วเก่าใหม่ ๆ ทั้งสิ้น ตั้งแต่ เนื่องจากเป็นสิ่งที่ผู้คนควรจะทำ
๔. ควรจะให้ความแปลงแปลงอย่างเฉพาะเจาะจงเพื่อให้ทุกคนที่ยั่งยืนสิทธิการของโลก

๑๖. มูลที่จะมีบทบาทในสิ่งที่มีผลต่อเหล่าผู้รับ

๑. คนภูมิ
๒. คนงาน
๓. คนภูมิ และคนงาน
๔. ไม่ทราบ
BIBLIOGRAPHY


