

THE EFFECTS OF DEMOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT ON THE
LEGAL SOCIALIZATION OF VIRGINIA
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

by

James Burruss Sharpe

Thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
in
Political Science

APPROVED:

G. W. Peak, Chairman

J. F. Herndon

R. D. Shingles

May, 1973

Blacksburg, Virginia

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This is to acknowledge the steadfast guidance of _____, without whose aid this study would have been impossible. Special thanks are also noted for _____ and the officials of the respective school systems included in this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
---------------------------	----

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Objectives	1
The Socialization Process	4
Legal Socialization	5
The Present Study	13
II. LEGAL SOCIALIZATION	17
Purpose and Organization	17
The Internalization of Norms	18
The Affective	34
Benevolence	48
Normative	62
The Absoluteness of Law	74
Deterrence	93
Conclusion	108
III. THE EFFECT OF AREA UPON LEGAL SOCIALIZATION . . .	110
The Internalization of Norms	111
The Affective	116
Benevolence	122
Normative	129
The Absoluteness of Law	133
Deterrence	140
Conclusion	144
IV. CONCLUSION	145
The Internalization of Norms	147
The Affective	149
Benevolence	154

Chapter	Page
Normative	159
The Absoluteness of Law	162
Deterrence	166
Summary	171
APPENDIX	173
BIBLIOGRAPHY	180
VITA	183

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
2-1. Correct Internalization of the National Name by Race and Grade (Entries are in percent- ages and raw frequencies)	20
2-2. Correct Internalization of the National Name by Grade and Income (Entries are in per- centages and raw frequencies)	23
2-3. Correct Internalization of Name of the President by Grade (Entries are shown in percentages and raw frequencies)	25
2-4. "Who Makes the Laws" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	29
2-5. Selection of "the People" as the Lawmakers by Income (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	32
2-6. Selection of "the People" as the Lawmakers by Race (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	33
2-7. Agreement with the Statement "the United States has Good Laws" by Grade (Entries are in per- centages and raw frequencies)	36
2-8. Agreement with the Statement "the United States has Good Laws" by Academic Ability and Occupation by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	39
2-9. Selection of the Statement "the Policeman is my Friend" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	42

Table	Page
2-10. Selection of the Statement "the Policeman is my Friend" by Race and Occupation by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	44
2-11. Disagreement with the Statement "the Policeman is my Friend" by Grade and Academic Ability (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	47
2-12. Responses to the Question "Why do we have Laws" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	50
2-13. Responses to the Question "Why do we have Laws" by Grade and Race (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	51
2-14. Responses to the Question "Which is the Most Important for the Policeman to do" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	53
2-15. Selection of the "Helping People" Response for the Question "Which is the Most Important for the Policeman to do" by Grade and Occupation (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	55
2-16. Selection of "Helping People" as the Most Important Function of the Policeman by Grade and Academic Ability (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	56
2-17. Responses to the Question "Which is the Most Important for the Policeman to do" by Grade and Race (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	58
2-18. Selection of the Policeman for the Statement "Who would always Help me if I Needed it" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	59

Table	Page
2-19. Selection of the Policeman for the Statement "Who would always Help me if I Needed it" by Race, Academic Ability and Occupation by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	61
2-20. Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman is my Friend" by Grade (Entries are in per- centages and raw frequencies)	63
2-21. Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman does Good Things" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	65
2-22. Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman does Good Things" by Grade and Occupation (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	66
2-23. Agreement with the Statement, "the Policeman is More Honest than Most Men" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	68
2-24. Strong Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman is More Honest than Most Men" by Academic Ability and Race by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	70
2-25. Selection of the Policeman for the Statement "Which can I Trust the Most" by Grade and Academic Ability (Entries are in per- centages and raw frequencies)	72
2-26. Agreement with the Statement "Most Laws were made a Long Time Ago" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	76
2-27. Agreement with the Statement "Most Laws were made a Long Time Ago" by Race, Academic Ability and Occupation by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	77
2-28. Perception of the Fairness of Law by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	79

Table	Page
2-29. Selection of the Statement "All Laws are Fair" by Academic Ability and Occupation by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	81
2-30. Response to the Statement "Do People Who Break Laws . . ." by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	84
2-31. Response to the Statement "Do People Who Break Laws . . ." by Academic Ability and Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	85
2-32. Response to the Statement "Do People Who Break Laws . . ." by Occupation and Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies) . . .	86
2-33. Perception that "People Who Break Laws Usually/ Always Get Away" by Grade and Race (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies) . . .	88
2-34. Response to the Question "If You Think a Policeman is Wrong in What He Tells You to Do, What Should You Do" by Grade and Study (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies) . . .	90
2-35. Selection of the "Ask Why" Response to the Question "If You Think a Policeman is Wrong in What He Tells You to Do, What Should You Do" by Occupation and Academic Ability by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	91
2-36. Response to the Statement "a Good Citizen . . ." by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	95
2-37. Response to the Statement "a Good Citizen . . ." by Grade and Occupation (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	96
2-38. Selection of the Policeman in Response to the Statement "Who is the Worst to be Punished by" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	99

2-39.	Response to the Question "Who is the Worst to be Punished by" by Race, Academic Ability and Occupation by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	100
2-40.	Response to the Statement "I don't Steal Because . . ." by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	104
2-41.	Response to the Statement "I don't Steal Because . . ." by Academic Ability, Occupation and Race, by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	105
3-1.	Correct Internalization of the Names of the Nation and the President by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	112
3-2.	Response to the Question "Who Makes the Laws" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	114
3-3.	Agreement with the Statement "the United States has Good Laws" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	117
3-4.	Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman is my Friend" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	120
3-5.	Selection of the Policeman as the Person "Who would Always Help Me if I Needed it" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	123
3-6.	Response to the Question "Which is the Most Important for the Policeman to do" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	125
3-7.	Response to the Question "Why do We have Laws" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	127

3-8. Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman is More Honest than Most Men" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	130
3-9. Selection of the Policeman in Response to the Question "Which can I Trust the Most" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	132
3-10. Response to the Statement "People that don't Obey the Laws are . . ." by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	135
3-11. Selection of the Statement that "All/Most Laws are Fair" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	136
3-12. Response to the Question "If You Think a Policeman is Wrong in What He Tells You to Do, What Should You Do" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	138
3-13. Selection of the Policeman in Response to the Question "Who is the Worst to be Punished by" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	141
3-14. Response to the Statement "I don't Steal Because . . ." by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)	143

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Objectives

The purpose of this study is to determine if elementary school children from three demographically distinct Virginia localities differ in their attitudes toward the law and police. Examination of their attitudes within a cross-cultural framework will allow this study to fulfill two major objectives. The first is that it will allow scrutiny and reevaluation of the work of contemporary socialization theorists.¹ This is useful because it allows us to reappraise their findings after examining the extent to which they have withstood the test of time.

¹ For a more detailed summary of current legal socialization studies, see Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago, Ill.: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967); Fred I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, LIV (July, 1960), 934-43; Edward S. Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community: A Comparison Across Racial Lines," Canadian Journal of Political Science, II (December, 1969), 471-92; David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969).

The second benefit derived from such a framework is the opportunity to evaluate the relevance of such findings to three different localities, each of which has unique geographical and cultural properties. Each of the localities selected represents a key subdivision of contemporary American society. Area I is a rural agrarian county. Area II is a moderately large city which has a sizeable black population. Area III is a predominantly white suburban area, which provides residential areas for urban workers. Data obtained from elementary school children will permit comparisons of their attitudes toward the law and police to be made.

Analysis of these attitudes within different demographic contexts will allow us to determine if cross-cultural variations in political learning such as those proposed by Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron are identifiable.¹ If cross-cultural differences are detected, such findings will provide

¹Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederick J. Fleron, "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," American Political Science Review, LXII (June, 1968), 564-75. The authors noted that important cultural differences in political learning exist in Appalachia. The authors discovered that children in this milieu did not develop the attachment to political figures attributed to young children by other socialization studies. Such results question the national applicability of previous studies and suggest that regional differences are important factors in determining a child's attitude toward authority.

support for the contention of Jaros and his associates that children in racial and ethnic subcultures may have different socialization experiences which produce divergent political attitudes. The existence of cultural differences also has important implications for our institutions of legal socialization. If attitudes toward the law and police do differ according to culture, then it logically follows that these attitudes can be operationally manipulated by the appropriate instruments of socialization.¹ Such a premise suggests that society can socialize its members so that they will have favorable attitudes toward the law and police.

Research indicates that the imposition of governmental sanctions is not in itself an effective deterrent to deviant behavior.² Whereas sanctions may be necessary for

¹For more complete discussion of the instruments of socialization, see R. E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1968).

²For a more detailed summary of current sanction-deterrent research, see Andrew Sinclair, "Prohibition: The Era of Excess," in Law and the Behavioral Sciences, ed. by Lawrence M. Friedman and Stewart Macaulay (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969), pp. 403-20; Donald T. Campbell and H. Lawrence Ross, "The Connecticut Crackdown on Speeding: Time Series Data in Quasi-Experimental Analysis," in Law and the Behavioral Sciences, ed. by Lawrence M. Friedman and Stewart Macaulay (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969), pp. 374-99; Hugo Adam Bedau, The Death Penalty in America (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1967); William J. Chambliss, "Types of Deviance and the Effectiveness of Legal Sanctions," in Law and the Behavioral Sciences, ed. by Lawrence M. Friedman and Stewart Macaulay (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co.,

maintaining a compliant society, they are not self sufficient. Sanctions deter only to the extent that they force compliance with social norms. A more effective deterrent is one that fosters the will to conform.¹ It is through the process of socialization that a society instills in its members the will to abide by its norms.

The Socialization Process

Siegel defined political socialization as a learning process by which those political norms and behaviors that are acceptable to the ongoing political system are transmitted from generation to generation. This definition identifies three separate aspects of socialization: (1) learning, (2) continuity, and (3) a process of internalization whereby the values of society become those of the individual.²

Newborn children do not enter the political system with a pre-set system of values and beliefs. The conceptual

1969), pp. 277-92; C. Ray Jeffery, "Social Change and Criminal Law," American Behavioral Scientist, XIII (April, 1970), 507-23; Neil A. McDonald, Politics: A Study of Control Behavior (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1965).

¹Jane L. Tapp and Felice J. Levine, "Persuasion to Virtue: A Preliminary Statement," Law and Society Review, IV (May, 1970), 572.

²Roberta Siegel, "Assumption About the Learning of Political Values," Annals of the American Association of Political Science, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 7.

orientations and behavioral predispositions that they acquire are transmitted by adults and peers and are modified by individual experience. Thus, children learn to react to stimuli in ways that are acceptable to society.¹ Continuity is insured by developing within new members a cognitive awareness of the values and beliefs that constitute the fundamental norms of society. Awareness alone, however, is insufficient to assure cultural continuity. In order to be effective, societal norms must be internalized to such an extent that they are perceived as right, moral and just. Siegel stated that without such internalization, norms become external controls which are insufficient restraints upon behavior.²

Legal Socialization

Some socialization theorists argue that conscience is the real source of behavioral control. They maintain that moral behavior rests on the comprehension of societal norms and the volition to comply.³ According to this view

¹Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, p. 79.

²Siegel, op. cit., p. 2.

³Sheilah R. Koeppen, "A Comparative Analysis of Socialization Studies," Law and Society Review, IV (February, 1970), 546.

one must study the legal socialization process in order to understand the origins of compliant behavior within a society. It is the legal socialization process which attempts to "produce individuals that will not only conform to the socially prescribed rules (and roles) of conduct, but will, as members of society, accept them as their own values."¹ Such a process attempts to instill within the child the perception of the rightness and justice of law and the respect necessary for maintaining a rational authoritative legal system.

Hess and Torney have observed that norms concerning law and justice, necessary for compliance, are learned at an early age.² Dawson and Prewitt suggested that children are taught to obey authority and to love their country at the same time and by the same models of behavior that instill the belief that "it is good to obey."³ Others have demonstrated that by age seven, children are aware of the existence of political and legal authority as personified by the president and the policeman.⁴

¹Tapp and Levine, op. cit., p. 566.

²Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 141.

³Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 206.

⁴Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron, op. cit., p. 564.

Easton and Dennis also proposed that the formulation of such an awareness was a direct result of the transfer of authority from proximal figures such as the father to more distal figures of the regime. The authority figures which most likely benefited from this transfer were those most visible to the child--the president and the policeman. These figures are seen as the symbols of the regime, and all of the favorable attributes of the father are transferred to them. Thus, it is hypothesized that young children transfer both the high regard and feelings of dependency they have for their father to other persons in authority.¹ Tapp and Levine demonstrated that an early attachment to authority is more important than punishment for enforcing rules and gaining compliance. They also noted that harsh punishment was not directly related to enforcement power. Severe or hostile punishment from more distal figures, such as the policeman, was not as effective as that of proximal figures.²

These findings are consistent with the conclusions of Koeppen who observed that social learning is contingent upon an affective relationship between child and parent.³ The

¹Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, p. 29.

²Tapp and Levine, op. cit., p. 576.

³Koeppen, op. cit., p. 547.

child learns from proximal adults by imitation or identifying with their behavioral patterns. These models offer the child rewards or inducements to reinforce his desire to act in a similar fashion. Each successful identification is the basis for the next higher, more complex level of development.¹

The transferral process from the father to authority figures causes young children to be egocentric in that they cannot transcend a purely personal approach to matters which require a sociocentric perspective.² The extent of this "personification" of the regime and its officials was demonstrated by Hess and Torney when they found that young children cognize government in terms of individual personalities. A majority of children in grade four agreed with statements such as, "The government is a man." Children in grade two felt that all laws were made by the president. The policeman in this context is perceived as an infallible "personification" of the law.³

Personification and the transfer from the father results in a benevolent image of authority, as in general,

¹Ibid., p. 548.

²Joseph Adelson and Robert P. O'Neil, "Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, IV (1966), 297.

³Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 33.

American fathers are helpful rather than harsh and controlling.¹ This personal relationship causes government and law to be seen in benevolent and trusting terms. The young child also perceives the government as personally responsive and interested in even the most mundane decisions which directly affect the child. The government is perceived as personally interested in the child's welfare as are the officials of the government. The policeman is perceived as "helpful" and protecting the child from harm. A child also trusts the system of laws, believing that all laws are fair and that those who enforce them do so in order to protect the citizens. The law and the policeman are benefactors and law serves the main function of "keeping us safe."²

Thus, young children, unable to understand their environment, search for protection. This need is fulfilled by the father and the immediate figures of authority. This sense of being protected by law and its enforcers is important in the child's acceptance of the legal system. The benevolent qualities attributed to these actors become identified with the regime and law. They serve as bases of a positive cognitive orientation which justifies and encourages compliance with law and respect and obedience to police.³

¹Koeppen, op. cit., p. 551.

²Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 50.

³Ibid., p. 51.

Greenberg attempted to measure the diffuse support for the political community and authority.¹ His results demonstrated a cognitive lag in blacks with respect to the identification of community symbols. Hess and Torney postulated that the young child develops an early attachment for the nation which is steadily elaborated by maturation.² Greenberg contended, however, that black children do not fit this model of early attachment sophisticated by maturation. He found that blacks in grade three were actually more attached to the law and to the regime than were whites. The blacks, however, rapidly decreased in positive affect with age to a point far below that of whites. Such findings by Greenberg tend to describe a process whereby blacks move from diffuse support for a vague political community to decreasing support for a more sharply defined political community.³ These results contradict those of Hess and Torney which describe a process in which the earliest acquired orientations are those that are strongest and most likely to endure.⁴

Young children tend to idolize authority, but their image of authority tends to become more realistic with age.

¹Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 486.

²Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 38.

³Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 492.

⁴Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 208.

Although both races rapidly decline in their image of authority, blacks tend to decrease most rapidly. Blacks demonstrate a stronger initial attachment to the police followed by a more rapid decline.¹ The child's image of national government also changes with age as the child develops the cognitive ability to perceive the government in more impersonal and institutionalized terms. The early perception of government as equivalent to individuals is a simple way to organize the political world conceptually.² As the child matures, however, he becomes more aware of the fallibility of persons in authority, which causes a shift from faith in people to a faith in institutions.³

While implicit trust in the law decreases with age, it establishes the criteria a child may use later in assessing the performance of all authority figures. Even if he discovers that all laws are not just, he may still believe that they should be. If he has experience with an arbitrary authority figure, he may be disillusioned but may retain the desire for fair administration of the laws.⁴

¹Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 492.

²Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, p. 49.

³Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 45. ⁴Ibid., p. 52.

Hess and Torney reported that young children feel that law is absolute and unchangeable over time. The law is seen as unchanging from the past and absolute in its justice. In grade three most children feel that the law was made in the distant past with permanence and the weight of tradition adding to its legitimacy. This belief also decreases with age until most children feel that laws are not absolute and can be changed.¹

Compliance with law is a necessary burden acquired through the child's tendency to perceive the law in terms of absolute trust and virtue. Children seem to wish to comply with any demand rather than become engaged in a conflict with an authority figure. Only 6.0 per cent of young children stated that they would not comply with a policeman's order. Older children exhibit a tendency to question such a command if they suspect its motive, thus reason becomes an important aspect of compliance.²

Absolute compliance also promotes the belief that punishment as an inevitable consequence of wrongdoing. A majority of second graders feel that all people who break laws are caught. Older children learn, however, that punishment is not always certain.³

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

In summary, we must conclude that socialization is a continuous process which, in conjunction with maturational development, directly influences the attitudes of children toward the law and police. The early conceptualization of law is marked by broad generalizations and projected allusions of "goodness." The law and police are the all knowing, always fair, servants of the people. As the child matures and his conceptual abilities increase, his perceptions of law become increasingly accurate. All laws are no longer fair and the policeman is not always correct. Faith is transferred from fallible officials to impersonal institutions. The child becomes even more sophisticated with age, until he is able to make the complex discrimination of law necessary in a complex world.

The Present Study

While the previously mentioned studies have contributed considerably to our knowledge of the process of legal socialization, I feel that one area of investigation has been neglected. This is the study of socialization within a context of area differences. Most authors seem to assume that results obtained in an urban milieu should correspond to those noted by Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron in

Appalachia.¹ This study contends, however, that the divergent findings of these and other studies present an area fertile for investigation.

Consequently, data concerning the attitudes toward the law and police of 1,121 Virginia elementary school children were gathered. The sample consisted of 542 girls and 577 boys of whom a total of 324 were black and 734 white. Four grade levels were included in the study population; the sampling unit was the classroom. The attitudes of the subjects were measured by a twenty-three item questionnaire.² To insure a minimum of difficulty for the younger children, the teachers were instructed to read aloud each item as the child responded. Seven estimates of individual characteristics were also supplied by the classroom teacher. The questionnaire was administered in thirteen schools and forty-four classrooms divided among the three selected areas. These three areas included a rural, southwestern county, a city of moderate size and a predominately suburban county.

¹Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron, op. cit., p. 564. In their study of Appalachian elementary school children they discovered that positive images of authority may not be universal characteristics. Their results instead suggest that divergent images and attitudes may be characteristic of divergent subcultures.

²See Appendix A.

Area I is a rural southwestern Virginia county with a population of 9,775 people. The economy is mostly agrarian with sparse light industry. The land is utilized mostly for farming and grazing with a few small centers of population. County elementary children are educated in four consolidated schools. The sample of 294 students was obtained from one school which was judged to be representative of the district by the superintendent of schools.

Area II is a city of 249,621 from which a sample of 424 students was obtained. Eight schools contributed with random classroom selection; a maximum of four classrooms was selected from any single school. The selected schools were judged to be representative of the racial, economic and geographic diversity of the area by the Director of Research of the area school system.

Area III is a predominately suburban area of 154,364 which also includes light industry and a large rural agrarian segment. Four schools contributed 407 subjects from a total of sixteen classes; a maximum of four classes was taken from any single school. The grade levels selected from each school were staggered so that each school contributed two classrooms from each of the two selected grade levels. The schools selected were judged to be representative of the racial, geographic and economic diversity of the area by the Director of Research of the area school system.

In the following chapters these data will be analyzed, and the findings emanating from this study will be compared to those obtained by previous investigators. Because the present study is based solely on data obtained within the state of Virginia, generalizations to other areas may be made only with extreme caution. Time and the availability of only limited resources precluded the selection of a representative national sample. Nevertheless, one may judge the rough degree to which the present sample is representative of a broader population by comparing the Virginia data (without regard to demographic areas within the state) to data obtained from other samples. This will be done in the next chapter. The fact that the samples were drawn judgmentally rather than randomly prevents the use of normal tests of statistical significance. Therefore, percentage comparisons will be utilized in analyzing the data.

CHAPTER II

LEGAL SOCIALIZATION

Purpose and Organization

This chapter will attempt to accomplish three main tasks. The first task is to discuss certain aspects of previously mentioned studies in more detail. The second is the comparison of previous findings to the data obtained in the current project. The third task of this chapter is to lay the groundwork for a subsequent evaluation of the effect of area on legal socialization.

The attitudinal measures used in the current study were divided into six conceptual categories. Each category was judged by the author to be pertinent to the formation of attitudes concerning the law and police. These six categories were: (1) the internalization of norms, (2) the affective, (3) benevolence, (4) the normative, (5) the absoluteness of law, and (6) deterrence. Separate sections of this chapter will be devoted to discussions of each of these categories. Within each section pertinent prior research will be reviewed and compared to the data obtained in the present study. No

attempt will be made in this chapter to differentiate socialization processes according to demographic area. Therefore, for present purposes school children from all three areas will be treated as a single unit sample.

The initial analysis will rely mainly upon comparisons within grade. Subsequent stages of analysis will involve multiple controls for race, academic ability, and socio-economic status. Information concerning the academic ability of the child was provided by the child's classroom teacher, as was an estimate of the child's family income and the profession of the head of the household.

The Internalization of Norms

Henceforth, the term internalization will be used to describe the process by which new members of a society assimilate the norms and attitudes of that culture. This process is instrumental in the formation of the behavioral limitation called "conscience." In our theoretical framework this assimilation will be used to measure the effectiveness of the socialization process. In such a schema, internalization will provide an index of the degree to which the subjects have "internalized" the normative values conveyed by society's instruments of socialization.¹

¹Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 472.

In 1969 Greenberg attempted to measure diffuse support for the political community, the regime and its authorities by measuring the cognitions of black and white children of American "Community symbols." These symbols included the flag, the president, the policeman and other representatives of the "American way of life."¹ Greenberg's study was an attempt to support the contention that symbols are utilized by all systems in an attempt to build "community" support and sustain it at some minimal level.² Such support encompasses the regime, its leaders, and, especially notable for our study, the law and the citizens' attitudes toward the policeman. Diffuse support for the regime results in a positive conceptual orientation toward the law and police in young children who are unable to make the sophisticated differentiations which allow legal authorities to be seen as independent of the law.³

Greenberg reported that it is not until they reach the ninth grade that all children in a given age cohort know that the name of their country is the United States of America.⁴ (See Table 2-1.) He reported that among whites

¹Ibid., p. 477.

²Ibid., p. 478.

³Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, p. 143.

⁴Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 477.

TABLE 2-1.--Correct Internalization of the National Name by Race and Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Greenberg				Current Study			
	Race							
	Blacks		Whites		Blacks		Whites	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	20.0	. .	43.0	. .	49.3	36	57.3	114
4	. .	. .	. .	. .	50.0	49	57.9	95
5	60.0	. .	70.0	. .	50.0	43	79.9	155
6	. .	. .	. .	. .	73.1	49	89.3	158
7	. .	. .	100.0	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
8	. .	. .	100.0	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
9	100.0	. .	100.0	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .

the internalization of the national name was completed by the seventh grade; however, a similar extent of internalization was not observed among black children until grade nine.

Our data indicate a similar difference between blacks and whites. Although third graders of both races appear to have achieved higher rates of internalization in our study than those in Greenberg's, blacks consistently score lower than whites. While moderate differences do occur, it is possible to accept Greenberg's contention that whites do internalize the national name more rapidly than blacks.¹

Young children of both races tend to mistake the name of their locality for the name of the country. Blacks, however, were more likely to mistake the name of their city for the national name. Such results seem consistent with Greenberg's assertion that blacks are more likely to know the name of their city than are whites. According to Greenberg, this is the result of the greater interaction rate between blacks and city officials.²

Greenberg also reported that lower class children of both races knew the national name less often than did

¹This deviation is constant with age, as whites mistake the national name 10.7 per cent in grade six compared to 26.9 per cent for blacks.

²Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 477.

children of middle or high socio-economic status families.¹

The current study demonstrates that socio-economic variables such as occupation and income do seem to influence the rate of internalization of the national name. As indicated in Table 2-2, 35.5 per cent of low income third graders were correct while 78.4 per cent of their high income counterparts were correct. While the correct response rate increases with age, the socio-economic differences remain evident through grade six (71.1 per cent of low socio-economic children were correct as compared to 96.8 per cent of the high income group). As evidence of the extensive influence of income, high socio-economic third graders were correct more often than low income sixth graders.

Similar results were obtained when the occupation of the head of the household was used as an indicator of family socio-economic status. Thirty-five and three-tenths per cent of low income third graders correctly knew the national name as opposed to 76.6 per cent of high socio-economic children; 73.6 per cent of low socio-economic sixth graders were correct when compared with 94.4 per cent of their high socio-economic counterparts. High socio-economic third graders were again correct more often than low socio-economic sixth graders. These findings thus agree with Greenberg's findings

¹Ibid., p. 479.

TABLE 2-2.--Correct Internalization of the National Name by Grade and Income (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Income					
	\$ 0-4,500		\$4,501-10,000		\$10,001-Over	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	35.5	11	46.2	72	78.4	69
4	52.8	38	48.3	57	68.5	50
5	45.2	28	71.9	97	96.0	72
6	71.1	27	79.9	115	96.8	90

that lower class children are less likely to know the national name than are higher status children.¹

As expected there was a significant difference between children of high and low academic ability. Students of low academic ability in grade three were correct 28.8 per cent as compared to 80.0 per cent of high academic children. In grade six these rates increased to 65.6 and 96.9 per cent for low and high academic children respectively.

Greenberg concluded that lower socio-economic and academic children were less likely to know the correct name of the nation than their higher socio-economic and academic counterparts. Blacks were also shown to have a cognitive lag in internalizing the national name. Although proportionately more blacks were in the lower socio-economic groups than whites, the results indicate that blacks tend to internalize the norms of society more slowly than do whites.²

Greenstein reported that political roles are learned by children at an early age. In his study of 659 New Haven, Connecticut, school children in grades four through eight, he concluded that children rapidly learn the names of government officials.³ As shown in Table 2-3 the correct response rate to "what is the President's name" increased with age in

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 480.

³Greenstein, op. cit., p. 936.

TABLE 2-3.--Correct Internalization of Name of the President
by Grade (Entries are shown in percentages and
raw frequencies)

Grade	Greenstein		Current Study	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	. .	. .	96.4	269
4	96.0	. .	96.0	262
5	97.0	. .	98.3	282
6	90.0	. .	99.3	280
7	99.0	. .		

both studies. In grade four, both studies demonstrated a correct response rate of 96.0 per cent. The responses were also similar in grade five. In grade six, however, Greenstein noted a decrease to 90.0 per cent in contrast to 99.0 per cent in grade seven. This discrepancy is probably attributable to sampling error since the current study recorded the more reasonable rate of 99.3 per cent in grade six.

Responses by blacks and whites indicated that no significant differences could be attributed to race.¹ Socio-economic status as represented by income demonstrated a slight positive effect on the number of correct responses. This difference was slightly greater when using occupation as the socio-economic status variable. In grade three 95.6 per cent of low income children knew the name of the president as contrasted to 99.1 per cent of high income children. In grade six both high and medium socio-economic groups achieved a 100.0 per cent correct response rate while the low socio-economic groups were correct 97.2 per cent. Differences by sex which were analyzed by Hess and Torney, were not discernable in our data.² As expected, children of low academic

¹In grade three, 94.5 per cent of blacks and 97.5 per cent of whites knew the president's name. In grade six these figures increased to 100.0 and 98.9 per cent, respectively.

²Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 182. See the author's discussion of sexual differences which influence the child's perception of authority figures.

ability were less likely to know the name of the president than higher academic children.¹

The current study supports Greenstein's finding that the internalization of the name of the president proceeds at a more rapid rate than does that of the national name. While race was an important factor for the number of correct responses for the national name, it had little effect on knowledge of the president's name. Also notable was the fact that socio-economic variables had little influence upon the internalization of the president's name. These different rates of internalization tend to support the initial premise that socialization rates do vary according to objective individual characteristics.

It has been suggested that the young child's image of government is mainly confined to persons. As explained previously, such a conceptual framework allows a child to integrate an image of government into his perceptions of familiar family authority structures. Hess and Torney found that 60 per cent of the second graders they interviewed agreed with the statement, "The government is a man." When

¹Low academic third graders were correct in 94.9 per cent of their responses, compared to 97.8 per cent of their high academic counterparts. In grade six 98.4 per cent of low academic children were correct compared to 99.0 per cent of the high academic group.

asked to identify pictures which "showed best what the government is," pictures of John F. Kennedy and George Washington were respectively chosen by 46 and 39 per cent of the second graders. Among older children, however, these two responses rapidly declined; in grade six, 49.7 per cent selected pictures of Congress instead of individuals. In grade four, 44.1 per cent of the sample felt that the president made the laws. In grade six, 57.4 per cent felt that Congress made the laws of the land.¹

In the current study, the item "Who makes the laws?" was used to measure this increase in sophistication with age. The "policeman" response was included to test Easton and Dennis' hypothesis that the law and police are both contained within a general body of authority.² In this context, young children should perceive the laws and policemen as identical symbols, thus policemen make laws. "The government" is the most popular response; however, it is not as indicative of sophistication as "the people" response.

Four per cent of the children felt that the laws were made by "policemen," 12.6 per cent "the people" and 82.4 per cent "the government." As shown in Table 2-4, the children

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 34.

²Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, p. 267.

TABLE 2-4.--"Who Makes the Laws" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Policemen		People		Government	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	6.8	19	3.2	9	88.8	247
4	5.1	14	10.6	29	81.7	223
5	1.4	4	12.2	35	86.1	247
6	2.8	8	24.2	68	73.0	205

choosing the response, "policemen make the laws" decreased from 6.8 per cent in grade three to 2.8 per cent in grade six. These findings cast doubt upon Easton's and Dennis' conclusions that young children are unable to differentiate between the law and the policeman. If this hypothesis were correct, it seems likely that more young children would associate the law and the policeman.¹ In the current sample, even the children in grade three were sufficiently sophisticated to differentiate between the law and its enforcer.

The "government makes the laws" was the most popular response. In grade three 88.8 per cent chose this response, in grade six, 73.0 per cent. In grades four and five the percentages were 81.7 and 86.1 respectively. Thus, in grade six we notice a decrease in the rate of response for the response, "the government makes the laws."

This decrease is the result of the increase in the selection rate for "the people make the laws." Selection of this response increased from 3.2 per cent of the third graders to 24.2 per cent of the sixth graders. This represents a sizable increase in the sophistication of the child's perception of the American governing process. Thus, the abstraction of "the people" represents maturation in the cognitive process.

¹Ibid.

As shown in Table 2-5 lower socio-economic (income) children are less likely to choose "the people" than are children of higher socio-economic status. In grade six, 36.6 per cent of the high socio economic group selected "the people" while only 18.4 per cent of low socio-economic group chose this response. Identical results were noted when occupation was substituted for income as an indicator of socio-economic status.¹

As shown in Table 2-6, blacks are less likely to choose "the people" than their white counterparts. In grade four, 4.1 per cent of blacks chose "the people" while 15.2 per cent of whites chose this response. In grade six, 10.4 per cent of blacks felt that law was made by "the people," as opposed to 29.5 per cent of the whites.

These results seem to indicate that young children are able to differentiate between the law and its enforcers. While such results do undermine the validity of Easton's and Dennis' hypothesis, the apparent discrepancies may be the result of invalid measurement or of an oversimplification of the linkage model. Nevertheless, our data indicate that as children mature, they tend to increase the rate at which they

¹When using occupation as an indicator of socio-economic status, 18.3 per cent of low socio-economic group and 38.2 per cent of high socio-economic group selected the response "the people."

TABLE 2-5.--Selection of "the People" as the Lawmakers by Income (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Income					
	\$ 0-4,500		\$4,501-10,000		\$10,001-Over	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	3.2	1	2.6	4	4.5	4
4	4.2	3	11.0	13	17.8	13
5	8.1	9	11.1	15	18.7	14
6	18.4	7	17.5	25	36.6	34

TABLE 2-6.--Selection of "the People" as the Lawmakers by Race (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Race			
	Blacks		Whites	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	1.4	1	4.0	8
4	4.1	4	15.2	25
5	10.5	9	12.9	25
6	10.4	7	29.5	52

select "the people" as lawmakers. Socio-economic status, academic ability and race also seem to influence the sophistication process.

In conclusion, it appears that blacks and children of lower socio-economic status and lower academic ability suffer from a cognitive developmental lag. These groups tend to internalize the norms of society at a slower rate than their peers. This lower rate of internalization results in a slower development of a sophisticated approach to the law and police. Children demonstrating this lesser degree of sophistication are less able to make the discriminations necessary for a rational compliance with law.

The Affective

Hess and Torney concluded that the American child gains an early attachment to the nation which results in a steady elaboration with age.¹ They concluded that this "early attachment to nation . . . is basic to political socialization and subsequent to learning and experience."²

Greenberg attempted to measure diffuse support for the political community and authority.³ Diffuse support in

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 46.

²Ibid., p. 48.

³Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 471.

such a context was defined as an "attachment to a political object for its own sake regardless of rewards or unconditional attachment."¹ Greenberg concluded that childhood orientation constitutes only a first step in a life-long socialization process. In direct contradiction to the conclusion of Hess and Torney, Greenberg has demonstrated that children of both races decrease in their affection toward "America" with age.² He also noted that black children demonstrate a more positive orientation to the police in the lower grades, and develop an increasingly negative orientation as they grow older. Blacks were thus found to move from diffuse support for a vague political community to a decreasing diffuse support for a more sharply defined political community.³ Such findings tend to refute the popular hypotheses of Hess and Torney that the earliest acquired orientations are the strongest and the most likely to persist.⁴

As shown in Table 2-7, elementary school children tend to decrease in affection for the regime as a function of age. While a majority of children agreed that "the United States has good laws," the intensity of this response decreased with age. In grade three, 65.0 per cent "strongly agreed" with this statement, but in grade six this figure

¹Ibid., p. 472.

²Ibid., p. 492.

³Ibid.

⁴Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 154.

TABLE 2-7.--Agreement with the Statement "the United States has Good Laws" by Grade
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	65.0	185	28.2	78	2.5	7	4.3	12
4	44.1	120	39.7	108	8.5	23	7.7	21
5	38.4	109	50.0	142	7.0	20	4.6	13
6	21.5	60	65.9	184	9.0	25	3.6	10

decreased to 21.5 per cent. In grade three 28.2 per cent chose the less intense "agree" response; in grade six this figure increased to 65.9 per cent. Thus, between grades three and six, the sample tended to become less intense in agreement that "the United States has good laws." These results tend to support the contention of Greenberg that affection for the regime and its laws decreases with age.¹

Blacks were slightly more likely to "strongly agree" with "the United States has good laws" than whites in grade six.² Blacks also tended to select the less intense "agree" response less frequently than did whites in grade six.³ These results, while too slight for conclusive statements, seem to demonstrate a trend contrary to that predicted by Greenberg.⁴ Instead of decreasing more rapidly in affection than whites, the current results indicate that whites might decrease more rapidly than blacks. These results also seem to indicate a slight tendency for whites to decrease in

¹Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 565.

²In grade three, whites were slightly more likely to strongly agree than blacks. (Whites 66.7 per cent; blacks 61.1 per cent.)

³Blacks 59.4 per cent; whites 65.5 per cent.

⁴Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 566. Blacks tended to decrease in positive orientation more rapidly than whites.

affection more rapidly than blacks. While far from conclusive, these results indicate a slight racial difference contrary to that noted by Greenberg.

As shown in Table 2-8, children of lower socio-economic status (occupation) had a slightly more affective orientation toward the regime within their age group than did higher socio-economic children. Lower socio-economic children were more likely to select the "strongly agree" response to "the United States has good laws" than were higher socio-economic children. Children of lower socio-economic status also tended to select the less intense "agree" response less frequently within age than did higher socio-economic children.¹

Children of lower academic ability feel more affection toward the regime than do higher academic children. Low academic children tend to "strongly agree" with "the United States has good laws" more often within grade than children of higher academic ability. Higher academic children tend to select the less intense "agree" response. Thus, children of lower academic ability seem to be more intense and less sophisticated in their affection for the regime and its laws.

While Greenberg reported that blacks tend to demonstrate a more rapid decrease in affection for the regime, the

¹Similar results were obtained when substituting income for occupation as an indicator of socio-economic status.

TABLE 2-8.--Agreement with the Statement "the United States has Good Laws" by Academic Ability and Occupation By Grade
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Low				Medium				High			
	Strongly Agree		Agree		Strongly Agree		Agree		Strongly Agree		Agree	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Academic Ability												
3	72.4	42	20.7	12	66.7	84	24.6	31	60.0	54	35.6	32
4	58.2	39	25.4	17	42.2	43	41.2	42	35.8	34	48.4	46
5	36.6	30	45.1	37	37.9	33	52.9	46	39.5	45	51.8	59
6	33.3	20	48.3	29	21.8	26	64.7	77	14.6	14	78.1	75
Occupation												
3	66.7	60	23.3	21	69.4	50	26.4	18	60.9	67	23.3	21
4	46.9	53	40.7	46	50.0	41	30.5	25	32.9	23	40.7	46
5	42.4	39	44.6	41	29.8	28	53.2	50	43.0	40	44.6	41
6	22.5	16	57.7	41	26.5	30	63.7	72	13.5	12	57.7	41

current results seem to indicate that whites may decrease in affection more rapidly than blacks. It was also noted that children of lower socio-economic status and academic ability tend to have a more affective orientation toward the regime. Such a finding is probably more indicative of the increased sophistication of the higher socio-economic and academic groups than it is an indication of disaffection.

Greenberg reported in a study of 980 Philadelphia school children in grades 3, 5, 7, and 9 that young children tend to idolize authority. This positive orientation declined with age for both races. Among black children, however, it decreased more rapidly with respect to their attitude toward the policeman than it did among whites. Young children tended to perceive the policeman in positive terms as a result of their overall affection for the regime.¹ Hess and Torney also reported a similar decrease in affection with age. They found that social class differences on the item, "the policeman is my favorite," were marked. Lower class children expressed more positive feelings about the policeman than did middle class children. Lower class children also seemed more emotionally involved with this "extra familial" authority. Hess and Torney attributed this difference to dissimilar

¹Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 562.

perceptions of family authority. They also noted that high socio-economic children in general were less positively oriented toward the policeman than other socio-economic groups.¹ Lower socio-economic blacks were especially hostile to the police.² Differences related to IQ were found to be slight.

In an attempt to measure the affection of young children for the policeman, the current study used the item, "the policeman is my friend," with four response categories ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. In the current sample, 61.2 per cent chose the strongly agree response and 31.1 per cent chose the agree response.

As predicted by Greenberg's findings, the current subjects tended to decrease in their affection for the policeman as a function of age, as shown in Table 2-9. As children mature, they tend to choose the "strongly agree" response less often than the weaker "agree" response. Thus, while a large majority of the subjects remain in the agreement categories, they tend to decrease in the intensity of agreement.

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 142.

²Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 456. The author reported that 75 per cent of blacks demonstrated a favorable opinion of police in grade three as compared to 72 per cent for whites. In grade five this tendency reversed with blacks 43 per cent and whites 66 per cent.

TABLE 2-9.--Selection of the Statement "the Policeman is my Friend" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	79.9	222	15.8	44	2.2	6	2.2	6
4	69.4	188	23.2	63	3.0	8	4.4	12
5	59.1	169	33.6	96	2.8	8	4.5	13
6	40.4	113	51.4	144	4.3	12	3.9	11

As predicted by Greenberg, blacks were more affective toward police than whites in grade three, as shown in Table 2-10. This tendency reversed, however, in grade six, as whites were the more affective. There was no apparent difference in the rate of increase for the less intense "agree" response between the races.

Low socio-economic status (occupation) children were more affectionate toward the policeman except in grade three. Lower socio-economic children tended to decrease less rapidly in their affection than higher socio-economic children.¹ High socio-economic children demonstrated a marked tendency to select the less intense "agree" response more frequently than did lower socio-economic children. Similar results were obtained when using income as an indicator of socio-economic status. While these results confirm the conclusions of Hess and Torney, the most important finding is the apparent decrease in affection for the policeman demonstrated by the older age groups in the sample.

When controlling for academic ability, no significant difference was noted until grade six. In grade six the high academic group chose the strongly agree response 29.9 per cent as compared to 55.0 per cent for the low academic group.

¹This was demonstrated by a less rapid increase in the less intense "agree" response.

TABLE 2-10.--Selection of the Statement "the Policeman is my Friend" by Race and Occupation by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Race							
	Strongly Agree				Agree			
	Blacks		Whites		Blacks		Whites	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	86.3	63	76.9	153	12.3	9	17.6	35
4	72.2	70	68.1	111	22.7	22	23.3	38
5	52.9	45	61.3	119	36.5	31	33.0	64
6	38.5	25	42.9	76	50.8	33	49.7	88

TABLE 2-10--Continued

Grade	Occupation											
	Low				Medium				High			
	Strongly Agree		Agree		Strongly Agree		Agree		Strongly Agree		Agree	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	72.5	81	19.8	18	83.3	60	13.9	10	82.9	92	14.4	16
4	71.4	80	18.8	21	73.2	60	22.0	18	62.9	44	32.9	23
5	58.1	54	33.5	33	59.6	56	29.8	28	59.6	56	35.1	33
6	46.5	33	38.0	27	45.6	52	50.0	57	28.1	25	64.0	57

This difference was caused by the high academic group's tendency to select the less intense "agree" response; 35 per cent of low academic students chose this response as compared to 63.9 per cent of the high academic group. Therefore, the affection for the policeman tends to significantly decrease for high academic children in grade six.

When the two disagreement categories were combined, the low academic children tended to be the major selector of these responses. As shown in Table 2-11, in grades three through five, low academic students demonstrated a tendency to select these responses more often than higher academic groups. In grade six, however, middle academic groups demonstrated the same dissatisfaction with the policeman as the lower groups.¹

The results presented in this section indicate that affection for the law and for the policeman decreases with age. This affection seems to decrease more rapidly in children of higher academic ability and socio-economic status. Blacks tend to exhibit a slightly slower rate of decrease than whites.

While these trends may seem ominous for the legal system, it must be remembered that the items which were

¹It should be noted that there were a total of only seventy-five subjects in the table.

TABLE 2-11.--Disagreement with the Statement "the Policeman is my Friend" by Grade and Academic Ability (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Academic Ability					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	6.8	4	4.0	5	2.2	2
4	13.6	9	6.8	7	3.3	3
5	13.5	11	5.6	5	4.4	5
6	10.0	6	9.3	9	6.2	9

analyzed measured the degree of positive affection. The vast majority of the sample demonstrated positive orientations toward the policeman and the law. Sixty-one per cent of the total sample "strongly agreed" that the policeman was their friend.

Benevolence

As an outgrowth of a young child's propensity to feel affection for the law and police, he tends to attribute the quality of benevolence to political objects. The result of this general perception of benevolence is an idealization of all aspects of the law and police. Thus, the policeman is honest and all laws are fair. Since law and the policeman are perceived in this benevolent framework, the law is seen as "helping" by the child. Such a predisposition serves as a basis of positive regard which encourages and justifies compliance. As explained in the discussion of learning theories, this early attachment motivates personal obedience in the hope of future reward.¹

In 1967 Hess and Torney found that young children trust the system of laws. They believe that all laws are fair and that those who enforce them do so in order to protect the citizens. Law is perceived as a positive force

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 50.

which performs the major function of "keeping us safe." The sense of protection is extremely important to the child's acceptance of the legal system; however, it diminishes with age. Older children increasingly perceive that the major function of law is "running the country."¹

Hess and Torney suggested that young children tend to feel that we have laws "to keep us safe." As shown in Table 2-12, our data support this hypothesis, "to keep us safe" enjoys a constant response rate for all ages. While the results of their study and the current study are essentially similar, one relatively minor difference exists. Hess and Torney's study showed a small decrease in the modal response category with age, whereas, our results were more stable.

The current study indicates that as children mature, a belief that the major function of law is "keeping people from doing bad things" becomes less prevalent. Older children are more likely to perceive that the major function of law is "to run the country." As demonstrated by Table 2-13, whites tend to feel that law is "to keep us safe" more often than blacks. In grade six 34.8 per cent of the blacks chose this response as contrasted to 67.2 per cent of the whites. Blacks tend to feel that laws exist in order to "keep people

¹Ibid., p. 51.

TABLE 2-12.--Responses to the Question "Why do we have Laws" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	To Punish People		To Run the Country		To Keep People from doing Bad Things		To Keep People Safe	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Hess and Torney								
3	7.4	. .	14.3	. .	14.7	. .	63.6	. .
4	6.6	. .	14.7	. .	13.3	. .	65.4	. .
5	3.3	. .	20.0	. .	10.5	. .	66.2	. .
6	3.9	. .	27.0	. .	14.6	. .	54.5	. .
Current Study								
3	0.7	2	9.0	25	33.6	93	56.7	157
4	1.1	3	11.4	31	33.8	92	53.7	146
5	0.7	2	15.4	44	27.0	77	56.8	162
6	1.4	4	17.8	50	22.8	64	58.0	163

TABLE 2-13.--Responses to the Question "Why do we have Laws"
by Grade and Race (Entries are in percentages
and raw frequencies)

Grade	Race			
	Blacks		Whites	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
To Punish People				
3	0.0	0	1.0	2
4	2.0	2	0.6	1
5	1.2	1	0.0	0
6	1.5	1	1.1	2
To Run the Country				
3	5.5	4	10.2	20
4	11.2	11	10.4	17
5	10.6	9	16.6	32
6	25.8	17	15.3	27
To Keep People from doing Bad Things				
3	45.2	33	29.4	58
4	37.8	37	30.7	50
5	34.1	29	24.9	48
6	37.9	25	16.4	29
To Keep People Safe				
3	49.3	36	59.4	117
4	49.0	48	58.3	95
5	54.1	46	58.5	113
6	34.8	23	67.2	119

from doing bad things." In grade six 37.9 per cent of blacks selected this response as contrasted to 16.4 per cent for whites. These results seem to indicate that whites fear an undefined threat while blacks have cognized a stronger fear of overt acts.

In grades three through five, whites were more likely to feel that we have laws in order "to run the country." In grade six, however, blacks were more likely to choose this response than were whites.

Hess and Torney, when studying the role of the policeman, noted that most young children perceive the policeman's role to be that of "catching people who break the law," and "making people obey the law."¹ As shown in Table 2-14, the former response decreases in frequency from 38.7 per cent in grade four to 24.7 per cent in grade six; the latter increases from 38.3 per cent to 42.8 per cent. Agreement with "help people who are in trouble" also increased from 23.0 per cent to 32.5 per cent.

In the current study agreement with "catch people who break the law" also declined with age. As in Hess and Torney's study, agreement with "make people obey the law" also increased slightly with age. Most notable, however, was the fact that children increased in their perception of

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 37.

TABLE 2-14.--Responses to the Question "Which is the Most Important for the Policeman to do" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Make People Obey the Law		Help People		Catch People Who Break the Law	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Hess and Torney						
3	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
4	38.3	. .	23.0	. .	38.7	. .
5	42.4	. .	29.6	. .	28.0	. .
6	42.8	. .	32.5	. .	24.7	. .
Current Study						
3	24.0	67	16.1	45	59.9	167
4	24.6	67	26.8	73	48.5	132
5	27.3	78	33.9	97	38.8	111
6	27.3	77	30.1	85	42.6	120

the policeman as "helping people who are in trouble" with age. In grade three this response had a frequency of 16.1 per cent; in grade six it increased to 30.1 per cent.

Hess and Torney also noted that lower socio-economic children tended to perceive the policeman's role to be "catching people who break the law" rather than "helping people" or "making people obey the law."¹ They further hypothesized that this "cops and robbers" aspect was the result of media exposure, for lower IQ and socio-economic groups tended to select this response more frequently than did other groups.²

As anticipated by Hess and Torney, the current study indicated that lower socio-economic children selected the "helping" response less frequently than higher socio-economic children. This is indicated in Table 2-15. Lower socio-economic children tended to feel that the policeman's role was to "catch people who break the law."³ As shown in Table 2-16, children of higher academic ability were slightly more likely to select the "helping" response than were lower academic children.

¹Ibid., p. 55.

²Ibid., p. 142.

³In grade three, 51.4 per cent of high socio-economic children selected the "catch people" response as compared to 67.0 per cent for low socio-economic children. In grade six, the figures were 30.3 and 45.8 per cent, respectively.

TABLE 2-15.--Selection of the "Helping People" Response for the Question "Which is the Most Important for the Policeman to do" by Grade and Occupation
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Occupation					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	11.0	10	16.7	12	19.8	22
4	21.2	24	29.3	24	34.3	24
5	25.8	24	23.4	22	51.1	48
6	27.8	20	20.9	24	42.7	38

TABLE 2-16.--Selection of "Helping People" as the Most Important Function of the Policeman by Grade and Academic Ability (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Academic Ability					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	8.5	5	14.2	18	22.2	20
4	22.4	15	25.5	26	31.6	30
5	23.2	19	27.3	24	46.1	53
6	21.3	13	35.0	42	28.9	28

Table 2-17 indicates that blacks tend to feel that the policeman's pursuit of lawbreakers is his most important function. Whites tend to feel that the policeman is more "helping" than do blacks. In grade six 22.4 per cent of the blacks and 32.8 per cent of the whites feel that the major function of the policeman is to "help people."

Hess and Torney further explored perceptions of benevolence by comparing responses to the item, "Who would always help me if I needed it?" They noted that lower academic children tended to view the policeman as being rather unwilling to help. This perception was less prevalent, however, among older children. Socio-economic differences were minimal and evaluations of police benevolence did not differ among age groups.¹

In the current study, four alternative responses were provided for the item, "Who would always help me if I needed it?" The governor and the president were the two choices which involved secondary authority figures. The other two responses--the principal and the policeman--involved primary authority figures.

In the current sample 67.7 per cent of the children felt that the policeman was the "most likely to help." Adherence to this belief, as shown in Table 2-18, increased

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 41.

TABLE 2-17.--Responses to the Question "Which is the Most Important for the Policeman to do" by Grade and Race (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Catch People Who Break the Law				Help People			
	Race							
	Blacks		Whites		Blacks		Whites	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	72.6	53	18.6	109	9.6	7	18.6	37
4	55.1	54	45.4	74	24.5	24	28.8	47
5	45.9	39	36.1	70	36.5	31	32.0	62
6	50.7	34	39.0	69	22.4	15	32.8	58

TABLE 2-18.--Selection of the Policeman for the Statement
 "Who would always Help me if I Needed it" by Grade
 (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Most Likely to Help		Next Most Likely to Help	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	57.4	159	13.0	36
4	69.0	187	11.4	31
5	68.2	193	17.0	48
6	76.2	211	14.1	39

with age. Fifty-seven and four-tenths per cent of the sample judged the policeman to be "most likely to help" in grade three as opposed to 76.2 per cent in grade six.

As concluded by Hess and Torney, low socio-economic children were less likely to perceive the policeman as being the one "most likely to help" than were high socio-economic children. This is indicated in Table 2-19. Similar results were obtained when income was used as an indicator of socio-economic status. These results indicated that high socio-economic children are more likely to perceive that the policeman is willing to help.

Children of higher academic ability were found to be more likely to judge the policeman to be "most likely to help" than were lower academic children. All academic categories increased in this belief with age; however, high academic children showed the greatest increase (from 72.2 per cent to 86.5 per cent as compared to 57.9 per cent to 61.7 per cent for low academic children). Thus, high academic children seem to expect more help from the policeman than do lower academic children.

Whites were more likely to judge that the policeman is "most likely to help" than were blacks. In grade six, 67.2 per cent of blacks felt that the policeman was "most likely to help" as opposed to 80.0 per cent of the whites.

TABLE 2-19.--Selection of the Policeman for the Statement "Who would always Help me if I Needed it" by Race, Academic Ability and Occupation by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Race				Academic Ability						Occupation					
	Blacks		Whites		Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	46.5	33	60.3	120	57.9	33	46.5	59	72.2	65	47.7	38	56.9	41	67.6	75
4	64.3	63	73.2	120	61.2	41	71.8	74	74.7	71	66.4	75	70.7	58	73.2	52
5	72.0	59	66.5	129	58.8	47	66.7	58	75.7	87	64.8	59	62.4	58	76.6	72
6	67.2	45	80.0	140	61.7	37	76.9	90	86.5	83	70.8	51	72.6	82	88.4	76

As a result of their 1967 study, Hess and Torney characterized the policeman as serving a dual role for children. He is perceived first as an enforcer of the law and second as an authority figure who will also help the child when needed. The policeman is perceived to be willing to help the child, but the child never develops a strong feeling for him. Hess and Torney asserted that although the policeman is perceived to be interested in the child's welfare, he is never identified as a friend.¹ The current study casts doubt on this assertion, however, for 93.2 per cent of the children in the sample agreed with the statement, "the policeman is my friend." Responses to this item are summarized in Table 2-20. Although the intensity of agreement is weaker among older children, only 8.2 per cent of sixth graders disagree with this statement. This suggests that the policeman remains a benevolent authority figure in the eyes of the child but that as the child matures and develops a more sophisticated view of the world, he becomes less strongly committed to this image.

Normative

Greenstein noted that young children tend to view authorities in benevolent normative terms. The official is

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 57.

TABLE 2-20.--Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman is my Friend" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	79.9	222	15.8	44	2.2	6	2.2	6
4	69.4	188	23.2	63	3.0	8	4.4	12
5	59.1	169	33.6	96	2.8	8	4.5	13
6	40.4	113	51.4	144	4.3	12	3.9	11

perceived to be an "all knowing," "always fair" specialist who does "good things" for society. All public officials, including the policeman, are viewed from an absolute normative perspective--all are good, honest and worthy of trust. Children are well aware of the "bad" in society, and they fear it. Thus, law enforcement officials are perceived to be the courageous, ever loyal guardians of their safety.¹

In the current study, 91.4 per cent of the children sampled agreed with the statement, "the policeman does good things." However, the frequency of selecting the "strongly agree" response decreases as age increases, while less intense agreement increases with age. This fact is illustrated by Table 2-21. Whereas, 91.4 per cent of the children view the policeman as "doing good things," commitment to this view appears to be more realistic and less intense among older children.

As shown in Table 2-22, children of lower socio-economic status are slightly more idealistic in their perception of the policeman than are upper socio-economic children. Lower socio-economic children tend to "strongly agree" that the "policeman does good things" more often than do higher socio-economic children. This pattern is evident within all

¹Greenstein, op. cit., p. 939.

TABLE 2-21.--Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman does Good Things" by Grade
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	69.1	192	23.4	65	5.4	15	2.2	6
4	63.1	171	28.0	76	4.4	12	4.4	12
5	52.4	150	38.5	110	3.1	9	5.9	17
6	33.2	93	57.9	162	6.4	18	2.5	7

TABLE 2-22.--Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman does Good Things" by Grade and Occupation (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Strongly Agree						Agree					
	Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	67.7	21	72.3	112	63.6	56	25.8	8	20.0	13	29.5	26
4	71.8	51	62.7	74	58.3	42	23.9	17	28.0	33	34.7	25
5	60.7	37	47.4	64	54.7	41	26.2	16	43.0	58	44.0	33
6	40.5	15	33.3	48	30.4	28	35.1	13	59.7	86	63.0	55

grades. Higher socio-economic children select the less intense "agree" response more often than lower socio-economic children. This tendency is especially evident in grade six.¹ Blacks are slightly less idealistic in their perceptions of the policeman in grade three than are whites.² In subsequent grades, there is no significant difference.

Young children also perceive public officials as personifications of a perfect legal system. The system is fair and just and its officials are always honest guardians of the social welfare. The policeman, as a result of his association with "the law" and with the regime, acquires the aura of "rightness" that is so prevalent in the perceptions of young children.

As shown in Table 2-23, the majority of the sample agreed with the statement, "the policeman is more honest than most men." The intensity of adherence to this belief, however, decreases with age. The frequency of the "strongly agree" response to this item decreases from 61.4 per cent in grade three to 31.1 per cent in grade six.

¹Thirty-five and one-tenths per cent of low socio-economic children selected the agree response compared to 63.0 per cent of the high socio-economic children.

²In grade three blacks selected the "strongly agree" response less frequently (66.7 per cent) than whites (76.3 per cent).

TABLE 2-23.--Agreement with the Statement, "the Policeman is More Honest than Most Men"
by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	61.4	170	23.5	65	9.4	26	5.8	16
4	47.4	129	35.7	87	9.6	26	7.4	20
5	38.5	110	47.2	135	7.7	22	6.6	19
6	31.1	87	52.9	148	12.1	34	3.9	11

Table 2-24 indicates that students of low academic ability perceive the policeman to be more honest than higher academic students. Low academic students tend to agree more strongly that "the policeman is more honest than most men." High academic children tend to increase with age in their preference for the less intense "agree" response.¹

Lower socio-economic (occupation) children are slightly more likely to perceive the ideal of police honesty than are upper socio-economic children. In grade three 64.8 per cent of lower socio-economic children "strongly agree" that the "policeman is more honest" in contrast with 57.3 per cent of upper socio-economic children. In grade six the respective figures are 29.6 and 22.5 per cent. In grade four the deviation was much greater; the respective figures were 60.2 per cent and 25.7 per cent. Similar results were noted when using the family income as an indicator of socio-economic status.

Blacks tend to believe that the policeman is "more honest" than do whites in the early years. In grades three through five, blacks are more likely to "strongly agree" with this item than are whites. This initial difference, however, decreases with each subsequent grade. By the sixth

¹In grade five, 35.6 per cent of low academic children selected the "agree" response compared to 66.0 per cent of high academic children.

TABLE 2-24.--Strong Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman is More Honest than Most Men" by Academic Ability and Race by Grade
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Academic Ability						Race			
	Low		Medium		High		Blacks		Whites	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	80.7	46	63.0	80	46.7	42	82.2	60	52.8	104
4	62.7	42	44.1	45	41.1	39	54.1	53	44.2	72
5	43.9	36	40.9	36	32.2	37	42.4	36	36.6	71
6	33.3	20	33.6	40	25.8	25	30.8	20	31.1	55

grade blacks and whites respond similarly.¹ These results lend credence to Greenberg's hypothesis that blacks display an early positive attachment to the regime and to the policeman.

The law which is perceived as just and worthy, also provides a general framework of trust which encompasses its officials. Thus the policeman is perceived to be worthy of trust. In response to the question "which can I trust the most," 51.6 per cent of the current sample selected the minister, and 45.2 per cent selected the policeman. This finding suggests that the policeman is comparable to the minister as a source of trust. Trust in the policeman, however, decreases with age from a "most trusted" response frequency of 46 per cent in grade three to 34.1 per cent in grade six. This decrease seems attributable to the tendency of older students to select the policeman as the second "most trustworthy." The response rate for this less intense perception increases from 38.8 per cent in grade three to 55.2 per cent in grade six.

Table 2-25 demonstrates that children of low academic ability are slightly more trusting of the policeman than are higher academic children. Low academic children are more

¹The frequency for the less intense "agree" response is the same for both races in grade six.

TABLE 2-25.--Selection of the Policeman for the Statement "Which can I Trust the Most" by Grade and Academic Ability (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Academic Ability					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	57.1	32	40.9	52	45.6	41
4	59.7	40	40.8	42	50.5	48
5	53.8	43	43.7	38	40.9	47
6	38.3	23	37.3	44	27.8	27

likely to rank the policeman as the "most trustworthy" than are higher academic children. High academic children tend to select the less intense response, which ranks the policeman as the second "most trustworthy" authority figure.

There were no significant differences attributable to socio-economic status variables. Both races decreased in trust with age. Blacks, however, selected the two disagreement responses slightly more frequently than did whites.¹

As demonstrated by previous studies, most children tend to feel that the policeman is "good" and "does good things." Ninety-one and four-tenths per cent of our sample agreed with the statement, "the policeman does good things." Children of low socio-economic status and low academic ability tend to maintain this perception longer than others. The less realistic image of absolute honesty and trust is also more prevalent among the lower academic and status groups. Blacks believe that the policeman is honest, yet they are not as absolute in their attachment to this belief as are whites.

Thus, lower status and academic children, perhaps because of a cognitive lag, tend to be less sophisticated. This, in turn, necessitates their relying on a more absolute

¹Sixteen per cent of blacks selected the two disagreement responses compared to 9.0 per cent of whites.

model of police behavior. Only when maturation and learning proceed to a sufficient level can the child formulate a more realistic appraisal of the policeman.

The Absoluteness of Law

Hess and Torney reported in 1967 that young children perceive the law to be absolute and unchanging over time. They also argued that children perceive the law to have been made in the distal past with "permanence and tradition adding to its rightness."¹ They concluded that law is seen as infallible because it becomes a substitute for the father as the infallible judge. The child is presumed to seek stability in his world by attributing absolute virtue to the legal system. According to this view, children think that "all laws are fair" and that those who break the law are "always punished."²

Although absolute trust in law diminishes with age, it provides a point of reference for subsequent evaluations of the legal system. If the child later realizes that all laws are not just, he may still believe that they should be; if he experiences arbitrary enforcement of the law, he may still believe in the principal of fair administration of the laws. Thus, the absoluteness and fairness of law are

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 52.

²Ibid.

important features of the child's conception of the legal system.¹

As previously stated, Hess and Torney noted a rapid decline with age in agreement with the statement, "all laws are fair" and "most laws were made a long time ago." They also found that the views of high IQ and high socio-economic children were less rigid and less absolute than those of lower IQ and status children.²

As predicted by Hess and Torney, our data indicate an age-related decrease in the frequency of agreement to the statement, "most laws were made a long time ago." This decrease is shown in Table 2-26. Although the belief that "most laws were made a long time ago" was held by 58.5 per cent of the current sample, agreement with this statement was less frequent among older children. In grade six, 50.6 per cent of the sample disagreed with this statement. As shown in Table 2-27, children of low academic ability were more likely to believe that the "laws were made a long time ago" than were higher academic children. Within each level of academic ability agreement became less pronounced among older children; however, the greatest degree of consistency was manifest among the low academic group.³ This is consistent

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 140.

³When combining the two "disagree" responses, high academic sixth graders disagreed 63.5 per cent as compared to 41.6 per cent for the low academic group.

TABLE 2-26.--Agreement with the Statement "Most Laws were made a Long Time Ago" by Grade
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	35.3	98	30.6	85	18.3	51	15.8	44
4	27.7	75	37.6	102	18.8	51	15.9	43
5	24.5	70	29.4	84	27.6	79	18.5	53
6	15.1	42	34.1	95	36.6	102	14.0	40

TABLE 2-27.--Agreement with the Statement "Most Laws were made a Long Time Ago" by Race, Academic Ability and Occupation by Grade
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Race				Academic Ability						Occupation					
	Blacks		Whites		Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	76.7	56	63.1	125	69.0	40	66.8	81	66.7	60	61.1	55	77.8	56	62.1	69
4	75.5	74	59.9	97	78.8	52	70.6	62	48.4	46	74.1	83	67.0	55	45.7	32
5	77.7	66	43.8	85	61.0	50	61.3	54	42.6	49	69.9	65	59.6	56	31.9	50
6	61.5	40	44.3	78	58.4	35	54.6	65	36.5	35	53.5	38	49.1	56	45.5	40

with the results obtained by Hess and Torney, who found that low academic children tend to perceive the law as more rigid and absolute than do higher academic children.

Lower socio-economic children are more likely to feel that "law is old" than are higher status groups. Except in grade three, lower status children tend to agree with the statement, "most laws were made a long time ago" more often than higher status children. While this difference tends to decrease with age, it is still evident in grade six. Similar results were obtained when using income as an indicator of status.¹ Blacks are more likely than whites to believe that all laws are old. As demonstrated by Table 2-27, blacks are more likely to agree with the statement, "most laws were made a long time ago."

Hess and Torney also noted a decrease in idealism with age. They observed that 83 per cent of the second graders in their sample felt that "all laws were fair." In grade eight, however, this figure decreased to 54 per cent.²

As shown in Table 2-28, 51.3 per cent of our third graders agreed with the statement, "all laws are fair"; only 17.6 per cent of the sixth graders chose this response.

¹In grade six, 37.8 per cent of low status children disagreed with this item, in contrast to 60.5 per cent for the higher status group.

²Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 52.

TABLE 2-28.--Perception of the Fairness of Law by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Some Laws are Fair		Most Laws are Fair		All Laws are Fair	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	15.4	43	23.3	65	61.3	171
4	25.5	69	42.1	114	32.5	88
5	23.1	66	47.2	135	29.7	85
6	24.0	67	58.4	163	17.6	49

Older children tended to prefer the less intense statement, "most laws are fair" in contrast to the more absolute and rigid views of their younger counterparts. While these results agree with Hess and Torney's description of the decrease in absoluteness with age, the two studies demonstrate different rates of decrease. Such differences are probably attributable to sample or research design dissimilarities.

Hess and Torney also concluded that children of low academic ability tend to perceive the law in more absolute terms than do higher academic children. As shown in Table 2-29, low academic children in the current study tend to agree more often with the statement, "all laws are fair" than do higher academic children. Children of high academic ability tend to prefer the less absolute statement, "most laws are fair."¹ While all academic groups tend to decrease in absoluteness with age, lower academic children seem more idealistic and absolute in their perception of the law.

Children of lower socio-economic background tend to respond that "all laws are fair" more often than their upper

¹In grade six, 70.8 per cent of high academic students believe that "most laws are fair" in contrast to 41.7 per cent of their lower academic counterparts.

TABLE 2-29.--Selection of the Statement "All Laws are Fair" by Academic Ability and Occupation by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Academic Ability						Occupation					
	Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	69.5	41	63.0	80	54.4	49	69.2	63	54.2	39	58.6	65
4	40.9	27	35.3	36	24.2	23	37.5	42	31.7	26	25.7	18
5	40.2	33	29.5	26	22.6	26	44.1	41	26.6	25	19.1	18
6	18.3	11	20.2	24	11.5	11	12.5	9	21.4	24	14.6	13

status associates. In grade six, however, there are no differences attributable to status variables.¹

There is no significant difference between the response rates of blacks and whites to the statement, "all laws are fair." Blacks, however, tend to select the skeptical, "some laws are fair" response more often than whites. In grade six, 38.5 per cent of blacks chose this response as compared to 18.8 per cent of the whites. Sixty-one and nine-tenths per cent of the blacks in grade six preferred "most laws are fair" as compared to 44.6 per cent of the whites. Thus, blacks seem to be more skeptical of the law in the later grades. They do not, however, deviate from whites in their perceptions of the absoluteness of law.

As a result of their perceptions of legal absoluteness, children tend to feel that punishment is an inevitable consequence of wrongdoing; but this view declines with age. Hess and Torney reported that 57 per cent of their second grade sample believed that punishment inevitably follows crime. Older children, however, learn that punishment is not an inevitable consequence; and they generalize this conclusion to the entire legal system. Thus, in grade eight, Hess and Torney's sample demonstrated that only 16 per cent of

¹Similar results were obtained when using income as a status variable.

the children tested felt that punishment was an inevitable consequence of crime. They also noted that low academic students tended to stress this inevitability more than the higher groups.¹

In the current sample, a belief in the inevitability of punishment decreases with age. As shown in Table 2-30, children in later grades select the less absolute statement, "usually get caught." While the trend is similar to that detected by Hess and Torney, the degree of absoluteness attributed to law is not. Both studies used four response categories ranging from "always get caught" to "always get away." Thus the results should be comparable.

Children of low academic ability feel that lawbreakers are "always caught" more often than higher academic children. This tendency is shown in Table 2-31. While the belief in certainty of punishment decreases within all academic groups with age, high academic children are more likely to select the less absolute "usually get caught" response. As concluded by Hess and Torney, low academic children seem more absolute in their belief that lawbreakers are always punished.

Table 2-32 shows that low status children are more likely to believe that lawbreakers are punished than their

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 57.

TABLE 2-30.--Response to the Statement "Do People Who Break Laws . . ." by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Always Get Caught		Usually Get Caught	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	18.1	50	70.7	195
4	19.5	53	67.6	184
5	7.7	22	76.9	220
6	5.3	15	85.4	240

TABLE 2-31.--Response to the Statement "Do People Who Break Laws . . ." by Academic Ability and Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Always Get Caught						Usually Get Caught					
	Academic Ability											
	Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	21.1	12	18.3	23	14.4	13	57.9	33	72.2	91	78.9	71
4	31.3	21	12.7	13	16.8	16	50.7	34	71.6	73	76.8	73
5	12.2	10	10.2	9	2.6	3	59.8	49	76.1	67	89.6	103
6	9.8	6	5.0	6	3.1	3	77.0	47	84.9	101	90.7	88

TABLE 2-32.--Response to the Statement "Do People Who Break Laws . . ." by Occupation and Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Always Get Caught						Usually Get Caught					
	Occupation											
	Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	11.0	12	22.2	16	20.0	18	83.5	91	62.5	45	64.4	58
4	10.0	7	20.7	17	24.8	28	82.9	58	72.0	59	54.9	62
5	2.1	2	7.4	7	14.0	13	92.6	87	75.5	71	64.5	60
6	2.2	2	5.3	6	8.3	6	91.0	81	85.1	97	79.2	51

higher status counterparts. Belief in the certainty of punishment decreases with age, but higher status children tend to select the less certain "usually get caught" response more often than do lower status children. This conclusion is also in agreement with Hess and Torney's findings.¹

Blacks and whites demonstrate no significant difference in the rate of decline in their selection of the "always get caught" response category. Whites, however, tend to select the "usually get caught" category more often than blacks. In grade three 62.5 per cent of the blacks selected this response as compared to 74.1 per cent of the whites; in grade six the respective figures were 77.3 and 89.8 per cent. Blacks selected the combined "usually get away" and "always get away" responses more often than did their white counterparts, as shown in Table 2-33. Thus, blacks seem to believe that punishment for crime is less than certain. This finding could be a result of life in lower income, high crime areas.

Hess and Torney also reported that an important part of compliance for young children is the belief that the policeman has the ability to enforce the law. As previously demonstrated, young children believe that this coercive function is the major role of the policeman. Compliance is clearly

¹ Similar results were obtained when using income as an indication of socio-economic status.

TABLE 2-33.--Perception that "People Who Break Laws Usually/
Always Get Away" by Grade and Race (Entries are in
percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Race			
	Blacks		Whites	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	19.5	14	8.1	16
4	16.3	16	11.0	18
5	31.8	27	8.7	17
6	14.6	9	5.6	10

evident in the responses of young children to a statement such as, "If you think a policeman is wrong in what he tells you to do, what should you do?" Only 6.0 per cent of Hess and Torney's sample responded that they "would not do it." Noncompliance in a face to face encounter with a policeman is an untenable thought for a young child. While the degree of compliance may decrease with age, most children feel that "it is good to obey the law."¹

As demonstrated in Table 2-34, the absolutely compliant "do it" response tends to decrease in frequency with age. The "do it, but ask why" response tends to increase with age. As the child matures, his perception of the absoluteness of law tends to weaken. Older children tend to perceive the policeman in less absolute terms. They exhibit a tendency to doubt the correctness of his demands.

In grades five and six, low academic students are more likely to respond that they should "do it" than are higher academic children, as shown in Table 2-35. High academic children are more likely to "ask the policeman why" than are lower academic children.

In accordance with the findings of Hess and Torney, lower socio-economic (occupation) children tend to perceive

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 50.

TABLE 2-34.--Response to the Question "If You Think a Policeman is Wrong in What He Tells You to Do, What Should You Do" by Grade and Study
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Don't Do It		Do What He Tells You But Tell Father		Do What He Tells You But Ask Why		Do It	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Hess and Torney								
3	. .	. .	41.8	. .	27.8	. .	20.8	. .
4	. .	. .	38.7	. .	34.3	. .	17.0	. .
5	. .	. .	33.1	. .	37.9	. .	17.3	. .
6	. .	. .	24.9	. .	48.1	. .	15.4	. .
Current Study								
3	10.5	29	23.5	65	33.2	92	32.9	91
4	11.8	32	17.3	47	43.5	118	27.3	74
5	8.7	25	19.2	55	52.4	150	19.6	56
6	12.2	34	14.3	40	59.9	167	13.6	38

TABLE 2-35.--Selection of the "Ask Why" Response to the Question "If You Think a Policeman is Wrong in What He Tells You to Do, What Should You Do"
by Occupation and Academic Ability by Grade
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Low		Medium		High	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Occupation						
3	42.3	47	30.6	22	24.7	22
4	37.1	26	46.3	38	42.9	48
5	64.9	61	47.9	45	46.2	43
6	69.7	62	58.4	66	50.7	36
Academic Ability						
3	24.6	14	33.9	43	38.9	35
4	39.4	26	37.3	38	50.5	48
5	39.0	32	52.3	46	62.6	72
6	37.7	23	63.0	75	70.5	67

the law as being more absolute than do their higher status peers. This is reflected in Table 2-35.¹ In grade three 42.3 per cent of the higher status children selected the less absolute "ask why" response in contrast to 24.7 per cent of the lower status group. In grade six the percentages were 69.9 and 50.7 per cent respectively. Older black children tend to select the less absolute "ask why" response less frequently than their white peers. In grade five this response is chosen by 41.2 per cent of the blacks and by 56.7 per cent of the whites. In grade six the respective figures are 33.8 and 68.8 per cent. Children of lower socio-economic status, academic ability and blacks tend to develop a sophisticated appraisal of law less rapidly than their higher academic, status, white counterparts.

In concurrence with the conclusions of Hess and Torney, the current results indicate that as children mature they tend to perceive the law in less absolute terms. Compliance is evident even in the responses of older children, but this desire to obey is diluted by reason. Older children also begin to realize that law is not an infallible gift from the past but a flexible tool of society. Such a

¹Similar results were obtained when using income as an indicator of socio-economic status.

realization should not be construed as a weakening in the desire to obey the law but rather as a sophisticated appraisal of the true nature of law.

Deterrence

Subsequent to their 1967 study, Hess and Torney stated that a child's initial conception of a good citizen was largely that of a good person.¹ Such a role image contained elements of fairness, honesty, general goodness and a desire to obey the law. This image is thought to change over time, however, so that the accomplishment of civic duties (such as voting) replace the child's criteria of general goodness. Thus, in later years such activities as "voting" and "interest in public affairs" become the cornerstones of good citizenship.

This model of perceptual development does not imply a diminution in the strength of the belief that the good citizen obeys the law but rather a more sophisticated understanding of the legal system. The child is initially socialized into a system described by "general goodness," however, with maturation he becomes aware of the inherent shortcomings of law. Subsequent reevaluations allow reason to assume an equal status with law. The body of law retains its cloak of

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 36.

rightness and legitimacy, but individual laws can be questioned by reason. Thus, the child matures from the "goodness era" to a rational approach to law. Such a transition reflects not a weakening of motivation toward compliance, but a realization that law is man-made and fallible.

As expected, the current sample tended to decrease in its initial perception that a good citizen "always obeys the law." This decrease is shown in Table 2-36. As children mature, more tend to believe that a good citizen "usually obeys the law." Such a response indicates that one is relatively sophisticated in that conformity to law may be tempered by reason and judgment.

In contrast to Hess and Torney's conclusion that students of high academic ability tend to select the less absolute response, "usually obey the laws," the current sample demonstrated no significant differences among the three academic groups.¹ In grade three, high status children tend to select the "always obey the law" response more than the lower status groups, as shown in Table 2-37. In grades four, five and six, however, the low status group tends to select this response more frequently than the other two groups. In these grades high status children prefer the

¹In grade six, the difference between the two extreme groups was less than 1 per cent.

TABLE 2-36.--Response to the Statement "a Good Citizen . . ." by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Always Obeys the Law		Usually Obeys the Law		Obeys Only Good Laws		Never Obeys the Law	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	73.3	203	7.2	20	18.4	51	1.1	3
4	74.6	203	10.3	28	14.3	39	0.7	2
5	72.7	208	17.1	49	10.1	29	0.0	0
6	68.7	193	22.8	64	8.2	23	0.4	1

TABLE 2-37.--Response to the Statement "a Good Citizen . . ." by Grade and Occupation
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Always Obeys the Law						Usually Obeys the Law					
	Occupation											
	Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	65.9	60	70.8	51	81.7	89	7.7	7	8.3	6	6.4	7
4	73.5	83	78.0	64	72.9	51	6.2	7	12.2	10	15.7	11
5	73.1	68	73.4	69	73.4	69	11.8	11	14.9	14	23.4	22
6	70.8	51	70.2	80	62.9	56	19.4	14	21.1	14	29.2	26

less absolute response, "usually obeys the law."¹ Thus, higher status children repaidly realize that reason can dilute the absoluteness of law.

High socio-economic students tend to perceive the law as less rigid than lower status children. The compliance system is seen in less absolute terms, and the possibility that laws may be defective is recognized even though they must be obeyed. The law is thus perceived as a positive institution, but individual laws, as individuals, may be less than desirable.²

As explained in Chapter I, only when law is cloaked with legitimacy can it effectively deter socially unacceptable modes of behavior. Sanctions must be buttressed by the socialization process if law is to operate as an effective deterrent. In 1970 Tapp and Levine demonstrated that harsh punishment is not directly related to enforcement power. Their findings are notable in that they questioned the effectiveness of police sanctions in the absence of effective socialization.³ At the conclusion of their study, they reported that decreasing numbers of white children tended to

¹Similar results were obtained when using income as an indication of socio-economic status.

²Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 140.

³Tapp and Levine, op. cit., p. 578.

perceive the policeman as the "worst punisher" as age increased. Blacks, however, were found to increase in the frequency of this belief.¹

In the current sample, 41.4 per cent felt that the policeman was the "worst punisher." In contradiction to Tapp and Levine, this view tended to increase in frequency with age, as shown by Table 2-38. Whites were also found to deviate from previous findings, as the perception of the policeman as the "worst punisher" became more frequent as age increased. Blacks also demonstrated an increase, although in grade six they remained below the level of whites. These results are shown in Table 2-39.

The current sample also contradicts Tapp and Levine's conclusion that whites tend to regard the father as the "worst punisher" in later years.² In the current sample whites actually demonstrated a slight decrease in this perception, while blacks were stable with age except for a slight increase in grade five.

¹Ibid., p. 578. The author's discussion notes that in grade four, 81 per cent of whites perceived the policeman as the "worst punisher" in contrast to 41 per cent of blacks. These figures reversed in grade six, however, as 67 per cent of blacks and 30 per cent of whites held this view.

²Ibid.

TABLE 2-38.--Selection of the Policeman in Response to the Statement "Who is the Worst to be Punished by" by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	39.1	107	16.4	45	19.3	53	25.2	69
4	34.3	92	17.2	46	18.3	49	30.2	81
5	40.9	115	12.1	34	16.4	46	30.6	86
6	51.1	143	15.0	42	11.8	33	22.1	62

TABLE 2-39.--Response to the Question "Who is the Worst to be Punished by" by Race, Academic Ability and Occupation by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Policeman				Father			
	Race							
	Blacks		Whites		Blacks		Whites	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	26.8	19	43.4	85	39.7	39	31.8	63
4	36.5	35	32.1	52	40.2	39	37.8	62
5	40.0	32	41.2	80	48.1	38	25.3	49
6	38.8	26	52.3	92	40.3	27	28.7	50

TABLE 2-39--Continued

Grade	Academic Ability						Occupation					
	Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	35.7	20	38.9	49	42.7	38	42.2	46	34.7	25	37.5	33
4	21.5	14	34.3	35	42.6	40	42.9	30	32.1	26	29.7	33
5	38.5	30	39.1	34	43.5	50	47.9	45	37.0	34	37.8	34
6	48.3	29	52.5	63	52.1	50	67.0	59	45.6	52	41.7	30

Children of low academic ability demonstrated a very slight tendency to view police punishment as less severe than did higher academic students. High status children tended to perceive the policeman's punishment as more severe than did lower status children, as shown in Table 2-39.¹

The current study has demonstrated that as children mature they tend more frequently to perceive the policeman as the "worst punisher." The policeman seems to be feared least by those of lower academic ability and lower status. It is also interesting to note that whites increase in fear of the policeman while blacks decrease. Fear of the police among whites and higher status children could be the result of the effects of socialization, while the lower levels of fear among blacks and lower status groups might be the result of a legal program relying on sanctions without sufficient compliant socialization.

As a child matures and internalizes the correct norms of society, the mechanism of conscience becomes an increasingly important determinant of behavior. Following successful internalizations, sanctions should assume a secondary role in evoking compliant behavior. Only if deviant norms are internalized should sanctions be required as a

¹Similar results were obtained when income was used as an indicator of socio-economic status.

primary deterrent to unacceptable behavior. The ideal compliance milieu would seem to result from effective institutions of socialization combined with the occasional application of sanctions in instances when the former prove insufficient.

Children demonstrate that an interaction between socialization and sanctions exists in their responses to the statement, "I don't steal because" The majority of the sample stated that they don't steal because they "might feel bad and [they] might get caught," as shown in Table 2-40. This response is more frequent among older children and suggests that sanctions and conscience do interact. The pure "conscience" response "might feel bad" remains constant with age. The coercive response "might get caught" decreases with age, thereby suggesting that sanctions are decreasing in influence.

Children of low academic ability tended to choose the "get caught" response more frequently than did the high academic group, as shown in Table 2-41. The high academic group preferred the "might get caught" and the "feel bad" response more frequently than did the low academic group. Thus, low academic children seem slightly more receptive to punishment as a means of assuring compliant behavior; whereas,

TABLE 2-40.--Response to the Statement "I don't Steal Because . . ." by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Might Get Caught		Might Get Caught and Might Feel Bad		Might Feel Bad	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	32.6	91	15.4	43	52.0	245
4	29.4	79	19.7	53	50.9	137
5	23.6	67	16.5	47	59.9	170
6	17.9	50	14.7	41	67.4	188

TABLE 2-41.--Response to the Statement "I don't Steal Because . . ." by Academic Ability, Occupation and Race, by Grade (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Academic Ability					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
	Might Get Caught					
3	40.7	24	34.6	44	23.3	21
4	31.8	21	30.7	31	25.3	24
5	35.4	29	24.1	21	14.9	17
6	21.3	13	17.8	21	16.7	16
	Might Get Caught and Might Feel Bad					
3	42.4	25	54.3	69	55.6	50
4	47.0	31	45.5	46	58.9	56
5	54.9	45	55.2	48	66.7	76
6	62.3	38	68.6	81	67.7	65
	Might Feel Bad					
3	16.9	10	11.0	14	21.9	19
4	21.2	14	23.8	24	15.8	14
5	9.8	8	20.7	18	18.4	20
6	16.4	10	13.6	16	15.6	15

TABLE 2-41--Continued

Grade	Occupation					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Might Get Caught						
3	38.5	35	33.3	24	24.3	27
4	31.0	35	29.6	24	23.5	16
5	33.3	31	24.5	23	13.0	12
6	16.9	12	16.9	19	20.2	18
Might Get Caught and Might Feel Bad						
3	17.6	16	12.5	9	16.2	18
4	23.0	26	19.8	16	16.2	11
5	16.1	15	12.8	12	21.7	20
6	12.7	9	12.4	14	19.1	17
Might Feel Bad						
3	17.6	16	12.5	9	16.2	18
4	23.0	26	19.8	16	16.2	11
5	16.1	15	12.8	12	21.7	21
6	12.7	9	12.4	14	19.1	19

TABLE 2-41--Continued

Grade	Might Get Caught				Might Feel Bad and Might Get Caught				Might Feel Bad			
	Race											
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	37.0	27	30.7	61	52.1	38	52.3	104	11.0	8	17.1	34
4	33.0	32	26.4	43	48.5	47	52.8	86	18.6	18	20.9	34
5	39.3	33	17.1	33	50.0	42	64.2	124	10.7	9	18.7	36
6	21.9	14	13.6	24	59.4	38	72.3	128	18.8	12	14.1	25

conscience appears to play a greater role among those with higher academic ability.

Low socio-economic status children tend to choose the "get caught" response more often than the higher status children except in grade six. There is no difference, however, between their response rates for the "get caught" and "feel bad" response. As shown in Table 2-41, blacks are slightly more likely to respond "get caught" than are whites. In grades five and six, whites are more likely to state that they don't steal because they "might feel bad" and they "might get caught."

Children of low socio-economic status and academic ability seem to lag in the cognitive internalization of the norms of society. They appear to perceive law from a less sophisticated prospective. This group appears to rely more heavily upon sanctions than upon socialization.

Conclusion

The above discussion has accomplished the three main functions initially stated in this chapter. The first function was to provide additional detail and discussion with respect to the findings of contemporary socialization theorists. The second function was the comparison of the findings of contemporary studies with those obtained in the

current study. The discussion provided noted the resultant areas of similarity and dissimilarity. The final function, that of providing the groundwork for the subsequent discussion of the effect of area upon the socialization process has also been accomplished.

In summary, it appears that the current results validate the findings of contemporary theorists. The few discrepancies noted in the text can be attributed to sample or design differences. Therefore, it is concluded that individual characteristics such as academic ability, race and socio-economic status influence the socialization process and the resultant attitudes of the individual.

Additional discussion will be provided in the concluding chapter of this study. It is felt that these concluding comments will be most meaningful when presented in conjunction with the conclusion of the subsequent section examining the effect of the area variable upon the socialization process.

CHAPTER III

THE EFFECT OF AREA UPON LEGAL SOCIALIZATION

In this chapter data pertinent to our major hypothesis--that young children differ in their attitudes toward the law and police by demographic area--will be examined.¹ Area denotes more than mere geographical boundaries; it is a summery indicator of the economic, cultural, and political factors that are common to a group of people who live in relative proximity to one another. Although the three areas examined in this study are contained within the administrative framework of a single state, each represents a unique subcultural milieu. While the same nominal instruments of socialization operate in each of the subcultures, it is expected that their effects will differ. This expectation follows from the belief that cultural context has a mediating effect on the linkage between the institutions and the objects of socialization.

¹The evaluation of this hypothesis requires the acceptance of two major assumptions: (1) That the three areas selected do, in fact, constitute not only political entities, but also discrete cultures and (2) that the attitudes of the respective children are dependent upon unique cultural attitudes and beliefs.

The Internalization of Norms

As explained in the previous chapter, the internalization of norms is the socialization process whereby the child learns and adopts the norms and beliefs of the community. Its special importance to this study accrues from its utilization as an index of the success of the socialization process. In this section the items judged to be representative of this process will be examined within the area context. Analysis of responses by area allows an appraisal of the relative rate of socialization evident in each area.¹

As shown in Table 3-1, children from Area III, the suburban environment, were more likely to know the name of our nation than were children from Areas I and II--the rural and urban milieus respectively. Suburban children thus seem to internalize the name of the nation more rapidly than their urban and rural peers.

Children from Area III also tend to know the name of the president slightly more often than children from Areas I and II. Children from Area I tend to be correct slightly more often than those from Area II, within grades three, four and five. In grade six, however, Areas II and III achieved

¹This examination will rely upon the primary control of the area variable, rather than multiple controls, as such a schema avoids the obvious methodological pitfall of basing conclusions on tables with unsatisfactory individual cell frequencies.

TABLE 3-1.--Correct Internalization of the Names of the Nation and the President by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Nation						President					
	Area I		Area II		Area III		Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	50.0	39	48.5	47	65.4	68	96.2	75	94.8	92	98.1	102
4	64.5	40	54.6	59	47.0	47	96.8	60	94.6	105	97.0	97
5	69.2	54	58.7	61	85.7	90	100.0	78	96.2	100	99.0	104
6	75.0	57	77.8	84	99.0	97	97.4	74	100.0	108	100.0	98

the one hundredth percentile, while the children of Area I demonstrated a correct frequency of 97.4 per cent.¹ The results seem to indicate that children from Area III might exhibit a very slight advantage in their grasp of the president's name. It must be noted, however, that the data show such slight deviations that definite conclusions are impossible.

The third measure of internalization is the item which asks, "Who makes the laws?" Two responses will be considered in our evaluation of this item. The response that the "government" makes the laws is a correct reply, however, it indicates a lesser understanding of the process of law. The second response that the "people" make the law is correct in a more abstract sense. Such a response requires that the child not only know that government makes the laws, but also that elected officials are ultimately responsible to the people. This second reply was considered to indicate a higher order of sophistication.

As shown in Table 3-2, children from Area III tend to feel that the "people" make the laws more often than children from the other two areas. Children from Area II

¹When examining these deviations, care should be exercised in forming conclusions, as the differences reported are very slight.

TABLE 3-2.--Response to the Question "Who Makes the Laws," by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	People						Government					
	Area I		Area II		Area III		Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	3.8	3	3.1	3	2.9	3	87.2	68	87.5	84	91.3	95
4	8.1	5	5.4	6	18.0	18	85.5	53	83.8	93	77.0	77
5	6.4	5	11.5	12	17.1	18	91.0	71	86.5	90	81.9	86
6	11.8	9	16.8	18	41.8	41	84.2	64	79.4	85	57.1	56

tend to demonstrate a very slight advantage in grades five and six over their peers in Area I. The frequency of "the people" response tends to increase within all areas with age. A significant increase is especially notable for Area III in grade six. Selection of the "government" decreases with age. These results tend to indicate that the suburban children select the more sophisticated "people" response more often than their peers. Rural children seem to prefer this response the least of all the groups. Instead they choose the rote "government" response. The results of this analysis tend to suggest that suburban children tend to internalize the norms of society more rapidly than do their peers from urban and rural environments. This result is probably attributable to the higher education and socio-economic status of the parents along with intensive media exposure. Adults from such an environment are usually more interested in public affairs and are more likely to discuss such topics in the presence of their children. It is also probable that these environmental attributes are partially responsible for the rapid increase in sophistication evident in this group. Exposure to political commentary tends to develop sophistication to law much more rapidly than is possible by individual experience. While these results should not be construed as conclusive, they do suggest that the subcultural milieu does

influence the internalization of norms and consequently the internalization of attitudes toward the law and the police.

The Affective

The affective aspect of socialization, as described in the previous chapter, concerns the early attachment of children to the nation.¹ Such an attachment encompasses the regime, its laws and its authorities. In this section the items judged to be representative of affection toward the regime will be examined within the context of area. Analysis of these results will allow a comparative examination of the extensiveness of affection for the regime and its authorities.

As shown in Table 3-3, children from Area I tend to be more affective toward the regime and its laws than are children from Areas II and III. This attitude was measured by the statement, "The United States has good laws"; four possible response categories ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" were used. In grade six children from the rural Area I tended to "strongly agree" to this statement more frequently than did sixth graders from Areas II and III.² Children in grade six from Area III chose the "strongly agree"

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 40.

²When the "strongly agree" and "agree" responses are combined in grade six, all three areas demonstrate identical frequencies of positive responses.

TABLE 3-3.--Agreement with the Statement "the United States has Good Laws" by Grade and Area
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Strongly Agree						Agree					
	Area I		Area II		Area III		Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	66.2	51	59.4	57	69.2	72	23.4	18	34.4	33	26.0	27
4	38.7	24	46.8	52	44.4	44	46.8	29	36.0	40	39.4	39
5	35.9	28	38.2	39	40.4	42	52.6	41	43.1	44	54.8	57
6	35.5	27	21.0	22	11.2	4	53.9	41	65.7	69	75.5	74

response less frequently than did their peers. However, they selected the less intense "agree" response more frequently.

These results indicate that although a strong positive attachment to the law remains evident with increases in age, the intensity of this attachment tends to decrease. Suburban children, in spite of the strongest initial attachment in grade three, tend to decrease more rapidly than their peers in the intensity of their affection. While such a result suggests that these children are becoming disaffected with the regime, it should be noted that 88.2 per cent of the total sample agreed that the "United States has good laws."

In view of the conclusions reached in the preceding section--namely that suburban children acquire a sophisticated perception of law earlier than their peers--it seems plausible that this rapid decrease in the suburbs is attributable to an increase in sophistication rather than to a true disaffection with the law and the regime.¹ This hypothesis seems logical in view of the small number of responses indicating disaffection and the previously demonstrated sophistication of the suburban sample.²

¹An additional explanation of this decrease could be the tendency of sophisticated individuals to avoid "extreme" responses, preferring instead to moderate their replies.

²A small minority of children from each area demonstrated disaffection toward the law and the regime. The average rate of disaffection across the three areas was only 10 per cent.

As shown in Table 3-4, urban children in grades three and four tended to be more affective toward the policeman than children of similar age from the other two areas. Children from Area II tended to "strongly agree" that the "policeman is my friend" more often than their peers. This tendency decreased in grades five and six. Among fifth and sixth grade children, those in Area I chose the most affective response toward the policeman. Those in Area II were the next most affective, while Area III children demonstrated the least attachment for the policeman within these age groups. Suburban respondents in Area III tended to "agree" with this statement more often than did those in the other two areas. Area II children were the second most frequent selectors of this less intense response, and those in Area I chose it least frequently.

These results indicate that urban children tend to demonstrate a strong initial attachment to the regime followed by a rapid decrease in grades five and six. Suburban children tend to demonstrate a strong initial attachment followed by a rapid decrease in grade six. Rural children demonstrated a weaker initial attachment, but their subsequent rate of decrease was the slowest of the three. These results seem best explained by the different roles of the policeman in each area. In suburban and urban areas the policeman is a

TABLE 3-4.--Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman is my Friend" by Grade and Area
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Strongly Agree						Agree					
	Area I		Area II		Area III		Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	71.8	56	84.5	82	81.6	84	19.2	15	13.4	13	15.5	16
4	69.4	43	71.8	79	66.7	66	21.0	13	22.7	25	25.3	25
5	64.1	50	51.5	53	62.9	66	29.5	23	36.9	38	33.3	35
6	50.0	38	40.6	43	32.7	39	40.8	31	51.9	55	59.2	58

high profile enforcer of the law. He is a nameless authority that is perceived only as a punisher. In rural areas the policeman is well known and is often observed in informal roles. The rural child thus tends to perceive the policeman as a friend. In the early grades this familiarity causes a more accurate appraisal of the policeman as a man performing a job rather than as a personification of the law. Thus, rural children tend to have a more realistic perception of the policeman in the early grades.

Urban and suburban children, however, tend to perceive the policeman only in formal roles. They attribute to him superhuman infallibility as a result of his linkage with the law. Moreover, they think of him as a friend, because the ideal policeman should be friendly. As sophistication increases, however, this image becomes weaker, and we observe increasing proportions of students selecting the less intense "agree" response. Suburban children of a given age are slightly more sophisticated than their urban counterparts. This accounts for the slight differences in their rates of decrease in affection.

In conclusion, these results seem to indicate that suburban children are more sophisticated in their perception of law, while rural children are more sophisticated in their perception of the policeman. Each area, in spite of its

initial perceptions tends to demonstrate an increased sophistication with age. The resultant decrease in the positive orientation to the law and to the police should not be construed as disaffection. Rather it is affection tempered by a knowledge of reality. This modification of perception allows the child to retain his affection for the law and the police even when he realizes that they are both imperfect.

Benevolence

As demonstrated previously, young children tend to attribute benevolent qualities both to authority figures and to the legal system. Such a predisposition serves as a basis of positive regard which justifies and encourages compliance.¹ In this section each of the items judged to be representative of benevolence will be examined within the context of area. Results of these individual examinations will be compared in order to allow a relative evaluation of the benevolence perceived by the children of each area.

As shown in Table 3-5, suburban children tend to perceive the policeman as being more benevolent than urban and rural children do. When asked, "Who is most likely to help me if I need it"; suburban children replied that the policeman

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 50.

TABLE 3-5.--Selection of the Policeman as the Person "Who would Always Help Me if I Needed it" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	61.0	47	45.8	44	65.4	68
4	62.9	39	63.3	69	79.0	79
5	57.7	45	65.3	66	78.8	82
6	69.7	53	73.1	76	84.5	82

was "most likely to help" more frequently than urban and rural children. Rural children were the least likely to feel that the policeman would help them in time of need.¹ Although children in these three areas more frequently attribute benevolence to the policeman as they grow older, those in Area I demonstrate the weakest trend in this direction.

While these results indicate that suburban children tend to perceive the policeman in the most benevolent terms, it is interesting to note that rural children tend to respond approximately the same regardless of age. The tendency of suburban children to perceive the policeman as most helpful could be a result of the middle class values of their parents. Urban children, while initially skeptical of the policeman, tend gradually to increase their perception of police benevolence. Rural children seem to attribute less benevolence to the policeman.

Similar results were obtained when children were asked, "Which is the most important for the policeman to do?" Responses to this item are shown in Table 3-6. Except in grade three children from Area III were less likely to

¹Even though rural children were the least likely to perceive the policeman as helping, 62.8 per cent of this area sample felt that the policeman was "most likely to help."

TABLE 3-6.--Response to the Question "Which is the Most Important for the Policeman to do"
by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Help People						Catch People					
	Area I		Area II		Area III		Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	19.5	15	8.2	8	21.2	22	50.0	39	73.2	71	54.8	50
4	19.4	12	28.8	32	29.3	29	54.8	34	53.2	59	39.4	39
5	24.4	19	36.9	38	38.1	40	47.4	37	43.7	45	27.6	29
6	22.4	17	30.6	33	35.7	35	43.4	33	46.3	50	37.8	37

perceive the policeman's job as "catching people who break the law," than were children from Areas I and II. The coercive view of the policeman was particularly noticeable in urban third graders. Suburban children tended to perceive the policeman's function as "helping people" more frequently than did children from the other two areas. Children from Area I were least likely to feel that the policeman's most important function was "helping people." Responses to this item indicate that suburban children tend to perceive the policeman in more benevolent terms than do children from urban and rural areas. Children from rural areas, however, tend to attribute a more coercive function to the policeman. This coercive perception is probably the result of a lower interaction rate and less political sophistication. As previously demonstrated, suburban children seem to be more sophisticated than other children in their perception of the law and police. Therefore, they acquire the sophisticated "helping" perception more rapidly than the other groups.

As shown in Table 3-7, children from Area III tend to feel that the major function of law is "to keep us safe." Children from Areas I and II are less likely to demonstrate this perception of the major function of law.¹ Children from

¹In grades three, four and five, urban children were more likely to perceive that laws were conceived "to keep us safe" than children from the rural area. In grade six,

TABLE 3-7.--Response to the Question "Why do We have Laws" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Keep Us Safe						Prevent Bad Things					
	Area I		Area II		Area III		Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	51.3	40	59.8	58	57.8	59	38.5	30	32.0	31	31.4	32
4	38.7	24	55.0	61	61.6	61	45.2	28	36.0	40	24.2	24
5	49.4	38	56.3	58	62.9	66	26.0	20	30.1	31	24.8	26
6	63.2	48	42.1	45	71.4	70	21.1	16	34.6	37	11.2	11

Area I tend to feel that the major function of law is to "keep people from doing bad things," whereas, those from Area III were least likely to agree with this perception of law.

These results tend to indicate that suburban children perceive law to be a general protector of the community. Its role is to provide for the "good" of the community and to guard against a vague abstraction of evil. Children in the urban sample, however, while also perceiving law as a general protector, demonstrate a greater sensitivity to specific dangers. Thus, the urban sample fears overt acts by individuals while the suburban sample fears an undefined threat.

In conclusion, suburban children seem to be more sophisticated in their perception of the policeman than the urban and rural groups. Children from rural areas seemed to be the least sophisticated. This perceptual lag is probably attributable to less parental discussion of legal issues and to less exposure to mass media. Thus, these children tend to perceive the policeman in less sophisticated coercive terms.

Suburban children tend to feel that the law is designed "to keep us safe" while urban children tend to feel

however, this tendency reversed; rural children tended to select this response more often than children from the urban sample.

that it "keeps people from doing bad things." The conceptualization of evil by the urban sample suggests that criminal acts are familiar occurrences, while the responses of the suburban sample indicates an undefined fear. Such attitudes are probably consistent with their milieus, for low socioeconomic status urban areas tend to experience higher crime rates. Thus, urban children fear overt acts because they have immediate personal knowledge of crime.

Normative

Young children, as previously stated, tend to perceive the regime in benevolent normative terms. Children tend to perceive authority figures from an absolute, normative perspective--all officials are honest and trustworthy because they should be. In this section the items judged to be representative of these normative perceptions will be examined while controlling for area. Comparison of these results will facilitate analysis of the normative dimension of legal socialization.

As shown in Table 3-8, in grade three, rural children were the least absolute in their perception of police honesty; this attitude was measured by responses to the statement "the policeman is more honest than most men."¹ In grade six,

¹Urban children in grade three were more likely to attribute the virtue of honesty to the policeman than their suburban and rural peers.

TABLE 3-8.--Agreement with the Statement "the Policeman is More Honest than Most Men" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Strongly Agree						Agree					
	Area I		Area II		Area III		Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	50.0	39	74.0	71	58.3	60	30.8	24	16.7	16	24.3	25
4	48.4	30	50.5	56	43.4	43	37.1	33	27.9	31	43.4	43
5	39.7	31	41.7	43	34.3	36	41.0	32	43.7	45	55.2	58
6	38.2	29	32.1	34	24.5	24	53.9	41	48.1	51	57.1	56

however, children from Area III were the least likely to "strongly agree" with this statement.

As in the case of the previous item, rural children seem initially to have a more sophisticated view of the police. In later grades, however, suburban children demonstrate an increased sophistication which results in a less idealistic view of the policeman.

Children from Area III tend to trust the policeman more than do children from the other two areas. When asked "Who can I trust the most," children from Area III chose the policeman more often than children from the urban and rural areas; as shown in Table 3-9. In grade six, however, children from all three areas demonstrated similar response patterns.¹

The early trust demonstrated by the suburban children is probably attributable to the influence of the middle class values held by their parents. While these children are in grades three through five, they accept the normative idealization of the policeman as an accurate portrayal. As their sophistication increases, however, this perception is replaced by attitudes more consistent with reality.

A review of these findings suggests that the normative perceptions of young children are too complex to be

¹The policeman was judged to be the "most trustworthy" slightly less frequently by rural students in grade six.

TABLE 3-9.--Selection of the Policeman in Response to the Question "Which can I Trust the Most" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	42.9	33	31.3	30	62.1	64
4	38.7	24	48.2	53	56.0	56
5	39.7	31	38.6	39	56.7	59
6	27.6	21	36.8	39	36.1	35

simply explained in terms of increased sophistication. The early sophistication of rural children seems to indicate that they, as a group, are less likely to demonstrate an idealistic perception of the policeman. This could be the result of weaker socialization or of the role of the policeman in rural societies. Whatever the cause, the rural child experiences relatively little change in his normative view of the policeman as he grows older.

Such a conclusion suggests that socialization efforts which create the ideal stereotype policeman in the minds of young children may, in fact, have a negative effect on future attitudes toward the policeman. The suburban child who is particularly susceptible to this ideal stereotype, tends to be the least idealistic in his perception of the policeman by the time he reaches the sixth grade. The rejection of the initial image of the "ideal" policeman may result in an over zealous pursuit of reality and a cynical attitude toward the police.

The Absoluteness of Law

Young children believe that any law demands absolute compliance. As they mature, however, the imperative to comply becomes contingent on mitigating factors. Many who initially believe that law is absolute and constant come to

believe that law can be changed and even challenged by reason. In this section the responses to items judged to be representative of the absoluteness of law will be examined by area. Comparison of area response frequencies will provide a basis for evaluating subcultural differences in legal socialization.

In grade three, children in Area III are more likely to feel that "people that don't obey the laws are bad" than are children from Areas I and II, as shown in Table 3-10. By grade six, however, Area III children are the least likely to select this response. Instead, they prefer the less intense, "people that don't obey the laws are good and bad." In the latter age group, children from Area II manifest the most absolute view of law.

These results indicate that while suburban children demonstrate an initial preference for an absolute view of law, this view rapidly loses popularity as the children mature. In grade six the suburban group demonstrates the least absolute view of law, and the urban group tends to be the most absolute.

As shown in Table 3-11, children in grade three from Area III are more likely to feel that "all laws are fair" than are children of the same age from Areas I and II. In grades five and six, however, children from Area III are the

TABLE 3-10.--Response to the Statement "People that don't Obey the Laws are . . ." by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Bad						Good and Bad					
	Area I		Area II		Area III		Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	84.6	66	87.6	85	94.2	98	11.5	9	10.3	10	3.8	4
4	79.0	49	88.2	97	72.7	72	17.7	11	7.3	8	25.3	25
5	67.9	53	70.9	73	67.6	71	29.5	23	28.2	29	31.4	33
6	64.5	49	79.2	84	46.9	46	35.5	23	20.8	22	52.0	51

TABLE 3-11.--Selection of the Statement that "All/Most Laws are Fair" by Grade and Area
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	All						Most					
	Area I		Area II		Area III		Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency	Per-centage	Fre-quency
3	57.7	45	58.8	59	66.3	69	25.6	20	20.6	20	24.0	25
4	32.3	20	30.9	34	34.3	34	40.3	25	36.4	40	49.5	49
5	37.2	29	36.9	38	17.1	18	41.0	32	32.0	33	66.7	70
6	28.0	21	15.1	16	12.2	12	53.3	40	52.8	56	68.4	67

least likely to choose this response. They are the most likely to choose the less intense "most laws are fair." Children from Area I tend to have the most absolute view of law among the older respondents.

Suburban children manifest a sharp decline in the frequency in which they ascribe absoluteness to laws as they grow older. By the time they reach the fifth grade most of them perceive that law is flexible and that imperfect laws do exist. Compliance is viewed as necessary, but law is no longer seen as a perfect legacy from the past.

In the current study, the children were asked "if you think a policeman is wrong in what he tells you to do, what should you do?" Responses to this item are shown in Table 3-12. Only 10.8 per cent of the total sample replied that they would not "do it."¹ In grades three, four and five, children from all three areas were comparable in the frequency with which they selected the absolutely compliant "do it" category. By grade six, however, children from Area III were the least likely to feel that they should "do it." While those in Areas I and II also decreases in the frequency of this response, their rate of decline was less

¹This noncompliant response was chosen by 12.7 per cent of the rural sample, 11.8 per cent of the urban sample and 8.4 per cent of the suburban sample.

TABLE 3-12.--Response to the Question "If You Think a Policeman is Wrong in What He Tells You To Do, What Should You Do" by Grade and Area
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Do It						
3	34.6	27	28.1	27	35.4	37
4	24.2	15	24.5	27	32.3	32
5	19.2	15	16.5	17	22.9	24
6	14.9	11	18.7	20	7.1	7
Ask Why						
3	29.5	23	34.4	33	35.0	36
4	38.7	24	45.5	50	44.4	44
5	47.4	37	43.7	45	64.8	68
6	70.3	52	47.7	51	65.3	64
Tell Father						
3	20.5	16	29.2	28	20.4	21
4	22.6	14	19.1	21	12.1	12
5	21.8	17	26.2	27	10.5	11
6	5.8	4	19.6	21	15.3	15

than that of Area III respondents. Among sixth graders, children from Area II were most likely to feel that they should absolutely obey the policeman.

In grades five and six, children from Areas I and III were more likely to question a policeman's command than were children from Area II. Those from Areas I and III were more likely to reply that they should "do what he tells you, but ask the policeman why," than were children from Area II.

These results indicate that urban children tend to hold the most absolute view of law. They tend to perceive the law as requiring absolute compliance; anyone not absolutely obeying the law is "bad." Urban children also feel that a policeman's command demands complete compliance even when they feel that the policeman is wrong.

Suburban children tend to view the law and the police in the least absolute terms. Although they display an initial tendency toward absoluteness, this tendency rapidly decreases until suburban children are the least absolute of all. Thus, suburban children demonstrate increasing sophistication which results in the precise differentiations needed for a rational compliance to law.

Deterrence

As children mature and internalize the norms of society, they tend to rely more upon their conscience as a guide to behavior and less upon sanctions. While sanctions decrease in relative importance during this process, they still interact with conscience to produce compliant behavior. In this section the items judged to be representative of this interaction will be examined within each area and comparisons across areas will be made.

As shown in Table 3-13, children from Area III tend to feel that the "policeman is the worst punisher" more frequently than do children from Areas I and II. Children from Area I are least likely to perceive the policeman as the "worst punisher." The difference between respondents in Areas I and III is particularly pronounced in grades five and six. Moreover, by grade five children in Area II appear to believe that punishment by the police is relatively severe. The rate at which they select the policeman as the worst punisher approaches that of Area III children in the later grades.

These findings seem to indicate that urban and suburban children tend to perceive the policeman as occupying a punitive role in society. Such a view seems consistent with the actual role of the policeman in urban and suburban

TABLE 3-13.--Selection of the Policeman in Response to the Question "Who is the Worst to be Punished by" by Grade and Area (Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
3	32.4	26	33.3	32	48.0	49
4	21.3	13	37.4	40	39.0	39
5	12.8	10	43.4	43	59.6	62
6	32.9	25	55.7	59	60.2	59

subcultures. In suburban areas which are intent on preserving the status quo, the policeman is perceived as an impersonal barrier to the "wrong types" of people and as a protector against disorder. In the urban area, on the other hand, he is often perceived to be the guardian of an unequal distribution of resources and a punisher of those who adhere to the mores of the street culture. Middle class urban residents, like their suburban counterparts, portray the policeman as a "punisher of bad people," thereby, presenting a punitive image of the policeman to their children.

In rural areas, however, the policeman is widely known because of his local residence and his participation in unofficial activities. The familiarity that results tends to dilute the punitive aspect of his image. The rural policeman is perceived to be a member of the community as well as its protector.

When asked, "why they don't steal," children from Area I are slightly less likely to be deterred by sanctions than are children from Areas II and III, as shown in Table 3-14. Rural children tend to select the "I might get caught" response less frequently than their urban and suburban peers. They also tend to select the "I might feel bad" response less frequently than do children in the other areas.

TABLE 3-14.--Response to the Statement "I Don't Steal Because . . ." by Grade and Area
(Entries are in percentages and raw frequencies)

Grade	Area I		Area II		Area III	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Get Caught						
3	34.6	27	34.0	33	29.8	31
4	25.8	16	30.6	33	30.3	30
5	16.9	13	29.4	30	22.9	24
6	11.8	9	21.0	22	19.4	19
Feel Bad						
3	16.7	13	12.4	12	17.3	18
4	11.3	7	23.1	25	21.2	21
5	13.0	10	13.7	14	21.9	23
6	10.5	8	17.1	18	15.3	15
Get Caught and Feel Bad						
3	48.7	36	53.6	52	52.9	55
4	62.9	39	46.3	50	48.5	48
5	70.1	54	56.9	58	55.2	58
6	77.6	59	61.9	65	65.3	64

The response which was preferred in all three areas was the combined statement that "I don't steal because I might get caught and I might feel bad." Children from Area I tended to select this response more frequently than those in Areas II and III. Agreement with the combined statement suggests that both conscience and sanctions play important roles in checking deviant behavior even among third graders. It is interesting to note that this motivational balance is most frequently observed among the rural children in the present study.

Conclusion

Based upon the preceding discussion, it appears that the area variable does influence the socialization process as initially hypothesized. This relationship, however, requires additional discussion as the current data indicate that other variables are also influencing the socialization process. The concluding chapter will discuss the relative influence of these independent variables with respect to their effect upon the socialization process.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

This study was designed to accomplish two main objectives: (1) to compare the findings of previous socialization studies with those of the current study and (2) to determine whether Virginia elementary school children differ in their attitudes toward the law and police as a function of area.

The initial objective was accomplished in the first two chapters, which contained summaries of the conclusions of previous studies and compared them with the findings of the current study. As previously demonstrated, this comparison confirmed and reinforced most of the major conclusions of prior studies.

Attention was directed to meeting the second objective in Chapter III. In the course of analyzing socialization patterns by area it became obvious that, while subcultural differences were detected, demography alone could not account for all of the observed variation in children's attitudes toward the law and police. Our findings

seemed to indicate that an initially unidentified factor was the major determinant of these attitudes and that that factor varied systematically but imperfectly with demographic area. The factor in question was called "sophistication." It is best defined in terms of the cognitive maturation which allows a child to internalize the norms of society. Age is the most obvious correlate of sophistication; however, other individual characteristics also affect the rate at which sophistication develops.¹ Thus, if a child's attitudes could be dissected at any moment of time, one would find an aggregation of individual attributes such as academic ability, adult and peer attitudes and a panorama of individual experience. These facets are interwoven into the individual attitudes and overall belief structures of the child.

In the subsequent discussion we will mainly be concerned with the individual attributes and their effect upon attitudes concerning the law and police. For the purpose of such an analysis, we shall treat the attitudes of adults and peers as subsets of the individuals personal attributes.

In this chapter we will more closely examine the manner in which various indicators of sophistication appear

¹While age is a key determinant, other attributes such as socio-economic status, academic ability, race and environment are important influences upon the rate of sophistication.

to affect the quality of legal socialization within each of our three demographic areas.

The Internalization of Norms

In the current study, socialization was initially measured by the degree of internalization of important factual information and concepts regarding the regime and its laws. Students were asked to identify the name of the country and the name of the president. The results obtained demonstrated that the socio-economic status of the child was an important determinant of internalization. Children of high status were far more likely to know the name of the country than their peers of lower status. It was noted that high status third graders were correct more often than low status sixth graders.¹ Children of lower academic ability were also less likely to correctly name the nation than their higher academic peers. Children of lower academic ability were also less likely to know the name of the president. Race also seemed to influence the rate of internalization; whites seemed to internalize the name of the nation more rapidly within grade than did blacks.²

¹Socio-economic status seemed to have no significant effect upon the internalization of the president's name.

²Race seemed to have no significant effect upon the internalization of the name of the president.

Such results seem to substantiate the findings of Greenberg which demonstrate that blacks, and those of lower status and academic ability tend to display a cognitive lag in the internalization of such information in grades three through six.¹ This lag causes these groups to internalize the norms of society at a slower rate.²

These groups seem to lag not only in the internalization of these names, but also in attaining an advanced understanding of the law and the police. When asked, "Who makes the laws," blacks, lower status children, and those with low academic ability tended to select the less sophisticated response. Suburban children again tended to lead their peers in choosing the more sophisticated response. Urban children demonstrated a slightly higher level of sophistication than did those from the rural area.

While all groups appear to increase in their internalization and sophistication with age, individual attributes seem to have a major influence on individual rates of

¹Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 477.

²Suburban children, who tended to be white and who tended to have relatively higher socio-economic status and academic ability were more likely to know the name of the country and that of the president than were their urban and rural peers.

development. The cognitive lag demonstrated by the blacks and those of lower status and academic ability also seems to influence their rates of sophistication. Children from the suburbs, who account for a disproportionate percentage of the white, high status, high academic students, tend to internalize the norms and attitudes of society more rapidly than their urban and rural peers. These findings suggest the conclusion that the individual attributes of the child are primarily responsible for the rate of internalization and that those attributes which are conducive to the development of sophistication tend to be most prevalent among suburban children.

The Affective

As demonstrated by Greenberg, children tend to decrease in their affection for the regime with age.¹ While a majority of children agreed that the "United States has good laws" the intensity of this response decreased with age. Children of lower status and academic ability tended to be more affective toward the regime than did their high status

¹Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community," p. 492. In contradiction to Greenberg's results, blacks in the current sample did not demonstrate a more rapid decrease than whites. In fact, blacks in the current sample seemed slightly more affective toward the regime within grade than whites.

and high academic peers. Children from the suburbs demonstrated the lowest degree of affective orientation, while affectiveness was most pronounced among rural children.

The current study results indicate that although a positive attachment to the regime and its laws remains evident among all age groups, the intensity of this attachment tends to decrease with age. Suburban children, despite strong initial attachments in grade three, tend to decrease more rapidly in the intensity of their affection than do their peers. While such a result suggests that these children are becoming disaffected toward the regime, it should be noted that 88.2 per cent of the suburban sample agreed that the "United States has good laws."

In view of the conclusion reached in the preceding section--that suburban children acquire a sophisticated perception of law earlier than their peers, it seems plausible that this rapid decrease among suburban children is attributable to an increase in their sophistication rather than to a true dislike of the regime and the law. This explanation seems especially logical in view of the fact that only 10 per cent of the total sample demonstrated true disapproval of the regime.

Young children also tend to decrease in their affection for the policeman as they grow older. This decrease, however, was also one of intensity rather than direction. While a large majority of the subjects remained in agreement with statements such as, "The policeman is my friend," they tended to decrease in the intensity of their agreement.

Blacks were more affective toward the policeman in the lower grades, but whites were more affective in the later grades. Children of lower socio-economic status felt more affection for the policeman than did those of higher status.¹ Academic ability was a significant variable only in grade six. The lower academic sixth graders tended to be affective toward the policeman, while sixth grade children with high academic ability were substantially less affective.

In grades three and four, the urban sample, which was composed disproportionately of low status low academic and black students, tended to be the most affective toward the policeman. This tendency decreased in grades five and six. Rural children demonstrated the most affection for the policeman of those in the latter age groups. Suburban children demonstrated the least attachment for the policeman in these age groups.

¹This tendency was not evident in grade three.

These results indicate that urban children tend to demonstrate a strong initial attachment to the policeman followed by a rapid decrease in grades five and six. Suburban children demonstrate a strong initial attachment in grade three, followed by a rapid decrease in the subsequent grades. The rural sample demonstrated a weaker initial perception, but its subsequent rate of decrease was the smallest of the three.

Suburban and urban children in the later grades tend to decrease rapidly in their affection for the policeman, while rural children tend to maintain a more affective orientation. These results may be explained jointly by the sophistication factor and by the role of the policeman in the respective areas.

In suburban and urban areas the policeman is a visible enforcer of the law. He is the faceless arm of authority whose duty is that of punishing "bad people." As a result of the stress placed on the coercive aspect of the police by proximal adults and peers, the child perceives the policeman only as a formal punitive figure. His impersonal role and his connection with the regime causes the policeman to acquire an aura of righteousness and infallibility. Children in such milieus tend to demonstrate an idealistic perception of the policeman as a "super" being, and the

policeman is perceived to be friendly, because the ideal policeman is friendly to "good people."

This idealistic perception of the policeman, however, is eroded as the child becomes more sophisticated. While both the urban and suburban samples tended to become less idealistic with age, the suburban sample demonstrated a far more rapid decrease as a result of its superior sophistication.

In contrast to the urban and suburban samples, children from the rural area tended to be less idealistic in their perception of the policeman as a friend. In rural areas the policeman is often known as an individual, and he is frequently observed in the informal roles of a community member. The rural sample thus tends to perceive the policeman as a man performing a job rather than as a perfect embodiment of an infallible regime. Rural children tend to demonstrate a less idealistic perception of the policeman in the early grades. As they mature, even the relatively small degree of idealism present among young rural children diminishes.¹ Among rural children, therefore, we conclude that perceptions of the policeman are both stable and realistic.

¹If the rural sample demonstrated the level of sophistication of the suburban group, this decrease would probably be more rapid.

Results within all three areas indicate that the strength of affective attachment to the law and police decreases as children grow older. This decrease, however, should not be confused with disaffection. It must be remembered that the current study items measured the degree of affection and that the vast majority of the respondents demonstrated a positive orientation toward the law and police. The decreased strength of affective attachment as children mature is attributable to a more sophisticated awareness of reality rather than to a general disaffection with the police and the law. Such a modification of perception allows the child to retain his affection for the law and the policeman although he realizes that they are both imperfect.

Benevolence

As concluded by Hess and Torney, young children trust the system of laws. They believe that all laws are fair and that those who enforce them do so in the public interest.¹ Law is perceived as a protector, and its major function is to "keep us safe." Young children also feel that the law is designed to "keep people from doing bad things." These statements reflect both the child's

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 50.

previously noted need for protection and his coercive image of the law.

As children mature, however, the intensity of this coercive perception tends to decrease. Children in later grades seem to acquire a less punitive and a more benevolent perception of the law. The older children tend to feel that laws are made "to run the country."

Whites tend to feel that law is "to keep us safe," while blacks tend to feel that the laws are designed to keep people from doing "bad things." This finding suggests that whites fear vague abstract threats, whereas, blacks perceive crime in terms of specific acts of individuals.

In the current study, suburban children were the most likely to feel that the law was designed "to keep us safe." Urban children tended to decrease in the intensity of this view with age. The opposite was true with respect to rural children.

These results seem to indicate that suburban children perceive the law to be a general protector of the community. This view becomes more prevalent among older age groups. The role of law is described as one of protecting the "good people" from the "bad" and of guarding against ill-defined abstractions of evil. Such attitudes are possibly attributable to proximal adults who express fear of

the "wrong types of people." The fact that this attitude is especially notable in older suburban children suggests that this group has become aware that it has the most to lose as a result of lawlessness.

The conceptualization of evil by older urban children suggests that this group is more familiar with criminal acts. This may be attributable to the relatively high levels of criminal activity in urban areas which help to generate a fear of overt acts by individuals. The inverse relationship among urban children between selection of the "keep us safe" response and age may also reflect a general decrease in the affection for law of the largely black urban population.

The rural children tend to decrease with age in their perception that the law is designed "to keep people from doing bad things." Such a decrease indicates a decline in the intensity of the coercive perception of law. This is largely the result of increased sophistication. The increase in the "keep us safe" response indicates that among the rural sample, as was true of the suburban sample, children tend to acquire a fear of lawlessness with age.

Similar results were obtained when the child's perception of the policeman was examined. As in the previous item, children tend to decrease in their coercive perception of the law and police as a result of maturation and sophistication.

Hess and Torney noted that most young children tend to perceive the policeman's role as being one of "catching people who break the law" and of "making people obey the law."¹ The "catch people who break the law" response indicates a coercive perception of the policeman which usually tends to decrease with age and sophistication.

As children mature they tend to select the benevolent, "helping people who are in trouble" response. Such a response indicates that the children are acquiring a mature view which tends to minimize the cops and robbers aspect of the law and the police. Children of low socio-economic status and low academic ability tend to feel that the policeman only performs punitive duties. Blacks also tend to feel that the policeman is mainly a punisher. Urban and rural children tend to feel that the policeman's job is to catch lawbreakers, although the urban group is most likely to perceive the policeman as a punisher. This tendency is especially pronounced in urban third graders. Suburban children are more likely to perceive the policeman as "helping people" than are the other two groups. Rural children are the least likely to feel that the policeman is a helper.

In the current sample, 67.7 per cent felt that the policeman would always help them if they needed it. The

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 55.

intensity of this belief increased with age from 57.4 per cent in grade three to 76.2 per cent in grade six. Children of low socio-economic status and academic ability were the least likely to feel that the policeman would help them in time of need. Blacks were also less likely to feel that the policeman would come to their aid. Suburban children were more likely to feel that the policeman would respond to their need than were children from urban and rural areas.

These results seem to indicate that sophistication is an important determinant of the attitudes of the child toward the policeman and authority. As noted by Hess and Torney in their 1967 study, the policeman is often seen as performing a dual role in society.¹ He is perceived first as an enforcer of the law and secondly as a benevolent authority figure. The first seems to be the less sophisticated coercive view so evident in younger children.

In the current study, children of high socio-economic status and academic ability tend to demonstrate a less coercive, more sophisticated perception of the role of the law and police in society. Whites and suburban children also tend to demonstrate a relatively more sophisticated perception of the policeman.²

¹Ibid., p. 176.

²It should be noted that all groups tend to decrease in the intensity of their coercive perceptions with age. The groups mentioned, however, tend to proceed in this process at a rate greater to that of their peers.

The urban sample, which tended to be of low socioeconomic status, low academic ability and black also tended to lag in the development of this less coercive view of law and the policeman as a result of two main factors. The first of which is the previously demonstrated cognitive lag exhibited by these groups. This lag, which is probably attributable to environment, prevents the rapid formation of a sophisticated perception of law and the police.

The second factor is also attributable to the environment of the child. The urban child perceives the policeman in coercive roles because this is the function of the policeman in many low status urban areas. These areas tend to experience the highest crime rates, which suggests that the apprehension of lawbreakers is a common occurrence. Such a hypothesis is also supported by the finding that urban children seem to have a highly cognized fear of overt acts. This could only result from actual experience in an area of high noncompliant behavior. Thus, in this case the coercive view of law is attributable not only to a possible cognitive lag but also to a correct appraisal of reality.

Normative

As noted by Greenstein, young children tend to view the authorities of the regime in normative benevolent terms.

All public officials, therefore, acquire the legitimacy of the regime and are perceived as being infallible. Since the regime is fair and just, its authorities such as the policeman, are also fair, just and honest.¹ In the current sample, 91.4 per cent agreed that the policeman "does good things." The intensity of this response, however, tended to decrease with maturation.

Children of lower socio-economic status and academic ability tended to be more idealistic in their perception of the policeman than did their higher peers. In grades three through five, rural children were less idealistic in their perceptions of the policeman than were their peers. In grade six, however, this pattern was broken, for suburban children demonstrated the least idealism, while rural children demonstrated the greatest degree of idealism.

Similar results were obtained when young children were asked to respond to the statement that "the policeman is more honest than most men." While this item enjoyed popular support, the intensity of agreement tended to decrease with age. Children of low status and low academic ability were more likely to be idealistic in their

¹Greenstein, op. cit., p. 939.

perceptions of the policeman than were their peers of higher status and higher academic ability. In grade three rural children tended to be the least idealistic. In grade six suburban children were the least idealistic, and rural children tended to be the most idealistic.

These results seem to indicate that rural children tend to have a less idealistic perception of the policeman in the lower grades but that suburban children are the least idealistic in the later grades. This phenomenon seems best explained by an interaction of two independent socialization variables: (1) the sophistication of the respective groups and (2) the subculture of the area in which the socialization process occurs.

As previously demonstrated, suburban children seem to acquire a sophisticated and realistic view of the law and police more rapidly than their peers with respect to their normative perceptions of the policeman, however, this tendency is not identifiable until grade six.¹ The evidence suggests that sophistication among suburban children proceeds at a steady rate and that a second factor, subcultural environment, also affects the attitudinal development of rural children.²

¹Although the rate of decrease of the suburban group is notably greater, it is not until grade six that this group overtakes the rural group.

²The rural sample not only tends to be the least idealistic in the early grades, but it also demonstrates the smallest rate of decrease in subsequent years.

As previously noted, the policeman in the rural community is frequently observed in informal as well as formal roles. This contributes to his being personally identified as a community member performing a job rather than as an embodiment of the regime. The rural child, as a result of increased familiarity, tends to perceive the policeman in nonidealistic terms. Since this initial perception of the policeman is more consistent with reality, the rural group does not demonstrate the rapid rate of decrease in idealism that is indicative of an attempt to make perception consistent with reality.¹ These results indicate that although sophistication among children increases more slowly in rural areas than it does in the suburbs, rural children acquire an initially higher level of sophistication in the early grades, for their perception of the policeman is more consistent with reality.

The Absoluteness of Law

As reported by Hess and Torney in 1967, young children tend to perceive the law as absolute and unchanging. Young children are also likely to feel that the law has a

¹In grades three through six the rural group decreases an average of 13.5 per cent for the two previous items, but the suburban group decreases 38.5 per cent.

"permanence and tradition adding to its rightness."¹ Hess and Torney further noted that, although implicit trust in law decreases with age, it serves as a standard which is later used to assess the performance of the law and its enforcers.² The current study also noted that the perceived absoluteness and fairness attributed to law are important features of the child's conceptualization of the legal system.

Young children were found to believe that "most laws were made a long time ago," a view which decreased with age. Children of lower socio-economic status, lower academic ability and blacks were more likely to feel that laws are old than were their white, higher status and higher academic counterparts.

Young children also manifested a tendency to feel that "all laws are fair." This tendency also decreased in intensity with age. Children of lower status and lower academic ability were more likely to choose the absolute response than their peers of higher status and higher academic ability.³

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 40.

²Ibid., p. 52.

³There was no significant difference demonstrated by blacks and whites.

In grade three suburban children were most likely to feel that "all laws are fair"; in grades five and six this group was least likely to feel that "all laws are fair." Rural children tended to be more absolute in grade six.

In grade three suburban children were most likely to feel that "people who break the law are bad." In grade six, however, this group was least likely to feel that lawbreakers were all bad. They preferred instead, to reply that lawbreakers were "good and bad." Urban children, on the other hand, tended to be the most absolute at this grade level. In fact, those in the urban area selected the absolute, unqualified "bad" response more frequently of all grade levels than did either urban or rural children.

Although suburban children display the strongest initial perceptions of law as an absolute, this view declines in popularity as they mature. By the time they reach the fifth and sixth grades, suburban children are the least absolute. The rapid decrease in absoluteness demonstrated by the suburban sample and by those of higher status and higher academic ability is attributable to superior sophistication. These groups seem to acquire the realization that law is flexible and that imperfect laws do exist more rapidly than their peers. Compliance is viewed as necessary, but law is no longer seen as a perfect legacy from the past.

The absolute view of law also tends to make young children feel that punishment is an inevitable consequence of wrongdoing.¹ Although this view decreases in intensity with age, children of lower status and academic ability once again tended to perceive the law in more absolute terms.²

As previously noted, young children tend to believe that the law and the policeman demand absolute compliance. Noncompliance in a face to face encounter with a policeman is an untenable thought for most young children. While the degree of compliance may decrease with age, most children feel that it is "good to obey the law."³

When asked, "If you think a policeman is wrong in what he tells you to do, what should you do?"; only 10.8 per cent of the total sample replied that they would "not do it." As children mature, however, they tend to see the policeman in less absolute terms, thus allowing them to question his demands. Children of lower socio-economic status, lower academic ability and blacks were more likely to comply with the policeman's request without question than were children of higher status, higher academic ability and whites. In

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 54.

²Blacks were somewhat less absolute in this regard than were whites.

³Hess and Torney, loc. cit.

grades three through six there were no differences in the degrees of compliance across the three demographic areas. In grade six, however, suburban children were less likely to comply without question than were their peers. Urban children were the most compliant in this age group. Thus, the greater sophistication of the suburban group and of those of higher status and academic ability again seems responsible for their more realistic perception of law.

Although older children are less likely to perceive law in absolute terms, they remain compliant. The desire to obey is not destroyed, but rather it is modified by sophistication and the resultant powers of reason which accompany it. Sophistication does not diminish the desire to obey the law. It does promote a realistic appraisal of the true nature of law. Thus, older children and those of greater sophistication begin to realize that law is not a divine gift from the past but rather a dynamic tool of society which should always be amendable by reason.

Deterrence

As a result of their 1967 study, Hess and Torney stated that a child's initial conception of the qualities that constitute a good citizen were essentially those of a good person. They include the elements of fairness, honesty,

general goodness and a desire to obey the law.¹ Adherence to this view, however, was found to weaken as the child matures.

Children in the present study tended to decrease in their agreement with the statement that "the good citizen always obeys the laws" as they grew older. In grade three high socio-economic status students were more likely to agree with this statement than were their lower status peers. In grades four, five, and six, however, children of lower status were the most likely to agree that "good citizens always obey the law."

These results indicate that older children and those of higher status tend to be more sophisticated in their view of law than their peers of lower socio-economic status and age. The development of sophisticated perceptions does not indicate that the strength of the desire to obey has been reduced. Rather, it suggests only that absolute compliance to law is recognized to be an unrealistic ideal. Sophisticated children realize that man-made law is fallible. They will not give unquestioning adherence to unrealistic laws, although they will tend to comply with reasonable laws and grant them legitimacy.

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 36.

In their 1970 study, Tapp and Levine questioned the effectiveness of police sanctions when they are divorced from an active socialization campaign.¹ Chambliss, too, contended that sanctions alone are often ineffective deterrents to noncompliant behavior.² Such arguments suggest that only when sanctions are combined with an intensive socialization program can a decrease in noncompliant behavior be expected.

In the current study 41.4 per cent of the total sample felt that the policeman was the "worst punisher." Contrary to the findings of previous investigators, these data show an increase in the proportion of children who adhere to this view in the later grades. Whereas, 39.1 per cent of the third graders thought that the policeman was the "worst punisher," 51.1 per cent of the sixth graders selected this response.

White children, those of high socio-economic status and those of high academic ability, tended to perceive the policeman as the "worst punisher" in greater proportion than did blacks and children of lower status and academic ability. Suburban children tended to feel that the policeman was the

¹Tapp and Levine, op. cit., p. 578.

²Chambliss, op. cit., p. 282.

"worst punisher," whereas, rural children were the least likely to express such a view.

Suburban children, whites, and those of higher status and academic ability tend to feel that the policeman is the worst punisher because these groups have the most to fear from punitive actions of the police. These groups usually have more material possessions and are more reliant on social status than are their peers. The higher status, suburban white feels that he has more to lose--friends, reputation, and status--as a result of an unfavorable contact with the police. Such an explanation is consistent with Chambliss' explanation of why police sanctions were most effective against crimes committed by "white collar" workers. He concluded that this group has the most to lose because it fears police sanctions the most.¹

As a child matures and internalizes the norms of society, the mechanism of conscience becomes an increasingly important determinant of behavior. This allows the development of an "ideal" compliance milieu--one in which effective social sanctions are combined occasionally with effectively administered coercive sanctions. When asked why they didn't steal, the majority of students in the current sample

¹Ibid.

responded that "they might feel bad" and "they might get caught." Such a response indicates just such an interaction between conscience and formal sanctions.

Children of lower status and academic ability and blacks were more likely than higher status, higher academic and white children to state that they didn't steal because they "might get caught."¹ These results seem to indicate that blacks and children of lower socio-economic status and lower academic ability are slow to internalize the norms of society. In the absence of such internalization, sanctions remain the most important determinant of compliant behavior.

Rural children were less likely to fear "getting caught" than their urban and suburban peers. The remarkable sophistication of the rural sample is partially attributable to the prevalence of informal modes of control that operate in most rural communities. Informal control requires not only frequent interaction among community members but also a sense of interdependence.² If these requirements are

¹Blacks tend to select the "get caught" response slightly more often than their white peers.

²Richard D. Schwartz, "Social Factors in the Development of Legal Control: A Case Study of Two Israeli Settlements," in Law and the Behavioral Sciences, ed. by Lawrence M. Friedman and Stewart MacAulay (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969), pp. 509-524

satisfied, behavior can often be controlled by conscience and by informal social sanctions. Evidence suggests that this is the case among the rural children in the current study.

Summary

This study was launched with two main objectives in mind. The first of these was to determine the extent to which the findings of previously reported socialization studies may have been spatially or temporally specific. On the whole, our analysis of original data obtained from Virginia school children has lent support to the universal applicability of the studies in question.

The second major objective was that of ascertaining the extent to which subcultural factors related to demographic area affect the legal socialization of grade school children. Although certain aspects of the socialization process appeared to differ among the three areas studied, these differences were neither as extensive nor as pronounced as the investigator had expected them to be. Nevertheless, the findings suggest that further research concerning the mediating effect of cultural context on the socialization of American children might produce valuable insights.

In the process of meeting the original objectives an unanticipated explanatory factor was encountered. Neither demographic area nor several indicators of individual characteristics could satisfactorily account for observed differences in the attitudes and perceptions of the children in the sample. However, when these several individual characteristics were viewed simply as being separate indicators of a common underlying factor it was discovered that a more acceptable explanation could be made. This factor was called "sophistication"; it reflects the degree of cognitive maturity reached by the child. The analysis suggested that a sophisticated child is more likely than one who is less sophisticated to respond positively to institutional socialization provided his immediate environment is consistent with existent legal values. As sophistication decreases or as inconsistencies develop between the child's subcultural milieu and the values of the regime, legal socialization was found to be less conducive to the development of attitudes necessary for an autonomous, compliant citizen. It is the investigator's hope that further research will be done in order to shed additional light on the precise manner in which sophistication and demographic environment interact in affecting the quality of the legal socialization of American children.

APPENDIX

STUDENT SOCIALIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I

To the student: Please mark the most correct statement unless told to do differently. There is no "best" statement so do not worry about your answer. Remember to complete all items so that your opinions will count!

I am: _____ Boy _____ Girl

My age is: _____
 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

My grade is: _____
 3 4 5 6

1. What is the name of our country? _____

2. Who makes the laws? (Choose one)

- _____ 1. Fathers
- _____ 2. Policemen
- _____ 3. The people
- _____ 4. The government
- _____ 5. Mothers

3. What is the President's name? (Choose one)

- _____ 1. Agnew
- _____ 2. Kennedy
- _____ 3. Nixon
- _____ 4. Washington
- _____ 5. Wallace

4. Which is our National Song? (Choose one)
- _____ 1. The Star Spangled Banner
 - _____ 2. Dixie
 - _____ 3. Onward Christian Soldiers
5. Which can I trust the most? (Rank in order--put a "1" by the person that can be most trusted, "2" by the next and so on to no. 4, which is least trusted.)
- _____ 1. Minister
 - _____ 2. Policeman
 - _____ 3. Mailman
 - _____ 4. Principal
6. Who would always help me if I needed it? (Rank in order--put a "1" by the person that would be most likely to help me, a "2" by the next most and so on to "4" which is the person least likely to help.)
- _____ 1. Governor
 - _____ 2. Principal
 - _____ 3. Policeman
 - _____ 4. President
7. Who is the worst to be punished by? (Rank in order--put a "1" by the person that is the worst punisher, "2" by the next worst and so on to "4" which is the person that punishes the least.)
- _____ 1. Principal
 - _____ 2. Policeman
 - _____ 3. Father or mother
 - _____ 4. Teacher
8. Which is the most important for the policeman to do? (Choose one)
- _____ 1. Make people obey the law
 - _____ 2. Help people
 - _____ 3. Catch people who break the law

9. The policeman is more honest than most men. (Mark only one block or circle)

☐

YES!

☐

yes

☐

no

☐

NO!

10. The policeman does good things. (Mark only one block or circle)

☐

YES!

☐

yes

☐

no

☐

NO!

11. A good citizen: (Choose one)

_____ 1. Always obeys the law

_____ 2. Usually obeys the law

_____ 3. Obeys only "good" laws

_____ 4. Never obeys the law

12. Why do we have laws? (Choose one)

_____ 1. To punish people

_____ 2. To run the country

_____ 3. To keep people from doing bad things

_____ 4. To keep us safe

13. Do people who break laws: (Choose one)

_____ 1. Always get caught

_____ 2. Usually get caught

_____ 3. Usually get away

_____ 4. Always get away

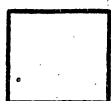
14. If you think a policeman is wrong in what he tells you to do, what should you do? (Choose one)

- ☐ 1. Don't do it
- ☐ 2. Do what he tells you, but tell your father
- ☐ 3. Do what he tells you, but ask the policeman why
- ☐ 4. Do it

15. The policeman: (Choose one)

- ☐ 1. Helps us
- ☐ 2. Puts people in jail
- ☐ 3. Makes people obey the law

16. The policeman is my friend. (Mark only one block or circle)



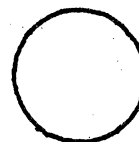
YES!



yes



no



NO!

17. People that don't obey the laws are: (Choose one)

- ☐ 1. Bad
- ☐ 2. Good and bad
- ☐ 3. Good

18. Choose one:

- ☐ 1. Some laws are fair
- ☐ 2. Most laws are fair
- ☐ 3. All laws are fair

19. Is it ever right to break a law? (Choose one)

- ☐ 1. No
- ☐ 2. If the law is unfair
- ☐ 3. If it is a minor law and the reason is good

20. Most laws were made a long time ago. (Mark only one block or circle)

☐

YES!

☐

yes

☐

no

☐

NO!

21. The United States has good laws. (Mark only one block or circle)

☐

YES!

☐

yes

☐

no

☐

NO!

22. I don't steal because: (Choose one)

_____ 1. I might get caught

_____ 2. I might feel bad

_____ 3. I might get caught and I might feel bad

23. I am always very proud to be an American. (Mark only one block or circle)

☐

YES!

☐

yes

☐

no

☐

NO!

T H A N K Y O U !

Part II. To be completed by the teacher

Please evaluate the level of discipline and the academic ability of the child in the following response categories.

DISCIPLINE

_____	_____	_____	_____
Problem		Average	Very Well
Child			Disciplined

ACADEMIC ABILITY

_____	_____	_____	_____
Poor		Average	Superior

Please supply the following information for each child. If the exact response is unknown to you, make an approximate estimate.

OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

_____ Professional

_____ Manager, Official, Proprietor, Sales

_____ Skilled Wage Earner (Machinist, etc.)

_____ Unskilled Wage Earner (Laborer, Waitress, etc.)

_____ Unemployed

Is the father in the home? _____

Yes

No

Among the families in this school district, where would you place this child?

SOCIAL STATUS

_____ Upper 1/3

_____ Middle 1/3

_____ Lower 1/3

APPROXIMATE INCOME OF FAMILY

_____ Under \$4,500 (per year)
_____ \$4,501-\$10,000
_____ \$10,001-\$15,000
_____ \$15,001-Over

RACE OF CHILD

_____ Negro
_____ Caucasian
_____ Chinese
_____ Indian
_____ Other

T H A N K Y O U !

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adelson, Joseph, and Beall, Lynnette. "Adolescent Perspectives on Law and Government." Law and Society Review, IV (May, 1970), 495-504.
- _____, and O'Neil, Robert P. "Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, IV (1966), 295-306.
- Bedau, Hugo A. The Death Penalty in America. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1967.
- Campbell, Donald T., and Ross, H. Lawrence. "The Connecticut Crackdown on Speeding: Time Series Data in Quasi-Experimental Analysis." Law and the Behavioral Sciences. Edited by Lawrence M. Friedman and Stewart MacAulay. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969.
- Chambliss, William J. "Types of Deviance and the Effectiveness of Legal Sanctions." Law and the Behavioral Sciences. Edited by Lawrence M. Friedman and Stewart MacAulay. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969.
- Dawson, R. E., and Prewitt, Kenneta. Political Socialization. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1968.
- Easton, David, and Dennis, Jack. Children in the Political System. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.
- _____, and _____. "The Childs Image of Government." Annals of the American Association of Political Science, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 40-57.
- Greenberg, Edward S. "Children and the Political Community: A Comparison Across Racial Lines." Canadian Journal of Political Science, II (December, 1969), 471-92.

- _____. "Orientations of Black and White Children to Political Authority Figures." Social Sciences Quarterly, LI (December, 1970), 561-71.
- Greenstein, Fred I. "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority." American Political Science Review, LIV (July, 1960), 934-43.
- Hess, Robert D., and Torney, Judith V. The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Chicago, Ill.: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967.
- Jaros, Dean; Hirsch, Herbert; and Fleron, Frederick J. "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture." American Political Science Review, LXII (June, 1968), 564-75.
- Jeffery, Ray C. "Social Change and Criminal Law." American Behavioral Scientist, XIII (April, 1970), 507-23.
- Koeppen, Sheilah R. "A Comparative Analysis of Socialization Studies." Law and Society Review, IV (February, 1970), 545-56.
- McDonald, Neil A. Politics: A Study of Control Behavior. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1965.
- Rogers, Harrell R., Jr., and Taylor, George. "Pre Adult Attitudes Toward a Legal Compliance: Notes Toward a Theory." Social Sciences Quarterly, III (December, 1970), 539-51.
- Schwartz, Richard D. "Social Factors in the Development of Legal Control: A Case Study of Two Israeli Settlements." Law and the Behavioral Sciences. Edited by Lawrence M. Friedman and Stewart MacAulay. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969.
- Siegel, Roberta. "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values." Annals of the American Association of Political Science, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 1-8.

Sinclair, Andrew. "Prohibition: The Era of Excess." Law and the Behavioral Sciences. Edited by Lawrence M. Friedman and Stewart MacAulay. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969.

Tapp, Jane L., and Levine, Felice J. "Persuasion to Virtue: A Preliminary Statement." Law and Society Review, IV (May, 1970), 565-81.

**The vita has been removed from
the scanned document**

THE EFFECTS OF DEMOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT ON THE
LEGAL SOCIALIZATION OF VIRGINIA
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

by

James Burruss Sharpe

(ABSTRACT)

The legal socialization of elementary school children from three demographically distinct Virginia localities was investigated. The attitudes of these children toward the law and police were measured by a questionnaire administered by the classroom teachers.

The results obtained tended to reinforce the conclusions of previous socialization theorists with respect to the attitudes of young children toward the law and the police.

The attitudes of the children were found to differ as a function of their area of residence. Although this area variable influenced the socialization process, another variable, called sophistication, also seemed significant. This variable, sophistication, seemed to be directly related

to the relative socio-economic status of the child, as higher socio-economic children tended to demonstrate the variable to a greater extent.

Children of greater sophistication differed from their less sophisticated peers in that they tended to demonstrate a more mature attitude toward the law and police.

It was concluded that the children's attitudes toward the law and the police were influenced by their area of residence and their relative sophistication.