

Domain-Specific Judgments of Civic and Political Engagement in Late Adolescence:
Associations with Adolescent Activity Involvement

by

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Abstract

Research in adolescent development has become increasingly interested in adolescent civic involvement, especially as involvement is hypothesized to lead to later adult civic engagement. However, research has not addressed adolescents' civic beliefs. Therefore, the present study had two goals. The first goal was to employ the framework of social domain theory to assess adolescents' judgments and justifications for different forms of civic involvement. The second goal was to examine the relationship between adolescents' civic beliefs and the types of civic and organized activities in which adolescents were involved.

These aims were investigated in a cross-sectional study of 312 late adolescents (10th, 11th, and 12th graders; mean age = 17.01 years, $SD = .86$) from a middle-class suburban high school. Though a majority of the participants were White, a substantial proportion were either African American or Asian American, which was consistent with the demography of the high school.

Participants' civic conceptualizations were assessed through multiple questionnaire reports including adolescents' obligation ratings, rankings, and justifications. Adolescents were asked to respond to the following types of civic involvement: *community service*, *standard political involvement*, *social movement involvement*, and *social gathering involvement*. As hypothesized, adolescents' distinguished among types of civic involvement in their ratings, rankings, and justifications stemming from the domain-specific characteristics of different types of civic involvement. Interestingly, males and females were found to differ slightly in

their prioritization of two types of involvement, with boys prioritizing standard political involvement more than girls, who, in turn, prioritized community service more than did boys.

Adolescents' current civic and organized activity was assessed using a measure that included a wide array of community service, political, and extracurricular activities. The relative amount of time adolescents' spent in each activity also was examined. As expected, adolescent girls and adolescents from more educated households were more involved in activities than were boys and adolescents from less educated families. Contrary to hypotheses, however, older adolescents were less involved than were younger adolescents.

Analyses examining the association between adolescents' civic ratings and justifications and their activity involvement showed that with increased involvement, adolescents viewed all forms of civic involvement as more obligatory and more important. They also rated individuals who were more civically involved as more worthy of respect. More involved adolescents also used fewer personal justifications for each of type of civic involvement. However, regression analyses indicated that compared to other forms of involvement, adolescents especially prioritized civic activities in which they were themselves involved.

Finally, exploratory cluster analyses examined the formation of adolescent activity involvement profiles. Analyses yielded six unique profiles of involvement, though contrary to hypotheses, adolescent work seemed to distinguish profiles better

than did some types of organized activity involvement. However, the activity profiles did not uniquely predict adolescent civic conceptualizations.

This study extends moral development research on adolescents' political conceptualizations to include adolescents' beliefs concerning civic involvement. This study also contributes to the civic involvement literature by showing that adolescents have differentiated conceptualizations of various forms of civic involvement. In addition, this study demonstrates the utility of including adolescent beliefs in future civic research, as adolescents' civic beliefs were linked to their civic behavior.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Recently, there has been increased interest and empirical research concerning adolescents' interactions with their community and political institutions (Flanagan, 2003; Hyman, 2002). More specifically, research has examined citizenship development in adolescence (Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002). Much of this recent interest in citizenship has been a reaction to social science studies that indicate large-scale declines in levels of civic and political behavior in adults in the United States compared to previous generations (Putnam, 2000). Thus, researchers have begun to focus on raising levels of social capital through increasing investment and interaction with civic and social institutions. However, questions remain as to what being a "good citizen" entails and what might be the most effective means of increasing citizenship.

Definitions of citizenship vary widely and are often politically weighted. For instance, many political philosophers focus on the importance of political activities such as voting, staying informed about current political issues and current events, and perhaps being more active in the political process through working on political campaigns (Galston, 2001; Walker, 2000). Others have utilized a broader definition that includes participation in community organizations, volunteering, and community service (Flanagan, 2005; Youniss et al, 2002). Still others point out that these active definitions of citizenship are embedded in specific political ideologies (Westheimer & Kahn, 2004). Thus, some individuals might view good citizenship as simply adhering to the rules and laws of their community and paying their taxes. However, this more

passive definition of citizenship does not fit well with many political philosophers' beliefs about what a democratic society requires from its citizens. These theorists argue that democratic forms of government require an active and engaged citizenry that is invested in the good of the polity (Flanagan, 2003). Thus, while it is important to note that there may be considerable variation in beliefs about what good citizenship requires, political theorists have concentrated on increasing active participation, though there is disagreement over exactly what active participation entails.

As there is some consensus among scholars that active civic participation is important, developmental researchers have begun to examine ways of increasing civic activity in adults. Retrospective studies have shown that civically engaged adults were more likely to have been involved in community service, volunteering, or community groups when they were adolescents (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997). These findings are consistent with the philosophy of such theorists as de Tocqueville (1848/1969), who argued 150 years ago that the continuation of democracy in America depended on younger citizens being given the opportunity to practice the skills necessary for active participation. Thus, developmental research has begun to focus on adolescent civic behavior and community service. Flanagan argues that interacting with community members leads to social trust, or a broad affinity for the greater polity, which then leads to increased community investment and civic participation (Flanagan, 2004). Other theorists postulate that civic activity leads to the development of a civic-moral identity, which increases the importance of active participation (Youniss & Yates, 1999).

However, less research has specifically examined adolescents' beliefs or judgments about civic behavior. Adolescents might vary in their beliefs about the importance of different forms of civic participation or the extent to which such activities constitute civic duties and obligations. A central goal of the present study is to examine whether adolescents view different forms of political and civic activity, community group membership, and community service as important and activities in which citizens should feel obligated to participate.

Adolescents may have a variety of reasons, however, for rating different civic behaviors as more or less important or obligatory. Research from a social domain perspective has found that people interpret their social world in terms of distinct domains of social knowledge. These distinctions are evident both in the ways individuals apply criterion judgments to social events, as well as the rationales they use to justify these judgments. Thus, social domain theory might provide a useful rubric for organizing adolescents' judgments and justifications concerning civic behaviors. Adolescents may view different types of civic behavior as morally obligatory, as social conventional activities that allow society to run smoothly, or as personal activities that are entirely up to the individual. These distinctions may provide developmental researchers with a theoretically informative and methodologically useful way of conceptualizing types of civic activities. In addition, individual differences in domain-specific categorizations may provide a more useful way of examining civic orientations and patterns in definitions of citizenship.

The primary aims of the present study were twofold. First, social domain theory was used to investigate adolescents' conceptions of different types of civic, political, and prosocial community activities to determine if such conceptions were organized along theoretical dimensions. The second goal was to examine the relationship between these domain-specific categorizations and adolescents' actual participation in various civic and voluntary activities. That is, are adolescents who view different forms of community service and political activity as more important and obligatory more likely to volunteer and participate in community or school organizations? Are these adolescents more likely to use moral justifications for such involvement? Adolescent community involvement and civic involvement might be associated with moral conceptualizations for a wide variety of civic and political activities. However, instead of such a global moral identity, individual civic engagement experiences might lead to more specified beliefs about specific categories of civic behaviors.

In the next chapter, recent research on civic engagement will be examined. This review will concentrate on how different types of adolescent civic and community activities are conceptualized, organized, and assessed. In Chapter 3, the central tenets of social domain theory will be introduced along with methodological strategies most often used with this theory. This chapter will then examine research that has utilized this theory to explore adolescents' evaluations of political concepts such as civil rights and fair government, adolescents' judgments about prosocial behaviors, and the relationship between adolescents' moral judgments and actual

behavior. The chapter ends with the specific hypotheses to be tested in this study. The design for the study, including sample, methods, and plans for statistical analyses are described in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 describes the statistical results of the study. Finally, in Chapter 6, the results of the study, its limitations, and future directions for further empirical work are discussed.

Chapter 2: Citizenship Development and Civic Engagement in Adolescence

Recently, there has been a renewed interest in research on adolescent civic engagement, community service, and political socialization (Bynner, Martin, & Garber, 2003; Cargo, Grams, Ottoson, Ward, & Green, 2003; Checkoway, Allison, & Montoya; Flanagan, 2005; Sherrod, Youniss, & Flanagan, 2002). This increased scientific attention is due to multiple factors, such as concerns over declines in adolescent and young adult political involvement and knowledge (Putnam, 2000) and researchers' return to topics of positive youth development more generally (Damon, 2004). The former concern has motivated research focused on the development of adolescent civic beliefs, knowledge, and skills (Flanagan, 2003; Flanagan & Faison, 2002). The latter has led to research on individual psychological attributes and gains due to adolescent involvement in adult-organized, non-academic activities (Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003).

The Development of Citizenship

While young children's social interactions are limited primarily to school and family, adolescents have increased contact with the broader social world, for instance, through working outside the home (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986) and involvement in social groups and clubs (Allen, Kupermine, Philliber, & Herre, 2004; Flanagan & Faison, 2002; Kahne, Nagoaka, Broan, O'Brien, & Thiede, 2001; Youniss, Yates, & Su, 1997). Adolescents are also granted civic privileges such as obtaining a driver's license and the right to formally participate in the political process through voting at age eighteen. In addition, there has been a recent increase in adolescent volunteering

in a variety of social service capacities (Sagawa, 1998). Adolescents also have taken part in political activities such as the Vietnam War protests of the 1960's and 1970's or the more recent protests over the current war in Iraq (CBS.com, March 5, 2003). These are some of the ways that adolescents interact with broader political and civic institutions.

Researchers have found that these civic activities in adolescence can influence civic involvement later in life. A great deal of research has demonstrated that adolescents who are involved in civic activities, social groups, and volunteerism are more likely to participate in civic organizations and take part in political activities as adults (see Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997 for a review). For example, in a retrospective study, Ladewig and Thomas (1987) found that former 4-H club members were more likely to be involved in multiple types of community and civic organizations and more likely to vote than individuals who had not been in 4-H clubs. Another retrospective study by McAdam (1988) showed a similar connection between a more unconventional type of adolescent and adult civic behavior. He surveyed former civil rights activists and found that they were more likely to be involved in both conventional and unconventional political behaviors, as well as more likely to belong to voluntary groups as adults than were those who had not been civil rights activists. Additionally, multiple studies have found an association between patterns of youth community service and other activities and their *intended* civic and political activity (Smetana & Metzger, 2005; Youniss, McLellan, & Mazer, 2001).

Many theorists have argued that adult civic behavior is not only beneficial to individuals' communities, but is indeed critical for the continuation of democratic societies. Theorists and researchers have argued that citizens in democratic societies should become engaged members of the social and political order (Flanagan & Faison, 2002). In fact, political theorists postulate that democratic forms of government cannot function without an informed and politically active populous (Flanagan & Sherrod, 1998). It becomes equally important for the next generation of citizens to gain the skills and knowledge necessary for the continuation of a democratic form of government (Dudley & Gitelson, 2002). Current civic theorists posit that adolescents learn the values of a democratic culture both directly from adults and learning institutions, as well as through their various social interactions.

Individuals within democratic societies also have the responsibility to be actively engaged in the political processes of their communities (Galston, 2001). According to this view, *citizenship* in democratic societies is not a passive undertaking, but includes the expectation that citizens will positively contribute to the social order. Thus, citizenship entails civic obligations and duties. However, little research has directly examined whether individuals conceptualize civic engagement as obligatory or as duties that individuals have as members of a democratic society.

In addition, political philosophers disagree as to what civic duties should entail. Most theorists agree that competent citizens of a democracy should at a minimum have knowledge about how their government is structured and use this knowledge to actively participate in civil society (Barber, 1994). However, the

question of what constitutes participation in civil society divides political scientists and sociologists. For example, Youniss and colleagues (2002) include a broad range of activities in their definition of civic competence and citizenship. Their definition ranges from purely political activities such as voting to other forms of civic engagement such as community service and volunteering. This definition is at odds with other theorists who argue that there are clear distinctions between political activities and other forms of civic participation (Walker, 2002). However, little research has attempted to empirically differentiate between types of civic activity (e.g. community service, political activity).

Thus, while there is some definitional disagreement, many developmental researchers postulate that civic activity in adolescence leads to adult civic engagement. That is, adolescents learn that civic activity is required of them according to the social contract, or the “deal that inheres between persons and their society” (Flanagan, 2002). Social contract theory states that with age, children develop theories about the social order through absorption of the prevailing ethos and values of their society. From this vantage, every aspect of a society is governed by this contract, leading to the proposition that children learn the rules of the social contract in the proximal settings of their homes and schools. This means that the social contract is reproduced and reinforced at all levels of society. However, aspects of the social contract that pertain to the specific skills of democratic citizenship are best learned through active participation in civic activities.

Theories and Antecedents of Youth Civic Development

Given the importance of adolescent civic activity in civic development, researchers have been interested in possible antecedents of youth involvement. This research has located multiple demographic and social indicators that either promote or inhibit such activity in adolescence. For example, adolescent volunteering and civic activity have been found to be related to the economic status of the neighborhoods in which they reside (Hart & Fegley, 1995). Adolescents from higher socioeconomic status families tend to be more involved on a civic level (Bekkers, 2005; Hart, Atkins & Ford, 1998), including volunteering and club membership. Researchers posit that higher socioeconomic status allows adolescents access to more varied opportunities for civic engagement. Youth from wealthier communities have greater opportunities to come into contact with a greater variety of social organizations that promote civic behavior than youth who live in poorer neighborhoods, where such social capital resources are more limited (Hart et al., 1998).

Parents have been found to affect civic behavior beyond the socioeconomic climate they provide. Some research on parents' impact on children's civic involvement has concentrated on the intergenerational transmission of socio-political attitudes (Bengston, 1975; Jennings, 2002). In addition to influencing socio-political beliefs, parents also influence their children's civic involvement by serving as role models of actual civic behavior (Pancer & Pratt, 1999). Adolescent community service has been found to be more prevalent in families where at least one parent also volunteers (Nolin, Chaney, & Chapman, 1997), and adolescents have been found to

be more involved in the types of civic activities in which their parents are involved (Smetana & Metzger, 2005).

Other research has examined possible ethnic differences in civic and political involvement. In the 2004 national elections, turnout rates for citizens varied by ethnicity with non-Hispanic whites voting more than blacks, who in turn voted more than Asians, and Hispanics (of any race) (U.S. Census Bureau News, 2005). Early research on ethnic group differences in community service was inconsistent, as some studies pointed to lower rates of involvement among African Americans, while other studies found that African Americans were more likely to be involved in formal volunteer organizations (Clemente, Rexroad, & Hirsch, 1975; Wright & Hyman, 1958). Miner and Toinay (1998) examined ethnic group cohort effects and found that while younger African Americans were more likely to be involved than same aged Whites in all forms of volunteering, older African Americans were less likely to be involved in organizations where racial barriers have historically been stronger, such as social service or job-related organizations. In addition, political theorists have argued that people from different ethnicities might define what it means to be involved in their communities in different ways, and thus different ethnic groups might be more likely to be involved in specific types of activities within their own communities (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002).

Research has also shown that adolescents who are church members are more likely to be civically involved (Yates & Youniss, 1996). Churches are hypothesized to not only facilitate and organize community service activities for adolescents, but

also support the rationale for such activities with a formal ideology, which imbues voluntary service with meaning and allows adolescents to see volunteering in a wider context. Formal church membership also provides adolescents with more constructive and cooperative contact with adults, which increases adolescents' social capital (King & James, 2004). In addition to formal church association, spirituality has been found to predict civic involvement longitudinally in late adolescence (Smetana & Metzger, 2005).

While these studies provide a clearer picture of predictors of youth involvement, developmental researchers have also outlined the mechanisms through which adolescent civic behavior leads to adult civic and political engagement. Many view the development of a civic identity as crucial to this process, but the importance of emotional attachment to social institutions also has been described. For instance, Flanagan (2003) postulates that social trust, which reflects a general positive belief about people, is a critical facet of democratic societies. Social trust entails an optimistic view of humanity and confidence that other individuals in a society will follow the rules and are, in general, working for the good of their communities. In democracies, governing power is vested in and assented to by the public at large, which means that social trust is vital for the proper function of civic institutions. Individuals who are high in social trust will be more willing and have a stronger desire to participate in their communities.

The development of social trust has been theoretically and empirically linked to the types of social compassion that many researchers believe to be associated with

civic involvement (Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002). Flanagan and her colleagues (Flanagan, 2003, 2004; Flanagan, Gill, & Gallay, 2005) postulate that to increase adolescent social trust, adolescents should be involved in community-based or neighborhood organizations. In such groups, adolescents not only learn about and get to actively help negotiate the values of the social contract, but they also begin to have more faith in others in their communities and begin to feel personally responsible for the welfare of their group and the larger community in which it is embedded.

This link between adolescent community involvement and social trust was investigated in a survey study, which included a large sample of ethnically diverse adolescents aged 12 to 18 (Flanagan et al., 2005). Adolescents were grouped by whether they participated in only school-based or community clubs, only community service work, or were involved in both types of activities. Social trust was measured by asking adolescents to rate “others” in their communities or schools on such items as “If someone has a problem, they can usually count on others to help them out” or “people pull together to help each other out”. Analyses indicated that participation in both clubs and community service lead to more positive views of others and higher levels of trust in members of their communities than did involvement in only one of the activities.

Adolescent civic behavior also has been associated with the creation of a social identity (Sherrod et al, 2002). Much of this conceptualization has its origins in Erikson’s identity theory, which was empirically investigated in the seminal work on

exceptional moral conduct by Colby and Damon (1992). These researchers conducted in-depth interviews with twenty-three individuals who were exceptionally committed to a wide-range of service and cause oriented volunteering. They concluded that the moral motivation of their participants resulted from the integration of moral goals and the sense of self. This is similar to other research that has shown that mature moral-civic identity is associated with community involvement in adults and adolescents (Youniss & Yates, 1999).

This moral commitment to the social order has been labeled moral, or civic-moral identity and is considered by some researchers to be an essential component of committed civic involvement in adulthood (Hart, Yates, Fegley, & Wilson, 1999; McIntosh, Metz, & Youniss, 2005; Youniss & Yates, 1999). Thus, researchers have examined possible antecedents of an integrated civic-moral identity. Adolescent civic and community involvement has been consistently associated with civic-moral identity development (Youniss et al., 1997). In a recent literature review, Youniss et al. (1997) determined that adult civic involvement, community engagement, and political activities were predicted by community service and membership in civic organizations in adolescence.

Yates and Youniss (1996) conducted a short-term longitudinal study to investigate the process by which adolescent civic involvement might lead to the creation of a political-moral identity. They examined essays written by urban, primarily minority adolescents before and after they had volunteered at a soup kitchen. The essays were examined for their level of “transcendence”, or the level at

which the adolescents placed their daily activities within a historical framework, such as utilizing their experiences at the shelter to reflect on justice, responsibility, society, or political processes which influence homelessness. This feeling of transcendence was central to Erikson's (Erikson, 1968) conceptualization of social identity development, as he felt it was critical for individuals to have the capacity to turn outward and see their place within their society. Working at the soup kitchen led to a significant increase in the quantity of transcendent statements used in the essays. The most intriguing portion of this study is that adolescents were required to critically reflect on their civic involvement, and the project also included group discussions of the volunteering activities. Not only does this suggest that civic-moral identity might be best facilitated by civic involvement and opportunities for adolescents to rationally appraise the significance of their service, but more basically, it means that older adolescents have the cognitive skills necessary to make judgments and assessments of their volunteer behavior. However, research has not examined whether adolescents are able to assess civic involvement more generally.

Types of Civic Engagement

While the above research outlines possible mechanisms through which adolescent civic involvement might lead to adult involvement and improved adult citizenship, this process needs further illumination. As will be discussed later in this chapter, there may be philosophical problems with the moral-identity hypothesis of civic development. In addition, several researchers have argued that there are real, substantive differences among different types of adolescent civic engagement. For

instance, volunteering at a homeless shelter directly affects the welfare of disadvantaged individuals. The antecedents and motivations for engaging in such an activity might differ from the motivation to join a community social group or hand out pamphlets during a local political campaign. These latter activities involve group membership and organized participation in the political process, both of which are considered to be essential components of adult civic engagement. Thus, beyond the obvious differences in the physical activities required in these different forms of civic behavior, all three forms of civic engagement also differ in terms of the population the activities serve, as well as the nature of the help being given. These activities might vary in terms of adolescents' motivations for their involvement or their own beliefs about what sort of positive outcomes are being accomplished through their activities.

Recognizing some of the obvious differences between types of civic involvement, many studies have attempted to organize different types of adolescent activities into conceptually meaningful categories. Many of the distinctions researchers have made have been on purely empirical grounds, while other civic engagement typologies were theoretically derived. Other research has been conducted in the hopes of addressing a specific distinction of interest to researchers or policy-makers. In addition, the research has differed in whether it utilized voluntary service as an outcome or predictor.

Several studies have used empirically defined categorizations. For instance, Pratt, Hunsberger, Pancer, and Alisat (2003) analyzed adolescent community

involvement as a predictor of moral self-ideal in a sample of 900 high school students, most of whom were seniors. The researchers ran cluster analyses on a 30-item scale. The scale included a diverse array of activities, with some pertaining to specific actions in the community, and other items being less “community specific”, such as asking adolescents how often they visited or helped people who were sick or gave money to a cause. Their analysis yielded four clusters: community activities, political activities, responding activities (e.g. “gave money to a cause”), and helping activities. The individual clusters had low to acceptable reliability, but the entire scale held together well.

Using a similar analytic strategy, Smetana and Metzger (2005) distinguished political activities from other forms of adolescent involvement. Using a sample of 76 African American adolescents, the authors ran principle components analysis on a 14-item measure of adolescent civic involvement. Three distinct categories of engagement emerged: political involvement, church involvement, and community involvement. The political involvement category included both “mainstream” types of political activity such as voting, as well as less conventional forms of political activity such as taking part in a protest. The church involvement category included both formal worship services, as well as participation in social and community service groups organized by the church. The community category included items pertaining to community organizations and specifically African American organizations. Similar to Pratt et al (2003), the different scales had moderate to acceptable internal reliability, although the political scale was the least reliable, which

could reflect the disparity in types of political involvement included on that scale. In addition, the different involvement categories were found to be differentially associated with mothers' involvement and other individual variables such as ethnic identity and spirituality.

These studies empirically distinguished adolescent political activities from community service, helping behavior, and religious activities. They also empirically derived political scales that included a wide variety of both mainstream political participation items (e.g., voting), and less conventional forms of political activity such as joining a protest. However, such disparate categories of political activity might be associated with different demographic and motivational antecedents and might also impact adolescents' civic development in different ways.

In order to explore these possibilities, other researchers have utilized measures of civic involvement that differentiate between types of political activity. In one study (Youniss, Yates, & Su, 1997), groups of adolescents with different crowd orientations were compared on three civic involvement measures: a 4-item "conventional" political participation scale (e.g. voting), a four-item "unconventional" (e.g. protesting for a cause) political participation scale, and a one-item community service measure: "How often do you participate in community affairs and volunteer work?" The adolescent crowds were found to be differentially associated with the three civic engagement categories. For instance, the "all-around", and "school" crowds both reported higher levels of intended conventional

participation, but the “all-around” crowd reported more intended unconventional participation than the school crowd.

These crowd differences were further explored in another study of 489 juniors and seniors (Youniss et al., 2001). In addition to more carefully specifying types of political engagement (conventional vs. unconventional), this study also sought to disaggregate types of voluntary service. After indicating whether they had volunteered, adolescents were asked to decide between different categories of community service and pick the one that best described their voluntary service. For instance, “social service” entailed direct interaction with people in need, “working for a cause” involved volunteering for a cause such as the environment, a political party, or human rights, and “functionary work” involved cleaning or administrative work with no direct human interaction. However, for the majority of the analyses in this study, social service and working for a cause volunteering were combined into one category and compared with functionary work. Crowds were found to be differentially associated with the categories of community service, with the “school” cluster significantly more involved in social cause volunteering. In addition to showing the importance of separating political participation into conventional and unconventional participation, these studies also demonstrate the utility of using profiles of adolescents as predictors. Person-centered approaches may be superior to variable-centered approaches in their ability capture unique differences in adolescent beliefs about civic involvement that are related to patterns of adolescent activity.

In another study, Metz, McLellan, and Youniss (2003) examined both different types of adolescent community service and different categories of political involvement in a sample of 428 late adolescents. Categories of adolescent community service were used to longitudinally predict adolescent civic engagement including adolescents' concern for social issues and *intended* community service and political behavior. Intended political behavior was divided into two categories: voting was separated from unconventional political activities (boycott a product, demonstrate for a cause, etc.) The authors utilized a similar classification system as the previous study to organize types of adolescent community service and collapsed the types of service still further to three categories of service: social cause, standard (any service that was not "social cause" volunteering), and no service. Adolescents who were involved in social cause community service had higher concern for social issues and also were more likely to state their intentions to become involved in unconventional political activities in the future.

Finally, Youniss and his associates (McLellan & Youniss 2003; Metz & Youniss, 2005) used a variety of civic outcome categories to explore a question of interest to policy-makers: does school-required voluntary service diminish the effectiveness of such service? This research points out that required service is similar in its effectiveness to voluntary service, and required service was very effective for aiding the civic development of adolescents who were not inclined toward involvement. Students were asked how likely it was that they would vote in the future and were also asked about their intended future involvement in two types of

civic activities: conventional and unconventional civic involvement. Future conventional involvement included only two items: “volunteer” or “join a civic organization”, while future unconventional involvement included three items as “boycott a product”, “work on a political campaign”, and “demonstrate for a cause”. In addition, the study included an outcome measure aimed at capturing students’ interest in and beliefs about politics. This measure included items such as “how often do you discuss politics with parents and friends” and “how often do you read about politics in newspapers.” Thus, research has begun examining adolescents’ attitudes toward alternative forms of political participation. Research interested in adolescents’ conceptualization of civic involvement should continue to include a wide range of activities.

As this review indicates, recent research has shifted toward more detailed definitions of adolescent civic behavior. Instead of single-item “do you volunteer?” measures, which were prevalent in earlier research on adolescent civic and community activity, research has moved toward greater specificity in measurement, as well as more exact categorization systems to capture exactly what sort of volunteering adolescents are doing. For instance, Youniss et al. (2002, 2005) separated service and social cause volunteering from other types of volunteering, while Youniss and Metz (2005) distinguished between voting and “unconventional” political activity. These distinctions are commensurate with other research, which has differentiated “social-cause” political activities from “conventional” political activities (Torney-Purta, 2004).

Adolescents' Conceptualization of Civic Involvement

Whether the categories of community service and civic/political engagement were created empirically or a priori, however, these typologies share one essential dimension in common. Community service and civic engagement in these studies has been organized by adolescents' reports of what they *do* or say they *will do* in the future. Few studies have asked adolescents to evaluate the different types of civic involvement and community service. An important assumption of many developmentalists is that civic and community involvement is a critical facet of citizenship in democratic societies (Youniss, et al 2002). However, research has not examined what adolescents believe to be required activities or duties for adult citizens or whether they conceptualize different forms of civic behavior in similar ways.

An additional issue is the variable-centered manner in which previous research has measured adolescents' current civic activity. As noted earlier, however, some researchers have begun using person-centered approaches to capture profiles of adolescent current activity involvement. For instance, Bartko and Eccles (2003) ran cluster analyses on both the structured (e.g. sports, volunteering, religious activities) and unstructured activities (e.g. reading, watching television) of 12th-grade adolescents. The analyses yielded six different activity profiles. For instance, adolescents in one profile were primarily involved in sports, while another profile was mainly involved in school groups or clubs. Other profiles included a group of uninvolved adolescents, a group of highly involved adolescents involved in multiple activities, a group of adolescents who primarily worked for pay, and a volunteering

group. These profiles were found to be differentially associated with academic performance and psychosocial indicators such as problem behavior, self-esteem, and depression. Though the researchers were not interested in civic development per se, a person-centered approach could be useful for isolating profiles of adolescents who are involved in different activities and the association of these profiles with adolescents' civic beliefs. Some civic development theorists argue that a combination of heterogeneous civic and community activities will be most supportive of adolescent civic development (Flanagan et al., 2005). An examination of adolescent activity profiles would allow for a direct test of this proposition.

In addition to these measurement issues, the central relationships in many civic developmental models have been questioned. For instance, some political and sociological theorists have reservations about the direct link between adolescent community service and adult civic/political engagement. Walker (2000) points to clear conceptual distinctions between political action in a democracy and the "helping" associated with community service. She points out that various political movements in America's history have actually recommended local community service as an alternative to active political involvement. Additionally, Walker (2002) points out how national survey data (The New Millennium Project) show no statistical relationship between volunteering and voting, which is "the most basic measure of political participation"(p. 185). This critique seems to imply that the relationship between adolescent and adult civic involvement might be quite complicated. Research may need to account for different types of adolescent civic and

community activity and also may need to move beyond simple 1:1 adult/adolescent involvement relationships and instead examine how such involvement is conceptualized.

The idea that there might be conceptual differences between community service, volunteering, and political beliefs and activity was further explored by Westheimer and Kahne (2004). The authors longitudinally studied different middle-school courses which were designed to promote citizenship and democracy and found that teachers in each classroom differentially emphasized three conceptualizations of a good citizen: one who is personally responsible, one who is participatory, or one who is justice-focused. The personally responsible citizen is one who obeys laws, maybe recycles, stays out of debt, and volunteers in their communities in times of crisis. The participatory citizen is an active member of his or her community, knows how governments work, and joins established systems and community structures such as civic and social groups. The justice-oriented citizen critically assesses reasons behind social problems and works to affect systematic change to address injustice. Thus, there are different conceptions of citizenship and the role that community service and political activism play in citizenship. Adolescents engaged in different forms of activities might have disparate beliefs about the importance of such activities in defining “good” citizenship.

Finally, Nucci (2004) has noted philosophical limitations of civic-moral identity theory and its role in moral development. Civic-moral identity has been conceptualized as a component of moral identity development more generally. This

notion of identity creation has its origins in the virtue theory of Aristotle, who postulated that doing “good” was a character trait inherent in the individual and applicable in every situation. Nucci echoes Lawrence Kohlberg, who argued that virtue theories do not take into consideration complicated social contexts, nor do they consider how different contexts might call for the application of competing virtues. Nucci also points out that the notion of a moral identity reduces all action to instrumentalism and ethical egoism, as individuals’ judgments about what the right thing to do is in a given situation must merely be consistent with a person’s sense of self and are not inherent in the actions being evaluated. He concludes by arguing that the morally motivated individual or the individual who is capable of morally-driven social action might not be the individual with the strongest “moral identity,” but might instead be the person who *sees such social action as moral* and prioritizes such moral action over other competing concerns. This prioritization might be directly associated with actual behavioral experiences such as community service, community club membership, or even political activity.

The social and civic world of adolescents and adults is full of both moral and non-moral components. Individuals may vary in whether they see civic action, political engagement, or community service in moral or nonmoral terms, and these differences may be based on their own voluntary or political behavior. Research has rarely addressed adolescents’ beliefs or judgments about civic and political action, nor has it examined whether adolescents see such actions as entailing moral obligations or whether adolescents differ in their rationales or justifications for civic

action. In addition, research has not examined possible associations between adolescents' civic beliefs and their civic behavior. A theoretical rubric and methodology are needed that would allow for the disaggregation of different moral and personal beliefs concerning community service and different forms of political behavior. In addition, such a theoretical model would need to be able to examine associations between beliefs and adolescents' actual civic and community activities. In the next section, social domain theory is proposed as potentially useful in addressing these research questions.

Chapter 3: Social Domain Theory

This chapter describes social domain theory and discusses its relevance to understanding adolescents' beliefs about civic behaviors. After briefly outlining the major tenets of social domain theory, research from the social-domain perspective, including research on adolescents' judgments of political concepts such as conceptualizations of government and human rights and adolescent and children's judgments about prosocial behaviors will be reviewed. This chapter will point out key theoretical as well as methodological elements of social domain research that might be applied to an exploration of adolescents' judgments about civic engagement. The chapter concludes with hypotheses for the proposed research study.

Overview of Social Domain Theory

Elliot Turiel and his colleagues (Turiel, 1983, 2006; Turiel, Killen, & Helwig, 1987) have postulated that individuals' understanding of their social world is differentiated and that individuals develop different types of social knowledge (Smetana, 2006). Three social knowledge systems have been identified. The moral domain is based on prescriptive conceptions of human welfare, harm to others, justice, and rights. Moral concepts are obligatory, universally applicable, and not contingent on social agreement or regulatory authority. Social conventions are arbitrary, agreed-upon regulations that coordinate behaviors and interactions within specific social contexts. In contrast to morality, social conventions are alterable and contingent on authority or rules. Both the moral and social conventional domains are different from the personal domain, which includes actions that pertain only to the

self. Personal actions are neither regulated by conventional authority nor subject to moral concern, but instead include concepts of the self and decisions involving personal preference. While research also has noted conceptual differences for issues relating to prudence and self-harm, the moral, social-conventional, and personal domains described above are the primary domains of interest for the present study.

Social domain theory has been supported by a great deal of research (Smetana, 1995, 2006). This research has found that even very young children make use of domain-relevant information when making judgments about social events and distinguish among events in different domains. In this research, two dimensions of reasoning have been assessed. First, participants have been asked to make criterion judgments about the social events. These criterion judgments get at the formal philosophical distinctions between the domains. For example, the criteria for the moral domain are universality, obligation, nonalterability, and independence from regulation of rules or authority. Thus, participants might be asked whether an action (e.g. hitting another person) would be “wrong in a country where there was no rule against the action” (assessing universality) and “wrong even if a teacher said you could engage in the action” (assessing independence from authority). Participants who answer “yes” to these questions are treating the action as a moral issue, while participants who judged that the wrongness of the social action was contextually specific or contingent on rules or authority are treating the action as a social convention. Additionally, a judgment that the actions is “not a matter of wrong or right, but up to the individual” is a personal evaluation.

The second dimension typically assessed in research is the justifications or reasons that participants give for their criterion judgments. Justifications for moral actions entail physical or psychological harm, fairness, or rights, while social-conventional justifications center on appeals to authority or actions that allow for smooth social interactions in specific contexts. Personal justifications include appeals to personal prerogative and individual preference.

The findings from research indicate that the majority of individuals respond to prototypical social events in expected ways and distinguish among prototypical events according to judgment criteria and in their justifications (Smetana, 1995, 2006). Prototypical events are straight-forward actions that are not in conflict with other events, motivations, or other types of goals. However, research from a domain perspective has also examined more complex, multifaceted events, which could be interpreted within multiple domains depending on the social position of the individual making the judgment or the informational assumptions (beliefs about how the world works) which the person holds. There are many events that overlap the domains, but an example from Smetana's research (see Smetana, 1995 for a review) on adolescent development provides a useful illustration. In this research, adolescents have been found to judge "cleaning their room" as a matter of personal jurisdiction, while parents typically view cleaning the room as a social convention that contributes to the smooth operation of the household. Thus, individuals' different life experiences and social positions are associated with how they categorize social events in different domains.

Social Domain Theory Applied to Political Concepts

Political concepts include both prototypical social events as well as events that might be interpretable within multiple domains. While no research has yet utilized social domain theory to investigate judgments of civic engagement, researchers have used this theoretical perspective to explicate adolescents' conceptions of other political concepts such as human rights and fair government. These studies demonstrate that children and adolescents have fairly sophisticated beliefs about their political world, that there is considerable heterogeneity in adolescents' beliefs about these political concepts, and that social domain theory provides both an effective framework and comprehensive methodology to account for this heterogeneity through the assessment of criterion judgments and justifications.

In a series of studies, Helwig (1995, 1997, & 1998; Helwig & Jasiobedzka, 2001) explored children's and adolescents' conceptions of human rights. Much of this research was done in reaction to large survey studies that seemed to indicate that American children and preadolescents had very limited knowledge about political concepts such as rights. However, as critics have noted (Helwig & Turiel, 2002; Neff & Helwig, 2002), these surveys often asked children to make judgments about the legitimacy of human rights in scenarios where they were in conflict with other social and moral concerns. In addition, these large survey studies did not allow adolescents to give rationales or justifications for their judgments.

Helwig (1995) conducted a social-cognitive interview study of 48 adolescents in 7th and 11th grade and college students. The goal of the interview was to determine

whether the civil liberties of freedom of speech and freedom of religion would be judged to be moral rights that were universally applicable across all social contexts and for all individuals regardless of age or cognitive ability. Participants first were asked whether they endorsed the freedom in the United States, whether this freedom should be extended to other countries, and how the participants viewed laws in the country that restricted these rights. Participants also were asked to give their rationales (justifications) for endorsing the civil liberties.

Additionally, participants also evaluated the application of freedom of speech and religion in contextualized situations. These situations took two forms. First, participants' were asked if they endorsed a group practicing their freedom of speech/religion in a non-conflict situation. In the second step, competing social and moral concerns were put into the story to assess whether civil liberties would be endorsed in multifaceted situations. For example, participants were asked to evaluate a situation where new members of a religion are required to be severely beaten with wooden sticks. Thus, a moral concern (physical harm) was in conflict with civil right (freedom of religion).

All participants, even the early adolescents in 7th grade, viewed freedom of speech and freedom of religion as universal rights in unconflicted scenarios. In addition, participants of all ages used a diverse assortment of justifications for these freedoms as civil rights. However, participants' judgments of the multifaceted situations were not as clear-cut, as civil liberties were sometimes subordinated to competing social and moral concerns. Some of these differences were captured by

age discrepancies. For instance, older participants were more likely to prioritize civil rights in a wider array of conflict scenarios, while 7th graders sometimes stated that it would be wrong for individuals to practice their freedom of speech or religion when it competed with social (e.g. broke the law) concerns. Interestingly, these same 7th graders viewed the laws that restricted the activity as unjust, but still said that the legal standards must be obeyed.

More importantly, the findings indicate that individuals do not hold general orientations toward political issues such as civil liberties, but rather coordinate social and moral concerns when dealing with complex social and political issues. In addition, adolescents are able to give sophisticated, domain-relevant explanations for their judgments concerning political issues. While all adolescents judged unconflicted political issues in similar ways, adolescents differed in their views of political situations that overlap multiple domains. Social domain theory provided a useful methodology for explicating this heterogeneity in judgments.

Additionally, research has shown that adolescents are capable of making judgments about civil rights in even more complicated situations such as when the context of the scenario is manipulated (Helwig, 1997). While even young children espoused concepts of freedom of speech and religion as rights regardless of the context, older participants, and especially college students, viewed parental limitations on children's religious freedom in the home as appropriate. These older adolescents did not negatively evaluate parental rules that prohibited children from engaging in a religious practice, though they viewed such prohibitions as violating the

children's rights in other contexts such as the school or out in society. When affirming parental authority over children's religious practices, participants' justifications centered on children's mental competence and maturity. Thus, it is necessary to take into account the children and adults' factual assumptions about the competence of agents, as well as the specific contexts in which the rights are enacted.

This study further demonstrates that even young children conceive of freedom of religion and freedom of speech as universally applicable civil liberties that, in straightforward situations, are not subject to sanction by authority figures and cannot be limited or prohibited by laws or rules. However, these studies also show that there is considerable heterogeneity among individuals in terms of how they conceptualize enactment of these rights in specific scenarios and social settings. For example, even though a majority of college students stated that governments did not have the authority to enact laws limiting children's freedom of speech and freedom of religion, more than a quarter of these students did give governments the right to enact such laws limiting these two freedoms. In addition, these freedoms are rights held *against* governments, meaning that they cannot be legitimately regulated by governments. However, governments may take many forms, and individual conceptions of government authority might change depending on how they conceive of the government in question.

In fact, research has shown that children as young as six are able to differentiate between forms of government, state their preference for a specific form of government, and make judgments about the legitimacy of different forms of

government to enact laws prohibiting civil rights (Helwig, 1998). Canadian children between the ages of 6 and 11 made judgments about their preference for different types of government, such as representative democracy, direct democracy, democracy by strict consensus, pure meritocracy, and pure oligarchy. Children of all ages preferred democratic forms of government and justifications for this preference focused on notions of political fairness, although there were some age differences. When evaluating government prohibitions against the enactment of the rights, older children considered the type of government passing the law. For instance, older children were more likely to consider laws such limiting laws as acceptable if they were passed by democratic rather than nondemocratic forms of government. Thus, older children showed both an understanding of and an appreciation for democratic political procedures. This indicates that older children were able to coordinate their notions of freedom of speech as a civil right with their beliefs about fairness in democratic process in complex situations.

Helwig and his associates' studies show that adolescents do recognize political concepts such as rights and democratic forms of government and give different justifications for their beliefs. In addition, the studies show that there is quite a bit of heterogeneity in adolescents' conceptualizations of political concepts, both across different types of concepts and social settings, as well as differences in beliefs between different adolescents. Finally, these studies demonstrate that the methodological strategies employed by social domain theorists are useful for disaggregating adolescents' conceptions of political concepts such as human rights.

Domain Theory and Prosocial Concepts

Concepts of human rights and fair government differ from judgments about civic engagement, civic duty, and citizenship, however. For the former, individuals are making judgments about rights held *against* political and community institutions which entail judgments about prohibitions enforced by these institutions' and the manner in which such institutions should make decisions. The latter concepts might be considered discretionary or *prosocial* behaviors directed *towards* or on behalf of these political institutions and individuals' communities. While domain theory has not been directly applied to issues of civic engagement, researchers have used the theory to investigate children and adolescents' judgments about prosocial behavior more generally.

For instance, studies have explored children's and adolescents' domain-relevant concepts of positive acts to see how closely they resembled concepts of negative acts (Smetana, Bridgman, & Turiel, 1982). Children, adolescents, and college students classified 30 cards with pictures, of moral, social-conventional, and personal negative and positive events. Participants separately ranked groups of positive events in terms of their *rightness* and the negative events in terms of their *wrongness*. Participants ranked positive moral events as more right than positive social-conventional acts, which, in turn, were ranked as more right than positive personal acts. This ranking was identical to the negative acts, which led the authors to argue that individuals were basing their ranking on the domain of the act, not on whether the act was positive or negative.

In addition, adolescents utilized domain-appropriate judgments of rule contingency when assessing both positive and negative events. Participants sorted the 15 positive and 15 negative events into two categories: “events that were always right regardless of whether they were governed by rules, laws or social expectations” and “events that should be the person’s own business and that were not issues of right and wrong”. With few exceptions, participants sorted the moral positive and negative events into the moral category (wrong/right even without a rule) and the personal positive events into the personal category (should be the person’s own business).

Finally, participants’ gave justifications for the *rightness* or *wrongness* of each event. Participants used more moral justifications for events that were ranked as *most right*, more social-conventional justifications for events ranked as *less right*, and more personal justifications for the events that were ranked as *least right*. This pattern was identical to how participants’ justifications matched their ranking of the negative events. As prosocial activities are not prohibited, the ranking task was important, as it required participants to assess prosocial activities when they were directly pitted against each other in terms of rightness.

The idea that prosocial activities cut across domains was further supported in a study that utilized younger children (between kindergarten and sixth grade) by Bridgeman and Turiel (Smetana et al., 1982). In addition, this study explored younger children’s judgments concerning the boundaries between prosocial acts and constraints imposed by rules and authority. For instance, participants were asked whether a rule should exist that mandated the prosocial action. Interestingly, older

children were more likely than younger children to state that a rule both does not and should not exist for prosocial acts. This seems to indicate that with age, children become more aware of the discretionary nature of prosocial actions. Similar to the previous study, children's judgments about prosocial acts were found to be multifaceted, and their justifications for helping and sharing centered on references to fairness, equality, and welfare. The authors argued that research on prosocial behavior should not focus on a global orientation of the actor, but instead should take into account systematic and domain-relevant distinctions between types of prosocial behavior.

Finally, Kahn (1992) used hypothetical scenarios depicting a character engaged in a positive or negative action to further explore young children's (second, fifth, and eighth grade) conceptions and judgments about both negative moral events, which he labeled obligatory moral actions and positive or *discretionary* actions. Drawing on social philosophers such as Gewirth (1978) and Williams (1985), Kahn defined discretionary moral judgments as those pertaining to situations where moral action is not required but still is conceived of as "morally worthy" based on concerns for human welfare or virtue. The children were asked whether the protagonist in the story *should* perform the act (e.g., share), and were then asked whether it would be *permissible* for the protagonist *not to* perform the act. Using this method, the study found that even young children make distinctions between obligatory and discretionary moral acts. While children generally conceived of prosocial activities

as acts individuals *should do*, more than half of the participants did not conceive of such acts as obligatory.

This distinction draws on Kohlberg's (1971) theorizing that "should" judgments by themselves do not necessarily reflect moral obligation. Thus, individuals might view certain prosocial actions as important or good to do without necessarily viewing them as entailing moral obligation. Indeed, approximately half of the participants viewed the prosocial acts something that the person should do and as "wrong *not* to do", while the other half of participants indicated that these prosocial acts should be done though the protagonist was not obligated to do so. Thus, there were individual differences in how children view individuals' obligation to engage in prosocial activities. Such a distinction may be useful when investigating children's judgments of prosocial actions.

Additionally, this study asked participants to assess the praiseworthiness of the prosocial activities. According to Williams (1985), discretionary actions are thought to be moral if they are "greatly admired" or "well thought of". Thus, participants were asked whether the protagonist performing the prosocial actions should be "something that should be talked about as something really good that somebody did". Praiseworthiness of the activities was related to participants' moral judgments and justifications and therefore usefully distinguished the moral character of discretionary actions. While younger children might best understand this dimension in terms of praiseworthiness, adolescents may best understand this

dimension in terms of respect, as in whether the person performing the prosocial action is worthy of respect.

These studies provide further evidence for the effectiveness of using social domain theory and methodology to elucidate children's judgments concerning prosocial actions. This research assessed adolescents' judgments of prosocial activities, their justifications, as well as their justifications for their ranking of prosocial activities in terms of "rightness." These studies indicate that children and adolescents use similar domain-specific reasoning when conceptualizing prosocial and antisocial actions and point to substantial heterogeneity in adolescents' reasoning, as adolescents distinguished among moral, conventional, and personal prosocial actions. Research has not examined whether there is heterogeneity both between and within individual adolescents' conceptions of civic engagement, which are essentially prosocial activities directed toward specific individuals, communities, or civic institutions. Thus, similar to other prosocial activities, distinct types of civic engagement may differ on domain-relevant characteristics such as their level of obligation and the justifications individuals use.

Research from a domain perspective has shown that individuals interpret multifaceted issues differently based on their unique social position and life experiences. Research is needed to investigate the individual differences that may account for judgment disparity in the domain specification of prosocial acts. As inherently discretionary, prosocial activities can be conceptualized as personal, but such actions might also entail another's welfare or simply be interpreted as necessary

to coordinate interactions within specific social contexts. Just like other multifaceted issues, the information an individual utilizes to form beliefs about multifaceted prosocial actions may depend on their experiences with those actions, for instance their experiences with civic engagement.

Judgments and Behavior

While no studies to date have directly examined the relationship between judgments and civic behavior, research on social domain theory has examined correspondences between domain-differentiated beliefs and behavior more generally. For instance, Turiel and Smetana (1984) discussed the relationship between social judgments and action. The authors stressed that analyzing this relationship cannot be reduced to an examination of simple correlations between level of moral reasoning (e.g. Kohlbergian stage) and specific behaviors. Instead, they argued that researchers must pay attention to how individuals coordinate their judgments of complex issues, which may involve the interpretation of multifaceted situational contexts entailing multiple domains. For instance, they reexamined the famous Milgram experiments. In addition to the standard condition, in which participants were given the choice to shock the other individual who was giving them “voice feedback”, Milgram and his associates ran additional variations of the experiment such as having the participant sit in closer proximity to the victim of the shocks, touch the victim, or having the instructions given by an ordinary person and not a scientist. Each of these different scenarios produced substantially different percentages of participants who were willing to continue the behavior of shocking the other participant. According to the

authors, this pattern indicates that individuals take a variety of contextual indicators into account when deciding to engage in different behaviors.

This relationship between behavior and domain-specific reasoning was empirically explored in a study by Smetana (1981) on adolescent and young women's reasoning regarding abortion. The study involved first-pregnant women, half of whom were obtaining abortions and half of whom were continuing their pregnancies, and a comparison group of never-pregnant women. Interestingly, how women conceptualized abortion was not associated with their level of moral reasoning, but rather was rooted in their conceptions of the personhood of the fetus—those who considered it a person at conception were more likely to view abortion as a moral issue. Moreover, there was a relationship between the women's behavior and their conceptualization of abortion. Most of the women who considered abortion a nonmoral (personal) issue chose to terminate their pregnancies, while most of the women who considered abortion to be a moral issue decided to continue their pregnancy.

An additional study examined the relationship between 9th and 12th grade adolescents' judgments about drug use and their actual drug use (Berkowitz, Guerra, & Nucci, 1991; Nucci, Guerra, & Lee, 1991). Participants reported their drug and alcohol usage during the previous year. Additionally, participants rated the harmfulness, *wrongness*, and domain placement of healthy and unhealthy behaviors. Domain placement was assessed by having participants select one of five domain-relevant categories to describe the behavior: “all right because there is no rule”(social

convention), “perfectly all right whether there is a rule or not” (personal), “all right, but foolish because it harms yourself” (prudential, but acceptable), “wrong because it harms yourself”(prudential, but unacceptable), and “wrong because it harms someone else” (moral). Finally, participants judged which person had the authority to govern the participants’ drug-related behavior: self, friends, peers other than friends, parents, school, church, or law.

Most adolescents viewed drug use as a matter of personal discretion or as prudential issues, and therefore outside of the authority of societal rules or moral concerns. In addition, there was a relationship between adolescents’ behavior (level of drug use) and their domain placement of that behavior. Compared to low drug users, high drug users in this study were far more likely to treat drug use as a personal issue that had no prudential consequences. This study shows that conceptualizations were related to behaviors as well as showing the utility of using paper and pencil assessments to measure participants’ domain-specific judgments.

Overall, the studies just reviewed indicate that individuals’ domain categorization of behaviors, even complex social issues such as abortion and drug use, is associated with their behavior. Thus, behavior may be related to domain differences in individuals’ interpretations of multifaceted issues. In addition, as the Smetana (1981) study shows, domain distinctions may be central to individuals’ behavior. Researchers studying adolescent civic involvement have hypothesized that adolescent engagement influences later involvement in civic activities through the creation of a civic-moral identity. However, instead of contributing to a more global

moral identity, civic involvement might lead adolescents to conceptualize different forms of civic involvement in different ways. For instance, instead of concentrating on the personal and discretionary aspects of civic involvement, adolescents who are involved in community service or other organized activities might see civic involvement as being more obligatory due to its effects on others' welfare or its social conventional features. Thus, social domain theory might provide a useful theoretical model for linking adolescent civic activity to their beliefs about civic involvement.

Study Aims

As the review of the literature shows, a great deal of research has examined adolescents' civic behavior and volunteering. This research has primarily asked adolescents about the types of activities in which they are or plan to be involved. Even adolescents who are not currently involved may hold beliefs about involvement, and these adolescents might still judge community service or political activity as actions in which citizens *should* engage. The social life of adolescents has been described as the combination of increasing privileges and a parallel expansion of responsibilities (Levesque, 2000). An investigation of adolescents' conceptualization of civic behavior would help elucidate the ways in which young people view one facet of these expanded responsibilities, civic duty.

Previous civic involvement research has not assessed adolescents' beliefs or judgments concerning civic, political, and voluntary behavior. As noted in the previous chapter, different individuals may view various actions or social situations in disparate ways. Voluntary, civic, and especially political behavior, though

discretionary actions, include behaviors that could be interpreted within multiple domains. As an example, people often speak of voting as a conventional obligation for citizens. However, other people might see political participation as something in which people *should* engage, but as discretionary and up to the individual. People also might vary in terms of their rationale for voting. Individuals might see voting as something that helps people, something that “good” people do, something that helps make things “run smoothly”, something that should be done because authority figures expect it, a way to “get your voice heard”, or something that is purely a matter of personal choice.

In addition, it would be worthwhile to investigate the relationship between adolescents’ civic behavior and their conceptualizations. Research has shown that individuals’ judgments of multifaceted social actions are associated with their behavior. This relationship has not been investigated for adolescents’ civic behavior. That is, researchers have not examined whether adolescents who are involved in different types of extracurricular, community service, or political activities conceive of civic responsibility differently from those who do not. However, civic engagement research has found some relationships, which seem to indicate that judgments might differ for individuals who are involved. For instance, research has shown that adolescents who volunteer with less advantaged populations are more likely to describe the people they help as moral agents (Youniss & Yates, 1999). In addition, judgments might vary between adolescents involved in different types of activities, such as community volunteering versus extracurricular activities.

The first aim of the present study was to examine adolescents' reasoning and judgments about different types of civic activities using methods drawn from social domain theory. Civic involvement researchers have differentiated between *conventional* and *unconventional* political engagement (Metz & Youniss, 2005), *conventional* and *social movement-related* citizenship (Toney-Purta, 2004), and *social service, working for a cause, and functionary work* volunteering (Youniss et al, 2001). However, research has not directly assessed the attributes that adolescents use to distinguish these activities, nor has research explored whether such distinctions are meaningful to adolescents. In the present study, social domain theory was employed to determine whether adolescents discriminated between different types of civic and community involvement (volunteer/service, standard citizenship political activity, social movement political activity, and social community activities, e.g. social clubs or community events; Putnam, 2000) based on the moral, conventional, and personal characteristics of the activities. The goal was to help provide conceptual clarity for future civic involvement research, as well as provide a detailed elucidation of adolescents' conceptions of civic involvement.

The second aim of this study was to examine whether these conceptualizations were related to adolescents' current level of involvement in organized and civic activities. Research on civic engagement has shown that adolescents who are involved in their communities are more likely to have higher levels of social trust and are more likely to see those they help as individuals (Flanagan, 2004; Youniss & Yates, 1999). Research has not examined whether adolescents who volunteer, engage

in community or political activities, or are members of churches or clubs conceptualize individuals' obligation to be involved in different ways compared to adolescents who are not involved. Based on Nucci et al.'s (1991) study on adolescent drug use, the present study examined whether adolescents who were involved in civic activities, community groups, and volunteering were more likely than uninvolved adolescents to conceptualize civic involvement as moral or conventional rather than as personal. Overall involvement in any type of activity or group might not be sufficient to alter adolescents' civic judgments, however. Instead, differences in adolescents' conceptualizations might be related to the specific types of activities in which adolescents are involved. The present study examined the association of both adolescents' overall current activity involvement and their involvement in specific categories of activity with their judgments about civic involvement.

Finally, the third aim of the present study was to explore patterns of adolescent activity involvement. Increasingly, developmental researchers are beginning to use person-centered analysis to examine unique patterns of adolescent activity involvement. This study explored whether similar patterns of activity to those found in previous research were present in our sample. More importantly, this study examined whether adolescents' judgments about civic involvement were related to different patterns of adolescent involvement.

Study Hypotheses

1. It was hypothesized that adolescents would make domain-appropriate judgments and justifications concerning categories of civic involvement, as

assessed by judgments of “should”, obligation, importance, and respect, as well as their justifications. More specifically:

- a. Community service involvement was hypothesized to be treated more often than other types of involvement as a moral activity. Compared to other types of civic involvement, community service items were expected to be judged to be more obligatory (as assessed by judgments of whether they should be involved and whether they are obligated to be involved), more important, more worthy of respect, and were predicted to be justified more often with moral justifications.
- b. Standard citizenship involvement was expected to be treated more often as conventional compared to other types of civic involvement. For standard citizenship involvement, judgments of obligation (as assessed by judgments of whether they should be involved and whether they are obligated to be involved), importance, and respect were expected to be significantly higher than for the social community items, but lower than the volunteer/service items. These items were hypothesized to be justified more often with conventional justifications.
- c. Community gathering involvement was predicted to be treated as personal. Compared to other types of civic involvement, these items were expected to be judged as less obligatory (as assessed by judgments of whether they should be involved and whether they are

obligated to be involved), less important, and less worthy of respect than the other types of civic involvement, and were hypothesized to be justified more often than other types of involvement with personal justifications.

- d. Exploratory analyses examined domain-specific judgments concerning social movement involvement items. Analyses examined whether judgments of obligation (should and obligation ratings), importance, respect, as well as the use of different justifications differed significantly for this category compared to the other categories.

2. Replicating previous civic involvement research (Hart, Atkins, & Ford, 1998; Youniss, McLellan, & Mazer, 2001), adolescents' level of activity involvement was hypothesized to be influenced by demographic background:
 - a. Gender: It was expected that relative to boys, girls would be involved in more volunteer/service and religious activities.
 - b. Socioeconomic status: Compared to lower SES adolescents, adolescents from higher SES families (assessed by parental education) were predicted to be involved more in civic activities overall.
 - c. Age: Because they often have more opportunities for involvement, it was expected that older adolescents would be involved in more civic activities overall.
3. Adolescents' domain-specific categorizations of civic involvement categories were hypothesized to be influenced by their current level of involvement.

Relative to their peers who were less involved, adolescents who were more involved in civic and community activities were hypothesized to rate more activities as obligatory (as assessed by judgments of whether they should be involved and whether they are obligated to be involved) and more worthy of respect. Relative to their uninvolved peers, more involved adolescents were also expected to use more moral and conventional than personal justifications.

Moreover,

- a. It was hypothesized that adolescents' overall level of involvement would be differentially associated with judgments and justifications concerning different civic involvement categories. More specifically,
 - i. Community service: Because this type of involvement entails others' welfare but is also discretionary, it was expected that compared to their uninvolved peers, more involved adolescents would rate community service as more obligatory (as assessed by judgments of whether they should be involved and whether they are obligated to be involved) and more worthy of respect. It was also hypothesized that more involved adolescents would justify community service involvement more often with moral justifications.
 - ii. Standard citizenship: This type of involvement is discretionary but also involves commonly assumed basic United States citizenship expectations (Toney-Purta, 2004; Walker, 2002).

Thus, it was expected that compared to their less involved peers, more involved adolescents would rate these activities as more obligatory (as assessed by judgments of whether they should be involved and whether they are obligated to be involved) and more worthy of respect. It was also hypothesized that more involved adolescents would justify standard citizenship items more often with conventional justifications.

- iii. Social movement involvement: Though discretionary, social movement involvement is concerned with active political engagement aimed at addressing social problems. Therefore, compared to their uninvolved peers, more involved adolescents were hypothesized to rate these activities as more obligatory (as assessed by judgments of whether they should be involved and whether they are obligated to be involved) and more worthy of respect. It was also hypothesized that more involved adolescents would justify social movement involvement more often with moral justifications.
- b. Specific types of activities were expected to have a unique influence on adolescents' conceptions of specific types of civic involvement over and above other types of adolescent activities. More specifically:

- i. Community Service: Over and above involvement in other activities, involvement in volunteer/service activities was expected to be associated with greater obligation (should and obligation ratings), greater respect, and more moral justifications for community service.
 - ii. Social Movement: Over and above involvement in other activities, involvement in school and community social cause/political clubs and activities was expected to be associated with greater obligation (should and obligation ratings), greater respect, and more moral justifications for social movement involvement.
 - iii. Standard citizenship: Over and above involvement in other activities, involvement in school and community social cause/political clubs and activities was expected to be associated with greater obligation (should and obligation ratings), more respect, and more conventional justifications for standard citizenship involvement.
4. Several exploratory analyses were conducted to test whether differences in adolescent civic conceptualizations were associated with profiles of adolescent civic activity and adolescents' age.
 - a. Based on Bartko and Eccles (2003), it was hypothesized that there would be unique profiles of adolescent extracurricular, voluntary, and

civic involvement activities. Exploratory analyses examined the relationship of these profiles to adolescents' judgments of "should", obligation, importance, and respect, as well as their justifications for each of the civic involvement categories.

- b. Exploratory analyses examined the effects of age on adolescents' domain-relevant judgments and justifications for different categories of civic involvement. It was hypothesized that older adolescents would rate community service, standard citizenship, and social movement civic involvement as more obligatory (should and obligation ratings), more important, and more worthy of respect. Relative to younger adolescents, older adolescents were expected to justify community service and social movement involvement with more moral justifications, and standard citizenship involvement with more conventional justifications.

Chapter 4: Methods

Sample

The sample for the present study consisted of 312 students in grades 10-12 (age range = 15-19 years, $M = 16.88$, $SD = .92$) at Rush-Henrietta High School, Rochester New York. The sample was primarily 12th graders ($n = 244$, 47% of all 12th graders), with small numbers of 11th graders ($n = 20$, 4% of all 11th graders) and 10th graders ($n = 48$, 10% of all 10th graders). This large discrepancy resulted from circumstances surrounding the researcher's access to students in the various classes and is described in detail below. However, the sample was composed of relatively equal numbers of males ($n = 139$, 45%) and females ($n = 173$, 55%). The sample was primarily White (74%, $n = 230$), with the remainder being African American (11%, $n = 33$), Asian/Pacific Islander (6%, $n = 20$), Hispanic/Latino (2%, $n = 5$), Native American (1%, $n = 2$), and other ethnicities including biracial adolescents (7%, $n = 22$). This ethnic distribution was very comparable to The New York State School Report Card for Rush Henrietta High School, which indicates that the school is 77% white (not Hispanic), 13% African American, 7% American Indian, Alaskan, Asian, or Pacific Islander, and 3% Hispanic. The majority of students (51%) reported receiving mostly A's ($n = 160$) or mostly B's ($n = 112$) for their academic performance. Nine percent of participants reported receiving C's ($n = 28$), and 2 participants (1%) reported receiving mostly D's.

In term of participants' family status, 70% of the participating adolescents had parents who were stably married ($n = 211$, of which 2 reported living with a stepmother and 5 reported living with a stepfather), 9% had parents who were

separated ($n = 28$, 4 reported living with a stepfather), and 21% had parents who were divorced ($n = 64$, 7 reported living with a stepmother, 23 reported living with a stepfather). Participants' parents varied in their highest level of achieved educational status: graduate degree, such as doctor, lawyer, or PhD (mothers = 12%, fathers = 12%), completed college (mothers = 43%, fathers = 44%), completed high school (mothers = 34%, fathers = 29%), completed 8th grade (mothers = 3%, fathers = 3%), or educational status unknown (mothers = 9%, fathers = 12%).

On average, boys (age = 17.01 years, $SD = .86$) were significantly older than girls (age = 16.77 years, $SD = .97$), $t = 2.30$, $p < .05$. In addition, there were significant gender differences in the participation rate for two ethnic groups. Significantly more African American females and Asian males participated than African American males and Asian females, respectively, $\chi^2 = 13.45$, $p < .05$. Finally, adolescents whose parents were separated (age = 17.36 years, $SD = .91$) were significantly older than adolescents whose parents were married (age = 16.80 years, $SD = .89$), $t = 2.34$, $p < .05$.

Procedures

After gaining the approval of the Rush Henrietta School District, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade students from the high school were recruited in students' classrooms (12th graders) and study halls (10th and 11th graders). During the recruitment, the study was briefly introduced to students, and interested students were given a parent permission form (or a student consent form, if the student was eighteen years of age or older). Students returned their signed parent permission form to their

homerooms, classrooms, or study halls. Students who chose to participate were eligible for one of three randomly-drawn \$50 gift certificates to a local shopping mall.

Nearly all of the 12th grade teachers strongly encouraged students to participate, while the 10th and 11th grade study hall teachers were less involved in the recruiting process. Only a few 10th and 11th grade teachers consistently reminded students to return their permission forms and informed them of study administration dates. This discrepancy in teacher involvement, as well as the structured environment of the 12th grade classrooms compared to the freer atmosphere of the study halls, may have contributed to the disproportionate number of 12th graders participating in the study relative to 10th and 11th graders.

Questionnaires were administered in students' classrooms. Participating 12th graders completed the questionnaires during Economics or Participation in Government classes, and 10th and 11th graders completed the questionnaire during study hall. Questionnaires were distributed only to the students who had returned a parent permission form and signed an assent form or over-18 students who had signed a consent form. Students were read the instructions, and the study coordinator or a trained assistant remained in the classroom while the students completed the questionnaires to answer questions that arose.

Measures

Civic Involvement Stimuli. Twenty-one civic involvement activities were used to assess participants' beliefs and judgments about active civic involvement. These items were divided into four categories that included five *community service*

activities, five *standard citizenship political* activities, seven *social movement political* activities, and four *community gathering* activities. Items in both political categories were chosen and adapted from established measures of citizenship and civic engagement (Torney-Purta, 2004; Youniss, Yates, & Su, 1997). Items in the other two categories were created specifically for this study. The community gathering activities represented group activities that some social philosophers point to as markers of social capital (e.g. bowling leagues, Putnam, 2000). The individual items and civic categories are presented in Table 4.1 and will be referred to as the civic involvement categories in the following descriptions. The items were presented to participants in a random order that remained constant across the questionnaires.

Assessments of Civic Duty

Should and Obligation. Similar to previous research (Kahn, 1992), participants were asked whether individuals should engage in each of the 21 civic items. In previous research, responses were scored in a dichotomous (yes/no) fashion. In the present study, responses were presented in a Likert format ranging from 1 (doesn't matter) to 5 (definitely should). Participants were asked to rate whether people "should" do each activity. Alpha coefficients for the community service, standard political, social movement, and community gathering subscales were .84, .76, .81, and .80, respectively.

For each of the 21 items, participants were also asked "How wrong is it if someone does NOT do the activity." Similar to the "should" judgments, obligation was measured in *degree* of wrongness on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (not at all

wrong) to 5 (very wrong). Piloting of this measure indicated that middle and late adolescents ($n = 24$) were able to comprehend and respond to the double-negative format of this measure. In addition, the study coordinator or a trained research assistant was on hand during the study administration to answer questions, and a few questions concerning this measure were raised. Alpha's were .91 for community service, .84 for standard political, .81 for social movement, and .85 for community gathering activities. Higher ratings on the should and wrong scales meant that adolescents judged that engaging in an activity was more obligatory.

Importance Rankings. Participants ranked the 21 civic involvement items in terms of their importance. Participants indicated how important each activity is by indicating the seven items they considered *most important*, the seven items they considered *sort of important*, and the seven items they considered *least important*. Alpha coefficients for the community service, standard political, social movement, and community gathering subscales were .73, .56, .25, and .67, respectively.

Respect Ratings. Drawing from Kahn (1992) and Williams (1985), the praiseworthiness of the civic activities was assessed. Based on piloting, which indicated that for high school students, the concept of admiration or praise for the civic involvement items was best captured with the notion of "respect", participants were asked "How much would you respect someone who engages in each of the following activities?" Responses were assessed on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (none at all) to 5 (a lot). Alphas for the civic involvement subscales were .88 for

community service, .82 for standard political, .84 for social movement, and .86 for community gathering.

Justifications. As has been done in previous studies (Nucci et al., 1991), adolescents' justifications for the civic involvement items were assessed in a questionnaire. Participants were asked "Why should people..." for each civic involvement item. They were instructed to choose what they believe to be the MOST important reason from a list of five response categories, which were developed from piloting with undergraduates: "Practical benefits: school, job, career experience, gain other's respect" (pragmatic), "Person's own choice or desire, up to the person, personal fulfillment" (personal), "Important to follow customs and do what is expected of you" (conventional), "Important for things to run smoothly, people need to do their part" (conventional), and "Helps or benefits other people" (moral). The two conventional categories were collapsed into one category for analysis. Scores for each domain were assessed by summing the number of domain justifications given within each civic involvement category. Because there were unequal numbers of items in the civic categories, proportion scores were created for justifications in each civic involvement category.

Adolescent Activities. Adolescents' current activities were measured using a 23-item Likert scale adapted from previous research (Eccles & Barber, 1999; Smetana & Metzger, 2005; Torney-Purta, 2004; Youniss et al, 1997). The items represented current involvement in five different categories including three religious activities, four volunteering activities, four community group activities, six school or

community political activities, and four school involvement/extracurricular activities. In addition, two “work” items (*work for pay* and *help family around the house*) were included on this measure. These items were used as “checks” for the cluster analyses, and allowed for a more complete description of adolescents’ out-of-class activities. Adolescents indicated their level of involvement over an average month on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Never) to 5 (Very often). Mean scores for each of the five categories were assessed. The items and categories are presented in Table 4.2. In the following analyses, these will be referred to as the adolescent activity categories. (See Appendix A for all questionnaire measures and demographics measure.)

Chapter 5: Results

Table 5.1 presents the means and standard deviations of adolescents' judgments and justifications (proportions) for each of the four civic involvement categories. Pearson correlations are presented in Table 5.2. The pattern of significant associations indicates that correlations were larger within civic involvement categories than they were across these categories. In addition, while correlations across judgments within civic categories were statistically significant, they are generally moderate in magnitude. This suggests convergent validity concerning both the types of judgments adolescents made, as well as the categories of civic involvement. Thus, the different judgments and justifications seem to tap unique criteria.

Means and standard deviations for the different categories of adolescent activity involvement and the zero-order correlations between the activity scales are reported in Table 5.2. As expected, the activity measures were significantly though moderately correlated, so subsequent tests examined both overall involvement and level of involvement in different activities separately.

Hypothesis 1: Adolescents' domain-specific categorization of civic involvement categories. The first analyses tested the hypothesis that adolescents would distinguish among categories of civic involvement in their judgments and justifications. To test the hypothesis that adolescents categorized different forms of civic involvement according to domain-specific criteria, a series of 2 (gender) X 4 (civic involvement category) within-subjects ANOVAs were run on adolescents'

ratings of should, obligation, importance, and respect. Additionally, separate 2 (gender) X 4 (justification category) ANOVAs were run on the proportionate responses for each civic involvement category to determine if adolescents used different justifications for different categories of civic involvement. Because adolescents rarely used the pragmatic justification category (no more than 16.5% of adolescents used this category for a single item, and only the pragmatic proportion score for community gathering category was above .10), analyses were run only on the proportion scores for moral, conventional, and personal justifications. When civic involvement categories were found to differ significantly, differences were examined using Bonferroni t-tests. Means and significant main effects are presented in Table 5.1.

A significant main effect for civic involvement category was found for adolescents' should judgments, though the findings were contrary to what was hypothesized. Post-hoc analyses revealed that adolescents judged that individuals should be involved in standard political activities more than all other types of civic activities, and should be involved in community service more than both social movement and community gathering behaviors. However, this effect was qualified by a civic category by gender interaction, $F(3,309) = 6.77, p < .001$. While boys judged that individuals should be involved in community service significantly less than standard political activities, girls did not differ in their ratings for these two types of involvement.

An analogous pattern was found for adolescents' ratings of how wrong it was for individuals not to be involved in the different civic categories. There was a main effect for civic involvement category. Post-hoc analyses indicated that adolescents judged it to be more wrong for individuals to not engage in standard political activities than all other types of involvement and more wrong to not engage in community service than in social movement political actions. Adolescents also judged it to be more wrong to not engage in social movement involvement than in community gathering behaviors. Similar to the findings for the should ratings, this main effect was qualified by a gender X civic involvement category interaction, $F(3,309) = 7.91, p < .001$. Girls judged it as more wrong for individuals not to engage in community service than did boys, $t = 3.35, p < .01$, but there were no gender differences for the other forms of civic involvement.

Adolescents' importance rankings followed a slightly different pattern and were more in line with hypotheses. A significant main effect for civic involvement category indicated that adolescents ranked the civic involvement categories differently in terms of their importance. Bonferroni t-tests indicated that adolescents ranked community service as more important than all other forms of involvement. They also ranked standard political involvement as more important than social movement and community gathering involvement and ranked social movement involvement as more important than community gathering involvement. Additionally, this main effect was qualified by a gender X civic involvement category interaction, $F(3,309) = 5.02, p < .01$. While girls ranked community service

involvement as more important than standard political involvement these categories were not ranked differently in importance by boys.

Adolescents' respect ratings followed a similar pattern to the importance rankings and supported the hypotheses. Specifically, a main effect was found for civic involvement category, with each category differing significantly from the others. As hypothesized, Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that adolescents rated community service as most worthy of respect, followed by standard political involvement, then social movement involvement, and finally, community gathering involvement.

A significant main effect was found for adolescents' use of moral justifications for the different types of civic involvement. As hypothesized, post-hoc analyses indicated that adolescents used more moral justifications for community service involvement than for any other form of involvement, and more moral justifications for social movement involvement than both standard political and community gathering involvement. Adolescents' use of conventional justifications also differed significantly according civic involvement category. As hypothesized, conventional justifications were used more for standard political involvement than for all other forms of involvement and for social movement involvement more than for both community service and community gathering involvement. Adolescents' use of personal justifications, on the other hand, followed nearly an opposite pattern. Bonferroni t-tests indicated that adolescents' use of personal justifications differed significantly for all four categories of civic involvement. Personal justifications were

used more for community gathering involvement than for anything else, followed by social movement, standard political, and community service involvement, respectively.

Hypothesis 2: Demographic differences in activity level. For Hypothesis 2a, t-tests were used to test whether there were gender differences in adolescents' level of current activities. As hypothesized, girls were more involved overall than were boys, $t = 2.22, p < .05$. An examination of gender differences in the separate activity categories indicated that girls were more involved than boys in religious, $t = 1.95, p < .05$, volunteer/service, $t = 4.10, p < .001$, and school activities, $t = 1.93, p < .05$, but there were no gender differences in community or political activity.

Hypothesis 2b and 2c examined whether adolescents' age and families' socioeconomic status were associated with their level of involvement. Zero-order correlations between adolescents' activity involvement and parents' education and adolescents' age are presented in Table 5.4. As indicated in the table, parents' education was significantly associated with adolescents' overall activity level and was also associated significantly with each individual type of activity except religious activity. As hypothesized, adolescents from more educated households were more involved in different activities. However, the association with mothers' education appeared to be slightly higher than were the associations with fathers' education level. Fathers' education level was associated only with increased adolescent engagement in community and school activities. Contrary to hypotheses, however, adolescents' age was significantly and negatively associated with adolescents' overall

activity and with each individual activity except religious and political activity involvement. Older adolescents were involved less than younger adolescents. Not surprisingly, however, age was significantly and positively related to adolescents' working in an afterschool job, with older adolescents working more.

Hypothesis 3: Adolescents' involvement and domain-specific judgments concerning civic involvement. To test Hypothesis 3a, partial correlations between adolescents' overall involvement and their judgments and justifications, controlling for adolescents' sex, for all four civic involvement categories were examined. Partial correlations for judgments and justifications are presented in Table 5.5.

After controlling for adolescent sex, adolescents' involvement in all activities was significantly associated with nearly all adolescent judgments for each of the four types of civic involvement. Specifically, with increased involvement, adolescents judged all types of civic involvement to be more obligatory (higher should and wrong ratings). Additionally, with increased involvement, adolescents rated individuals who engaged in all four types of behavior to be more worthy of praise.

Compared to their judgments, adolescents' justifications showed fewer associations with overall activity. Only one moral and one conventional justification proportion score were associated with adolescent overall activity. More involved adolescents were more likely to use moral justifications for social movement involvement and conventional justifications for community gathering involvement. However, adolescents' overall activity was negatively associated with their use of personal justifications for three categories of involvement. Adolescents who were

more involved gave fewer personal justifications for community service, standard political involvement, and social movement involvement.

To examine Hypothesis 3b, that adolescents' involvement in specific activities would predict their judgments and justifications regarding similar types of involvement, a series of hierarchical regressions were run. For each of these regressions, the dependent variables were the should, wrong, and respect judgments, along with specific justification proportion scores for the community service, standard political, and social movement civic involvement categories. In the first step of each of these regressions, the judgment or justification was regressed onto adolescent gender. In the second step, the separate adolescent activity categories were added to the model. Results of these regressions are presented in Tables 5.6 – 5.9.

Adolescent gender was associated with adolescents' judgments of community service and social movement involvement. Compared to boys, girls judged that it was more wrong for individuals not to engage in community service and that individuals who were involved in community service were more worthy of respect. Girls were also more likely to rate that individuals should be involved community service than were boys. A similar pattern emerged for social movement involvement. Compared to boys, girls rated individuals who engaged in social movement involvement as more worthy of respect, and girls also were more likely to rate that individuals should be involved in social movement activities than were boys.

In terms of adolescents' activities, as hypothesized, a consistent pattern emerged where adolescents' judgments of a particular type of involvement were uniquely associated with increased involvement in the similar activity. For instance, over and above other types of activity, adolescents who were more involved in volunteer/service rated community service involvement as more obligatory (in that they were more likely to rate that one should be involved in community service and that it was wrong if the person did not engage in community service) and judged individuals who were involved in community service to be more worthy of respect. Similarly, over and above other types of activity, adolescent political activity was uniquely associated with judgments of both standard political and social movement political involvement. With increased political activity, adolescents were more likely to rate that one should be involved in both standard political involvement and social movement involvement. In addition, adolescents who were more involved in political activities rated individuals who engaged in both standard political and social movement involvement as more worthy of respect.

One surprising finding emerged in the regressions predicting adolescent judgments of community service concerning adolescents' religious activity. Over and above other types of adolescent activities, adolescents who were more involved in religious activity were less likely to rate that individuals should be involved in community service. Additionally, after controlling for other types of involvement, more religiously involved adolescents rated individuals who were engaged in community service as less worthy of respect.

Unlike the previous analyses, adolescents' justifications were less associated with their activities, see Table 5.9. Contrary to hypotheses, the activity categories were not associated with adolescents' use of moral justifications for community service or social movement involvement. Over and above other types of activity, adolescents who were more involved in school activities but less involved in community activities gave more conventional justifications for standard political involvement.

In summary, adolescents' current civic activities were associated with their judgments of civic involvement and, to a lesser extent, their use of specific justifications for civic involvement. More involved adolescents judged all categories of civic involvement to be more obligatory and more worthy of respect. In addition, more involved adolescents endorsed fewer personal reasons to justify involvement in civic activities. However, when examining unique forms of adolescent activity, adolescents' involvement in specific types of activities was only associated with higher judgments of similar civic involvement categories. Adolescents who were involved in volunteer/service activities judged community service to be more obligatory and more worthy of respect, while more politically involved adolescents viewed both standard political and social movement involvement to be more obligatory and more worthy of respect.

Hypothesis 4: Exploratory analyses of differences in adolescent civic conceptualizations as a function of profiles of adolescent civic activity and age.

To test Hypothesis 4a, cluster analytic techniques were utilized. The five adolescent activity category scores were submitted to cluster analysis to differentiate among groups of adolescents who exhibited distinct profiles of involvement. These analyses were conducted in two steps. First, the activity categories were submitted to Ward's hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis. This technique provides numerous stopping rules and is ideal for determining the number of clusters present in a data set (Henry, Tolan, & Gorman-Smith, 2005; Lorr, 1994).

The number of activity clusters present in the data were determined through an examination of the dendrogram and the agglomeration schedule (SPSS 15.0). These indices pointed to either a five or six cluster solution, though the relative "jump" in coefficients on the agglomerative schedule indicated a slight advantage for the six cluster solution. In the second step, the cluster centers created by the hierarchical analysis were used as starting points for a nonhierarchical *K*-means analysis. While nonhierarchical techniques do not provide stopping mechanisms for determining the number of clusters present in a data set, such procedures do allow cases to be reassigned after their initial. Thus, this second step takes advantage of the strengths of both hierarchical and nonhierarchical techniques, is consistent with conventional quantitative procedures, and also provides a test of the stability of the cluster solution.

An examination of the individual means for the six-cluster solution showed that the individual profiles were not entirely distinguishable. For instance, there were two profiles that had relatively low levels of involvement in all five activities, and

two profiles that had relatively high levels of involvement in all five activities. Though the activity means for these profiles were significantly different (more or less uninvolved, multiply involved), the two multiply involved and two uninvolved clusters indicated theoretically similar patterns of adolescent activity. One explanation for this outcome was that the similar clusters markedly diverged on some unaccounted for measure. To test this supposition, steps were taken to include an additional activity variable in the two-step cluster analyses. An examination of the relevant literature showed that adolescent work might be an appropriate and productive measure to include (Bartko & Eccles, 2003). So, the same two-step cluster analyses were run on the five activity scales and adolescent work (“How much time do you spend at an after-school job?”). The addition of adolescent work to the cluster solution helped to differentiate the clusters. While the levels of the five activity categories remained the same for the six profiles, adolescent work separated clusters that previously had been relatively similar.

With few exceptions, the resulting profiles were significantly different from one another on each of the organized items (Table 5.10). The standardized activities for each of the six profiles are presented in Figure 5.1. One group of adolescents was relatively *uninvolved* ($n = 72$, 24%) and reported low to average levels of involvement in all of the activity categories and work. Another group, the *just work* ($n = 55$, 18%) group, reported even lower levels of activity in the five activity groups, but reported above average levels or working at an after-school job. This was nearly opposite of the *no work* ($n = 51$, 16%) profile, which reported the lowest levels of

work, but average levels of involvement in the other activities, and even above average religious and school involvement. However, this pattern of being very low in one category was similar to the *no church* ($n = 52, 17\%$) group, which reported low levels of religious activity but also reported above average involvement in every activity except volunteering. The *church and work* ($n = 57, 18\%$) profile followed a different pattern in that adolescents in this group reported above average involvement in both religious activities and after-school work, but only average to below average involvement in all other activities. Finally, the *multiply involved* ($n = 25, 8\%$) group reported high levels of involvement in all five activity categories and after-school jobs.

Next, mean should, obligation, importance, respect and justification proportion scores were obtained for each civic involvement profile, and separate ANOVAs were run with adolescent gender (2) and adolescent activity profile (6) as between-subjects factors on these ratings and justifications. Adolescents' use of justifications for the different civic involvement categories did not differ significantly by activity profile. However, significant, though moderate differences emerged for several adolescent judgments. Analyses showed no significant gender by activity profile interactions, so subsequent results refer only to main effects for civic activity profiles.

For adolescent judgments as to whether individuals *should* be engaged in the different civic involvement categories, several significant differences emerged between the activity profiles, as shown in Table 5.11. Adolescents in the *multiply*

involved and *no church* profiles were more likely to say that individuals should be involved in all four forms of civic involvement, while adolescents in the *uninvolved* and *just work* profiles were less likely to say that individuals should be involved. In terms of adolescents' judgments of whether it was wrong for individuals *not* to be involved, the civic profiles only differed for community gathering and not for the other categories, $F(5, 306) = 3.10, p < .05$. Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that compared to the *just work* profile, adolescents in the *no church* activity profile judged individuals to be more wrong if they did not engage in community gathering activities. Adolescents' importance judgments followed a similar pattern in that significant profile differences emerged for only the community gathering category, $F(5, 306) = 3.21, p < .01$. Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that teens in the *just work* profile judged community gathering to be less important than did teens in the *church and work* and *no church* profiles. Finally, across all four civic involvement categories, adolescent respect judgments differed by activity profile. As can be seen in Table 5.12, while the overall ANOVA's were significant, post-hoc analyses revealed few significant mean differences. However, the overall pattern was similar to the other judgments. Adolescents in the *multiply involved* and *no church* profiles judged individuals who engaged in all four types of civic involvement as more worthy of respect while adolescents in the *uninvolved*, *just work*, and *church & work* profiles judged involved individuals to be less worthy of respect.

In order to test Hypothesis 4b, a series of partial correlations were run. After partialling out adolescent gender, adolescent age was correlated with adolescent

judgments and justifications for the four civic involvement categories. These correlations are displayed in Table 5.13. A consistent pattern of correlations emerged for adolescents' judgments of community service. With increasing age, adolescents judged community service to be less obligatory (lower should and wrong judgments), less important, and less worthy of respect. Adolescent age was not associated with adolescent justifications for any of the civic involvement categories.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The present study explored adolescents' beliefs about civic duty, or the obligations that stem from living in a democracy. The study employed assessments drawn from social domain theory (Turiel, 2006) to assess adolescents' judgments and justifications concerning civic involvement. Adolescents distinguished among types of civic involvement in ways that were consistent with different social domains of reasoning. This study also examined the relationship between adolescents' organized and civic activities and their civic reasoning. As discussed in more detail below, adolescents' ratings and use of justifications were found to be associated with their involvement in civic and organized activities.

Adolescents' civic judgments and justifications

Studying adolescents' conceptualizations of civic involvement poses a special problem for researchers interested in moral development. Civic activities can be thought of as superogatory activities, which are actions that are "good to do", but that do not necessarily carry moral obligation. Many civic involvement activities fall under this definition, as they are charitable activities which are thought well of or even publicly praised, such as community service. More politically oriented activities (e.g. voting) are also strongly encouraged and often referred to as "civic duties" (Dudley & Gittelsohn, 2002). The present study investigated whether adolescents applied concepts of moral obligation, social praise, and domain-specific justifications to types of civic involvement and examined whether such concepts were applied differentially to distinct types of civic involvement.

An examination of these ratings and justifications showed that adolescents discriminated among types of civic involvement. As hypothesized, these differences matched domain characteristics of the activities. For instance, adolescents' judgments and justifications indicate that adolescents treated community gathering involvement as personal. This type of involvement was viewed as carrying little obligation (low should and wrong ratings), was rated as being less worthy of respect, was ranked as the least important form civic involvement, and was justified most often with personal justifications. While not constituting civic involvement per se, sociological studies have used social gathering activities as proxies for or antecedents of social capital and political involvement (Putnam, 2000). This research assumes that simply having individuals meet together or participate in social activities may foster civic-mindedness. However, the present findings indicate that adolescents conceptualize these sorts of activities differently from other forms of civic involvement. In fact, it seems that adolescents organize their thinking about civic involvement based on the outcome or impact of the involvement (helping others, political participation). Future research should be cautious in extrapolating community or national levels of civic involvement from community gathering activities. It could be that community gathering activities are viewed as lying outside of individual's civic responsibilities, and therefore, participation rates in such community activities may not be associated with individuals' more general civic beliefs.

In contrast, community service involvement was treated as a moral issue. It was viewed to be fairly obligatory (significantly higher should and wrong ratings),

worthy of the most respect, ranked as the most important, and justified most often with moral justifications. Interestingly, standard political activities were rated as being even more obligatory than community service (higher should and wrong ratings), but were treated as conventional in the remaining ratings and justifications. Compared to community service, standard political activities were rated as less important, less worthy of respect, and were justified with conventional justifications. Thus, standard political involvement was rated as more obligatory than community service involvement, but for conventional reasons. While previous research has found that moral activities are often rated as more obligatory than conventional items, obligation is just one criterion used to distinguish among domains and both moral and conventional actions carry obligation (Turiel, 1983; Turiel & Davidson, 1986). Thus, obligation may not always be the best dimension to examine domain distinctions in individuals' reasoning; researchers must also examine other dimensions. Indeed, studies have found that even when individuals correctly assign activities to different domains based on criteria such as rule contingency and justifications, they may rate conventional activities as more serious than moral actions (Tisak & Turiel, 1988). Similarly, in the present study, even though adolescents seemed to view community service in moral terms, they viewed citizens as being more obligated to participate in standard political activities.

Boys and girls differed in some of their obligation judgments (should and wrong ratings) and in their rankings of community service and standard political involvement. The consistent finding was that females tended to prioritize community

service more than did boys, who, in turn, prioritized standard political involvement more than did girls. However, girls and boys did not differ in their respect ratings or in their use of justifications, which would seem to indicate that boys and girls were conceptualizing these forms of involvement in similar ways. Girls have been found to score higher on measures of prosocial reasoning (Eisenberg, Carlo, Murphy, & Van Court, 1995) than boys, which could lead them to prioritize community service with its focus on helping others. An alternative explanation, however, is that compared to boys, girls prioritize standard political involvement less. Walker (2000, 2004) has cautioned that the education system's current focus on service learning has taken the focus off of political participation. She theorizes that girls may especially be vulnerable to patterns of civic learning that highlight service or volunteering and not political answers to social problems. Future research should investigate possible gender differences in civic conceptualizations.

In contrast to the other types of civic involvement, social movement activities were less clearly associated with a specific social domain in adolescents' ratings, rankings, and justifications. While generally treated as more personal than community service and standard political involvement, social movement involvement was rated as more obligatory, more worthy of respect, and ranked as more important than community gathering involvement. However, there was a fairly marked disparity between adolescents' beliefs about social movement and standard political activities. One interpretation is that adolescents in the present sample viewed political participation in conventional or conservative terms. Adolescents prioritized

more mainstream forms of political participation over forms of political protest aimed at changing governmental and social policies. This could represent a cohort effect, as previous generations of college students (most notably during the 1960's) took part in social protests in large numbers. However, most of those involved in social movement activities in previous generations were at least of college age, so there may be a developmental effect. High schoolers in the present study may not have attained an age where social movement involvement was seen as a legitimate form of political participation.

These domain distinctions provide a number of insights to the civic literature. First, it seems that adolescents have complex views about their social and civic world. Previous theorizing on civic development has been conducted from a socialization model (Flanagan, 2004). It has been assumed that adolescents' civic knowledge was gained through direct instruction or more recently, through the modeling and the assimilation of feelings of investment in the social order through service learning or involvement in community groups. The present study suggests that, as hypothesized, adolescents have complex views of their civic world. The majority of adolescents in this study viewed citizens as being obligated to be involved in various forms of civic activities. One explanation for this finding is that adolescents' civic conceptualizations normatively develop during adolescence. Social domain theorists have posited that distinct domains of social reasoning develop out of differentiated interactions individuals have with their social environment. By the time they enter adolescence, individuals have had multiple and complex interactions with their civic

and social world, through direct encounters (Sagawa, 1998), instruction in classrooms (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004), or even passive absorption of civic expectations. Helwig has found that even young children have complex conceptualizations of democratic principles (Helwig, 1998) and posited that such knowledge may be constructed through living in a democratic form of government. Once adolescents have an understanding of types of civic behaviors and begin interacting with civic and community institutions, they may apply previously gained social knowledge to categories of civic involvement. If this is the case, future civic research may benefit from utilizing a social-cognitive perspective, which could map out how such conceptualizations develop and change across adolescence and the relationship between such conceptualizations and adolescent and adult civic behavior.

An additional finding relevant to the civic involvement literature is that adolescents made clear distinctions among types of civic involvement. While some previous civic research has used different subscales of civic behavior, such research mostly separated forms of civic involvement as outcome variables, which measured adolescents “intention” to become involved (Metz & Youniss, 2005). That is, categories of civic involvement were assumed to be subtly different variations within the more general category of civic engagement. However, the present study found that adolescents conceptualized different forms of civic involvement according to unique criteria. Future civic involvement research should take into account these differences.

Adolescent activity involvement. Research on adolescents' organized activity involvement has already recognized the need to account for differences among types of adolescent activities (Larson, Hansen, & Moneta, 2006). The present study utilized a comprehensive measure that assessed adolescent involvement in a variety of activities, as well as the relative amount of time adolescents spent in the various activities. Thus, the measure accounted for both the "breadth", or the number of different activities in which adolescents were involved, and the "intensity" of adolescents' involvement. There has been considerable debate in the literature over which of these dimensions is more pertinent to adolescent development, with the general consensus being that is important for researchers to measure both (Roth, Linver, Gardner, & Brooks-Gunn, 2007). Finally, the activities subscales were organized according to the location of the activities (e.g. community vs. school) instead of type of activity (e.g. sports). While researchers often examine differences in types of activities (e.g. sports) (Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003), civic involvement theorists often examine the impact of adolescents' involvement in their community or church (Flanagan, Gill, & Galloway, 2005). Because this study examined the impact of adolescents' activity on their civic attitudes, and in order to be consistent with previous civic research, adolescents' activities were organized around the different settings in which they occurred. Consistent with previous research (Larson, Hansen, & Moneta, 2006), adolescents from a middle-class community in the present study were involved in a variety of organized activities. There was generally little difference in adolescence involvement across the activity subscales,

but adolescents were slightly involved more at school or in volunteer/service activities than in the other activities.

As hypothesized, girls were more involved in terms of their overall activities than were boys. Some studies have suggested that girls may be involved in a greater variety of activities than boys (Bohnert, Martin, & Garber, 2007; Eccles & Barber, 1999; Jacobs, Vernon, & Eccles, 2005; Mussen & Eisenberg, 2001). Other research has not found gender differences in adolescents' activities (Mahoney, Cairns, & Farmer, 2005), although this could be because these studies included fewer types of activities. A strength of the activities measure used in the present study was that it assessed a wide variety of activities. For instance, the present findings replicate previous research that girls tend to be involved more than boys in volunteering and religious activities (Smetana & Metzger, 2005). However, boys were not less involved in community or political activities, which diverges slightly from previous research, which had found higher rates of political involvement among African American girls than among African American boys (Smetana & Metzger, 2005). Few other studies have measured adolescent political involvement, and there have been few gender differences in those that have. However, given that this study found significant differences in boys' and girls' beliefs about political involvement and community service, future research should continue to account for gender differences in political involvement.

Also as hypothesized, adolescents from more educated households were more involved in organized activities. Researchers have posited that adolescents from

more affluent communities and families will be more involved in organized and civic activities due to increased opportunities, resources, and social capital (Hart, Atkins, & Ford, 1998). In this study, adolescents' report of their parents' education was used as a proxy for socioeconomic status. There are multiple ways in which more educated parents may provide more opportunities for their activities in the community. For instance, more educated parents may themselves be more involved in community groups and thus provide adolescents opportunities through their own involvement (Smetana & Metzger, 2005). In addition, more educated parents may simply have the economic capability to finance adolescents' activities or may have the social capital to encourage involvement.

Contrary to hypotheses, older adolescents were less involved overall than were younger adolescents. It had been hypothesized that older adolescents might have greater access to activities due to greater mobility. However, the present finding may have been the result of the unique age configuration in this study. Fewer younger students (10th and 11th graders) than older students participated, and these students were recruited with less coaxing from teachers. Thus, the younger students may have been more organized, oriented toward cooperation with adults, and better students. Exploratory analyses provide some evidence for this interpretation, as adolescent age was negatively associated with their self-reported academic grades ($r = -.25, p > .001$), indicating that older students reported lower grades. Since better students are also more likely to be involved in school activities and volunteering (Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003), there is a strong possibility that this study

over-sampled highly involved younger adolescents. However, younger adolescents were not more involved in all of the separate types of activities. Similar to the findings for parental education, adolescent age was not associated with religious activity involvement, nor was it associated with adolescents' engagement in political activities. This is interesting given that previous research has found that adolescents' involvement in religious activities decreases with age (Benson, Donahue, & Erickson, 1989).

Civic beliefs and behavior. The present study examined the relationship between adolescents' civic beliefs and their organized activity involvement in two ways. First, beliefs were predicted using adolescents' overall activity involvement. Second, and consistent with previous literature's increased focus on the developmental effects of different types of activities (Larson, Hansen, & Moneta, 2006), adolescents' civic judgments and justifications were examined with each category of activity involvement, separately. The civic involvement literature has focused less on the unique contributions of different types of activities, and instead has used primarily one form of involvement to predict civic outcomes such as involvement in community activities (Flanagan, Gill, & Galley, 2004), religious (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1999), or volunteering (Youniss & Yates, 1999). Thus, the present study contributes to the civic literature by utilizing multiple civic and organized activities.

As hypothesized, adolescents' overall involvement was associated with their judgments and justifications. More involved adolescents rated all forms of activity as

more obligatory (more likely to say people should be involved and more wrong if they are not involved) and that individuals who were involved were more worthy of respect. In addition, while there was no significant association between moral or conventional justifications and overall involvement, increased involvement was associated with fewer personal justifications. In combining these judgment and justification findings, it appears that when compared to less involved adolescents, more involved adolescents were less likely to conceptualize civic involvement as a personal issue. Involved adolescents did not see civic involvement as being entirely up to the individual's prerogative, but instead viewed citizens as being more obligated to participate, though interestingly, this increased obligation did not preclude them from allotting more respect to individuals who were more involved. However, increased involvement was not associated with more moral or conventional justifications. Thus, while involved adolescents rated involvement as less personal, they were not necessarily more likely to conceptualize different forms of involvement as either more moral or more conventional.

The hierarchical regressions demonstrated more specificity in the relationship between adolescent civic conceptualizations and behavior. When controlling for other types of adolescent activities, adolescents' ratings and judgments of a particular form of civic involvement were associated only with adolescents' engagement in a similar type of activity. Adolescent who were more involved in volunteering/service viewed community service as more obligatory and more worthy of respect. Interestingly, while it was noted previously that adolescents distinguished between

standard political and social movement involvement in their ratings and justifications, politically involved adolescents viewed both types of political involvement as more obligatory and more worthy of respect. Adolescents' civic conceptualizations were only related to adolescents' engagement in more "civic" activities, and not to other types of organized activities. In fact, adolescents who were more religiously involved rated community service as *less* obligatory and worthy of respect. This is interesting given that several civic theorists have argued that religious involvement may increase adolescent civic engagement (Crystal, & DeBell, 2002; Furrow, King, & White, 2004; Hunsberger, Pratt, & Pancer, 2001; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1999). Likewise, adolescent engagement in school extracurricular or community activities was not associated with adolescent ratings for any category of civic involvement, though school activities were associated with adolescents' use of conventional justifications for standard political activities.

While the cross-sectional nature of the present study does not allow for causal inferences, one interpretation of these findings is that adolescent activity does not lead adolescents to conceptualize all forms of civic involvement as conventional or moral. Instead, such reconceptualization may occur only for the types of activities in which adolescents are involved. This finding is not consistent with civic development theories that postulate adolescent involvement leads to more global civic attitudes through such mechanisms as civic-moral identity (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997) or social trust (Flanagan, 2004). However, this finding is consistent with social domain research, which has found that adolescents' domain

conceptualizations of behaviors such as drug use is consistent with their involvement in the same activity (Nucci, Guerra, & Lee, 1991). It is also consistent with social domain theory more generally, which postulates that distinct social domains of reasoning are formed through different types of social interactions. More specifically, Turiel & Smetana (1984) have argued that in order to investigate the link between moral beliefs and behavior, it is essential to consider the unique aspects of the context in which the behavior occurs. While similar in that they are organized activities, generally prosocial in nature, and activities that adolescents participate in outside of the classroom, different civic and organized activities provide adolescents with unique experiences. These experiences could lead to changes in conceptualizations that are unique to the types of civic involvement in which adolescents are involved.

Alternatively, adolescents' beliefs may precede their activity involvement. Adolescents who conceptualize civic involvement in moral or conventional terms may be more likely to seek out opportunities to engage in these activities. However, previous civic research has focused on the positive developmental effects of adolescent involvement and found that adolescent service learning longitudinally predicted civic outcomes such as adolescents' intention to become involved in civic activities in the future (Metz & Youniss, 2005). Future research should investigate the relationship between civic beliefs and behavior longitudinally. It is probable that the relationship between beliefs and behavior is more reciprocal, as beliefs motivate

adolescents into specific types of civic activities and these unique experiences, in turn, influence the manner in which they conceptualize civic involvement.

Profiles of adolescent activity involvement. The present study utilized cluster analyses to form profiles of adolescent activity involvement. This strategy allows for a multidimensional examination of individuals' experiences across variables. Interestingly, the profiles in the present study did not fully separate in theoretically meaningful ways when adolescents were clustered only on the organized and civic activities; analyses produced two clusters that were essentially "uninvolved". However, when adolescent work was added to the cluster analyses, these two clusters were distinguished in theoretically meaningful ways; one profile was entirely uninvolved, while the other was engaged in high amounts of work but was not involved in any organized or civic activities. This *just work* group was similar to a profile found by Bartko and Eccles (2003) in their study of late adolescents. In addition, adolescent work was a salient variable distinguishing the *no work* and *work and church* profiles. While the present study had initially proposed to cluster adolescents only on their organized activities, it appears that the amount of time adolescent spend at after-school jobs is a key variable for discriminating between patterns of adolescent involvement. This is not surprising given the high percentage of adolescents who work in after school jobs (Lewin-Epstein, 1981). However, time spent in after-school work has not been accounted for previously in either the organized activity or civic involvement literatures. Two of the more involved profiles in the present study were also moderately high in time spent at after-school jobs.

Future research should account for the impact of adolescent work, especially since previous research has found adolescent work to negatively affect some of the same developmental outcomes found to be positively associated with organized activity involvement such as delinquency (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986) and academic achievement (Oettinger, 1999).

When work was entered into the cluster analyses, the resulting activity profiles were similar to those found in previous studies including late adolescents. Similar to Bartko and Eccles (2003), the present study found a profile of adolescents who were multiply involved, a group which was uninvolved, and a group high in work involvement but low in all other activities. However, the other three profiles were not as similar to previous research. This most likely stems from the unique way in which activities were organized in the present study. Previous research clustered adolescents on the type of activity in which they were involved and thus elicited clusters such as “sports heavy” (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Morris & Kalil, 2006). In the present study, activities were organized around where they took place in order be consistent with the goals and findings of the civic involvement literature. Organizing activities by type of activity may have elicited additional clusters that were more similar to those found in previous research.

These clusters were compared on their domain-specific beliefs and justifications for the types of civic involvement. Previous research found distinct patterns of adolescent activity involvement to be uniquely associated with internalizing, externalizing, and academic outcomes in early and late adolescence

(Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Morris & Kalil, 2006). However, the patterns of involvement in the current study did not add new information concerning adolescents' civic conceptualizations because the profiles were rarely uniquely associated with adolescents' ratings, rankings, or justifications for any of the civic involvement categories. While there were a few significant differences among profiles, these differences did not provide additional information over and above the relationship between adolescent civic behavior and belief found in the linear analyses. Generally, students classified in the activity profiles that entailed greater involvement across activities (*multiply involved, no church, no work*) gave higher should and respect ratings for all types of activities than did teens clustered in profiles reflecting less involvement, overall. This could mean that adolescents' civic conceptions are less dependent on the unique combination of activities in which they are involved. Instead, the specific civic involvement activities in which adolescents are involved, particularly political and volunteer/service activities that may be associated with altering adolescents' conceptualizations of civic involvement.

Limitations and future directions.

While the present study makes a number of contributions to the moral reasoning, civic involvement, and organized activity literatures, it did have some limitations. One important limitation of the study concerns the cross-sectional design. Such designs do not allow for causal conclusions to be drawn. Thus, it is difficult to judge the direction of effects. For instance, organized activity involvement could enhance adolescents' civic beliefs, or it could be that adolescents'

moral and conventional conceptualizations of civic involvement lead to and facilitate youth activity and adolescent involvement. A further limitation concerns the reliance on self-report measures. Common method variance (i.e., self-report) across measures could have contributed to the findings. Self-reports also are vulnerable to social desirability, so some adolescents may have over-reported their involvement in various activities or given inflated beliefs about civic involvement.

The present sample was not distributed equally across grades, as significantly more 12th graders participated than did 10th or 11th graders. This age distribution could have influenced the findings regarding age and activity participation. In addition, this distribution may have affected analyses that examined the relationship between adolescent age and civic beliefs. Younger adolescents were more involved in organized activities and prioritized community service more than were older adolescents. But it is possible that better organized students may have been over-sampled among the 10th and 11th graders. However, future research should continue to examine the developmental course of adolescents' civic beliefs and also investigate the formation of such beliefs earlier in development.

Research in organized activity and civic involvement is susceptible to selection biases. That is, there may be innumerable unmeasured variables that lead adolescents to become involved in specific types of activities, and these unmeasured variables could be the causes of findings regarding activity involvement rather than the participation itself. However, the present study attempted to account for some

demographic predictors of activity engagement such as parents' education and adolescent gender.

The present study provides questions for future research on adolescent civic beliefs and involvement. Political theorists have argued that democratic forms of government require an informed and engaged populous (Flanagan & Faison, 2002), and civic researchers have focused on adolescent involvement as a possible mechanism for increasing adult involvement. In the present study, civically involved adolescents were less likely to conceive of civic involvement in personal terms. High levels of involvement would be unlikely if citizens viewed civic engagement as merely personal activities. Thus, this study proposed one possible way in which involvement in adolescence may lead to involvement in adulthood. That is, adolescents may shift from personal to moral and conventional conceptualizations of civic involvement. Of course, this study may also provide evidence for the alternative explanation that adolescent civic conceptualizations led to adolescent civic involvement. If that is the case, civic instruction should focus on adolescents' civic and political beliefs. Either way, this study demonstrates that adolescents' civic beliefs and behavior are linked, and it may be beneficial for future civic researchers to include adolescent civic conceptualizations in their studies of civic development.

However, future research should examine the relationship between civic beliefs and behavior longitudinally. Such an approach could help to disaggregate the causal influences of adolescents' civic activities and conceptualizations. In addition, longitudinal research could investigate the developmental trajectory and childhood

origins of adolescent civic beliefs. Helwig (1998) found that even young children have knowledge about political concepts such as individual rights and forms of government. Future research should explore younger children's beliefs regarding community and political involvement and civic duty.

Future research should also examine the beliefs of young adults and college students. In the present study, late adolescents did not prioritize social movement involvement. However, it might not be until college that students are given ample opportunities to take part in more active forms of political involvement such as political protesting. Additionally, college students may come into contact with a wider array of political and social ideologies in both courses and campus groups, which could lead them to conceptualize civic responsibility in different ways.

While the present study examined adolescents' civic beliefs, future research should also investigate adolescents' beliefs and attitudes concerning their own current involvement. Adolescents may be involved in civic activities for multiple reasons ranging from beliefs about the importance of the activities or feelings of obligation all the way to more self-interested rationales such as college applications or coursework requirements. In addition, different adolescents may have different outlooks on the extent to which their involvement impacts their communities or greater civic world. Research which measures such differences could contribute to the civic involvement literature by helping to elucidate possible ways that adolescent involvement directly affects their civic conceptualizations.

While the ethnic make-up of the present study was fairly representative of the community in which the study was conducted, it was primarily White. Social theorists have posited that underrepresented ethnic groups in America may view civic involvement differently due to the historical barriers to political and civic participation these groups had faced (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002). Specifically, members of these historically excluded groups come to see their own personal, social, and political interests as intertwined with the interests and goals of their ethnic group. These individuals are thought to view civic responsibility and action revolving around aiding members of the individual's ethnic group and ameliorating the difficulties caused by the lowered status of the group within the greater social order. This ethnic group civic orientation leads individuals to be highly engaged in activities that directly help their communities (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002). Future research should examine whether adolescents from various groups conceptualize civic involvement differently.

In addition to these demographic concerns, future research should also investigate additional sources or influences on adolescent civic beliefs such as the family. Parents have been found to influence adolescents' civic involvement (Pancer & Pratt, 1999; Smetana & Metzger, 2005). Parents also may have a measurable influence on adolescents' civic conceptualizations. Parents convey messages to adolescents in a variety of ways and adolescents may be more or less receptive to the message depending on the quality of the parent-child relationship (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Thus, future research should study the types of messages parents

convey to their adolescents about civic involvement, the manner in which such messages are communicated, and the tenor of the parent-adolescent relationship.

Finally, future research on civic involvement should also consider using varied empirical strategies. A strength of the current study was that it utilized multiple questionnaire measures to tap adolescents' judgments and justifications concerning a range of civic involvement activities. The questionnaire strategy allowed participants to rate a larger number of activities, which would have made for a protracted and cumbersome interview. Secondly, the questionnaire items were presented as Likert scales, which meant that adolescents could respond in terms of *degree* of obligation or respect. This allowed for the measurement of precise distinctions in adolescents' conceptions, which could have been missed if adolescents were required to respond in a dichotomous fashion (e.g. Yes or no, is it wrong if this person does not do X?). However, using a semi-structured interview would allow researchers to explore adolescents' rationales for their judgments and ratings. Specifically, it might be productive for future research to explore adolescents' rationales for their importance rankings. Measuring adolescents' justifications for why they rated specific civic activities as more important than others may provide researchers with a more fine-grained view of adolescents' civic conceptualizations.

The use of semi-structured interviews may be even more important for future research that examines adolescents' justifications. The present study utilized questionnaires to assess justifications. This is similar to a few earlier studies have used questionnaires to assess justifications. However, often these studies were

attempting to isolate distinctions between two domains such as adolescents' prudential vs. personal justifications for drug use (Nucci, Guerra, & Lee, 1991) or between participants' personal and moral justifications for prosocial activities and transgressions (Smetana, Bridgeman, & Turiel, 1982). The present study assessed four domains (moral, conventional, personal, pragmatic) in a questionnaire format, and the justification categories were created from open-ended answers given by college students. In addition, the justification categories were piloted with a group of high school students, and piloting with a group of high school students. However, the possibility remains that participants in the present study would have offered other justifications not included in this study. In addition, the present study required participants to choose only one justification, and it is also possible that some participants would have given multiple justifications for some activities. These limitations are offset by the ability of this study to assess multiple justification categories for a large number of civic involvement items. However, future research could validate the present findings by utilizing semi-structured interviews to assess adolescents' justifications for civic involvement. It would be interesting to examine whether adolescents' use complex or multiple justifications for different types of involvement and interviews would allow for an exploration of the ways that adolescents coordinate these multiple justifications.

Conclusions. The present study utilized social domain theory to explore adolescents' beliefs about civic involvement. This study extended the moral development literature by using multiple measures to assess adolescents' judgments,

rankings, and justifications of different forms of civic involvement. Adolescents in this study used domain-specific criteria to distinguish among types of community and political involvement. This study also contributed to the adolescent civic involvement literature by demonstrating that adolescents' civic conceptualizations were associated with the types of civic and community activities in which adolescents were engaged.

Helwig's (2007) research has referred to democratic rights and decision-making as the two core components of democratic reasoning. In this study, a possible third component of democratic reasoning was investigated. Specifically, this study examined adolescents' reasoning about civic involvement or civic duty. In doing so, this study provides potential evidence for a new perspective on the link between adolescent and adult civic involvement. Adolescents' civic involvement may be associated with a reconceptualization of civic activities as moral and conventional rather than personal. This new vantage may then contribute to the continuation of civic behaviors into adulthood.

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Table 4.1. *Civic Involvement Items and Categories*

Civic Involvement Category			
Community Service	Standard Political	Social movement	Community Gathering
1. Volunteer to clean up a local park	1. Vote in a political election	1. Protest against a law that they disagree with	1. Join a community sports or music club
2. Volunteer to help feed the homeless	2. Keep up with current events and politics	2. Boycott a company's product or service	2. Attend a community social event or dance
3. Help for a fundraiser aiding victims of a natural disaster	3. Know who your elected representatives and leaders are	3. Write to a newspaper, magazine, or blog about a social or political issue	3. Join a neighborhood social club
4. Volunteer to tutor poor students	4. Be a patriotic and loyal citizen	4. Participate in public meetings about community issues	4. Attend a local festival, or theater event
5. Volunteer to help the elderly	5. Join a political party	5. Sign a petition for a cause 6. Work on a political campaign 7. Take part in a political protest	

Table 4.2. *Adolescent Activity Items and Categories*

Religious	Volunteer/service	Community group	School or community political	School
1. Attend religious services	1. Volunteer to clean up your neighborhood, school, or community	1. Participate in a local or community sports team outside of school	1. A youth organization affiliated with a political party or union	1. Participate with a school sports team
2. Participate in religious social activities	2. Volunteering to help with activities at your school or church (setting up for a dance, working at a concession stand, etc.)	2. Take part in a community club/group (Boy/Girl Scouts, YMCA, etc.)	2. Participate with an organization focused around a political or social cause	2. Take part in a computer, language, or academic club at school
3. Participate in religious community service activities	3. Volunteer to help poor, sick, or disabled people in your community 4. Work for charity to collect money for a social cause	3. Take part in local or community art, music, or drama organization 4. Take part in a community social club	3. Take part in student council or school political positions 4. Know what's going on in the news and about political events 5. Take part in a political rally, event, or protest	3. Take part in a school art, music, or drama group

Table 5.1 Means, (standard deviations), and mean differences for adolescents' judgments and justifications for civic involvement categories

	Community Service	Standard Political	Social Movement	Community Gathering	Main Effects (df = 3, 309)
Should	3.51 ^a (.87)	3.74 ^b (.84)	2.73 ^c (.79)	2.85 ^d (1.00)	168.69***
Obligation	2.41 ^a (1.03)	2.95 ^b (1.10)	1.84 ^c (.71)	1.56 ^d (.81)	289.69***
Respect	4.20 ^a (.77)	3.44 ^b (.89)	3.15 ^c (.77)	2.70 ^d (.90)	292.85***
Importance	1.45 ^a (.48)	1.30 ^b (.44)	.76 ^c (.29)	.46 ^d (.47)	287.85***
Moral Justifications	.75 ^a (.32)	.05 ^b (.13)	.16 ^b (.19)	.05 ^b (.13)	823.48***
Conventional Justifications	.09 ^a (.18)	.60 ^b (.32)	.23 ^c (.20)	.09 ^a (.19)	371.74***
Personal Justifications	.12 ^a (.23)	.29 ^b (.30)	.52 ^c (.27)	.74 ^d (.33)	342.26***

Note: Judgments were rated on a 5-point scale. Justifications Means are proportion scores. Means with different superscripts differ at $p < .05$, Bonferroni

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5.2 *Pearson correlations among judgments for civic involvement categories*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Sh_service	1.00	.32**	.53**	.49**	.48**	.02	.24**	.16**
2. Sh_standard		1.00	.44**	.32**	.13*	.51**	.11	.03
3. Sh_movement			1.00	.46**	.23**	.17**	.43**	.16**
4. Sh_gathering				1.00	.24**	.10	.23**	.40**
5. Wr_service					1.00	.50**	.67**	.55**
6. Wr_standard						1.00	.51**	.36**
7. Wr_movement							1.00	.69**
8. Wr_gathering								1.00
9. Res_service								
10. Res_standard								
11. Re_movement								
12. Res_gathering								
13. Im_service								
14. Im_standard								
15. Im_movement								
16. Im_gathering								

Note: Sh = judgments of whether one should be involved in the activity; Wr = judgments of how wrong it is if one does NOT engage in the activity; Res = respect judgments; Im = importance ranking scores

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

Table 5.2 (cont.) *Pearson correlations among judgments for civic involvement categories*

	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
1. Sh_service	.56**	.19**	.32**	.28**	.32**	-.20*	-.09	-.01
2. Sh_standard	.26**	.62**	.34**	.10	-.14*	.49**	-.02	-.24**
3. Sh_movement	.21**	.35**	.58**	.23**	-.14*	-.02	.34**	-.04
4. Sh_gathering	.22**	.19**	.24**	.51**	.01	-.06	-.10	.28**
5. Wr_service	.38**	.12*	.11	.16**	.21**	-.15*	-.08	.05
6. Wr_standard	.11*	.46**	.15**	.02	-.22**	.42**	-.02	-.13*
7. Wr_movement	.11*	.16**	.26**	.21**	-.12*	-.14*	.17**	.19**
8. Wr_gathering	.03	.09	.05	.35**	-.07	-.11	-.07	.37**
9. Res_service	1.00	.31**	.47**	.30**	.47**	.01	-.20**	-.24**
10. Res_standard		1.00	.55**	.38**	-.20**	.51**	.02	-.19**
11. Re_movement			1.00	.47**	-.17**	.13*	.30**	-.11
12. Res_gathering				1.00	-.03	-.05	-.07	.30**
13. Im_service					1.00	-.37**	-.44**	.24
14. Im_standard						1.00	-.10	-.36**
15. Im_movement							1.00	-.14*
16. Im_gathering								1.00

Note: Sh = judgments of whether one should be involved in the activity; Wr = judgments of how wrong it is if one does NOT engage in the activity; Res = respect judgments; Im = importance ranking scores

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

Table 5.3 Means, (standard deviations), and zero-order correlations among adolescent activities

	<i>M</i>	Religious	Volunteer/service	Community	Political	School
	(<i>SD</i>)					
Religious	2.24 (1.23)	1.00	.42**	.29**	.16**	.22**
Volunteer/service	2.56 (.92)		1.00	.55**	.44**	.51**
Community	2.11 (.84)			1.00	.46**	.59**
Political	2.06 (.65)				1.00	.45**
School	2.67 (1.03)					1.00

Note: Activity scale was scored on a 5-point scale where 1 = never, 2 = not often, 3 = some, 4 = quite often, 5 = very often

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

Table 5.4 *Zero-order correlations among adolescent activities, adolescent age, and parents' education*

	Mothers' education	Fathers' education	Parents' education	Adolescent Age
ALL activities	.25***	.19**	.25**	-.20***
Religious	.06	.09	.07	-.10
Volunteer/service	.17**	.10	.15*	-.18**
Community	.26***	.16**	.25***	-.14*
Political	.17**	.10	.15**	-.08
School	.26***	.24***	.28***	-.24***
Work	-.03	-.10	-.06	.33***

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5.5 *Partial correlations (controlling for adolescent gender) between adolescents' overall activity level and adolescent judgments and justifications of four civic involvement categories*

	<u>Ratings</u>	<u>Justifications</u>
	Adolescent overall activity	Adolescent overall activity
Should be involved		Moral
1. Community Service	.35***	.07
2. Standard Political	.30***	.00
3. Social Movement	.32***	.12*
4. Social Gathering	.38***	-.05
Wrong if not involved		Conventional
5. Community Service	.20**	.03
6. Standard Political	.15*	.10
7. Social Movement	.16**	.03
8. Social Gathering	.21***	.11*
Respect		Personal
9. Community Service	.27***	-.14*
10. Standard Political	.27***	-.13*
11. Social Movement	.31***	-.14*
12. Social Gathering	.26***	-.10

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5.6 Hierarchical regressions predicting adolescent judgments concerning community service

	Community Service Judgments								
	Should			Wrong if NOT Done			Respect		
	ΔF	R^2	β	ΔF	R^2	β	ΔF	R^2	β
<i>Step 1</i>	26.92**	.08		1.25**	.04		22.96**	.07	
Sex (Boys)			-.20**			-.12*			-.18**
<i>Step 2</i>	17.32**	.28		6.53**	.13		10.08**	.20	
Religious			-.16**			-.08			-.12*
Volunteer/Service			.44**			.37**			.37**
Community			.11			-.03			-.01
Political			.03			-.01			-.01
School			-.04			-.03			.08

Note: Beta's are from the final step of the regression equation, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5.7 Hierarchical regressions predicting adolescent judgments concerning standard political involvement

	Standard Political Involvement Judgments								
	Should			Wrong if NOT Done			Respect		
	ΔF	R^2	β	ΔF	R^2	β	ΔF	R^2	β
Step 1	1.44	.01		1.66	.01		4.46*	.01	
Sex (Boys)			-.04			-.06			-.11*
Step 2	10.40***	.15		4.64**	.07		13.59***	.18	
Religious			.07			.02			.06
Volunteer/Service			.09			.01			.01
Community			-.06			-.14			-.05
Political			.31**			.25***			.44***
School			.06			.09			-.01

Note: Beta's are from the final step of the regression equation, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5.8 Hierarchical regressions predicting adolescent judgments concerning social movement involvement

	Social Movement Involvement Judgments								
	Should			Wrong if NOT Done			Respect		
	ΔF	R^2	β	ΔF	R^2	β	ΔF	R^2	β
Step 1	3.31	.01		1.24	.00		14.90***	.05	
Sex (Boys)			-.11*			-.05			-.23***
Step 2	19.71***	.25		3.75**	.06		16.72***	.25	
Religious			-.98			-.06			.05
Volunteer/Service			.00			.09			-.08
Community			.06			.00			.08
Political			.48***			.21***			.42***
School			-.02			-.03			.06

Note: Beta's are from the final step of the regression equation, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5.9 Hierarchical regressions predicting adolescent justifications

	Moral justifications: Community Service			Moral Justifications: Social Movement			Conventional Justifications: Standard Political		
	ΔF	R^2	β	ΔF	R^2	β	ΔF	R^2	β
Step 1	.18	.00		.01	.00		2.59	.01	
Sex (Boys)			.05			.02			-.05
Step 2	1.31	.02		1.34	.02		3.45**	.06	
Religious			-.06			.09			-.01
Volunteer/Service			.10			-.02			.13
Community			-.11			.01			-.23**
Political			.07			-.02			.08
School			.08			.11			.18*

Note: Beta's are from the final step of the regression equation, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5.10. Means, Standard Deviations, and Organized Activity Significance Tests for the Six Adolescent Activity Profiles

Activities	Total Sample	Uninv	No work	Church & Work	Multiply Involved	No Church	Just work	Sig test
Religious	2.24 (1.23)	1.33 ^a _(.40)	2.89 ^c (1.12)	3.48 ^d (.83)	3.96 ^d (.82)	1.66 ^a (.66)	1.20 ^b (.30)	F(5, 306) = 113.75***
Volunteer/Service	2.56 (.92)	2.08 ^a (.76)	2.87 ^b (.84)	2.65 ^b (.71)	3.78 ^c (.76)	2.84 ^b (.75)	1.79 ^a (.64)	F(5, 306) = 32.14***
Community	2.11 (.84)	1.61 ^a (.43)	2.46 ^b _c (.82)	2.15 ^c (.56)	3.17 ^d (1.00)	2.55 ^b (.74)	1.31 ^a (.36)	F(5, 306) = 44.24***
Political	2.06 (.65)	1.84 ^a (.56)	2.23 ^b _c (.63)	1.91 ^a _b (.50)	2.68 ^d (.65)	2.40 ^c _d (.69)	1.60 ^a (.37)	F(5, 306) = 19.37***
School	2.67 (1.03)	2.41 ^a (.82)	3.33 ^b _c (.96)	2.30 ^a (.66)	3.85 ^b (.78)	3.10 ^c (.80)	1.53 ^d (.50)	F(5, 306) = 46.57***
Work	3.45 (1.61)	1.93 ^a (.92)	1.58 ^a (.74)	4.34 ^d (.81)	4.88 ^b (.34)	4.86 ^b (.40)	4.76 ^b (.43)	F(5, 306) = 274.07***

Note. Uninv = uninvolved group. Scale = How often do you? 1 = Never, 5 = Very often

Means with different superscripts differ at $p < .05$, Bonferroni

* $p < .01$; ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5.11. Differences in adolescent SHOULD judgments for the Six Adolescent Activity Profiles

Activities	Total Sample	Uninv	No work	Church & Work	Multiply Involved	No Church	Just work	Sig test
Should_service	3.51 (.87)	3.34 ^a (.94)	3.56 ^{abc} (.87)	3.42 ^{ab} (.80)	4.12 ^c (.72)	3.78 ^{bc} (.72)	3.23 ^a (.87)	F(5, 306) = 5.32***
Should_standard	3.74 (.84)	3.44 ^a (.97)	3.89 ^b (.70)	3.79 ^{ab} (.79)	4.17 ^b (.53)	3.99 ^b (.69)	3.52 ^{ab} (.90)	F(5, 306) = 5.54***
Should_movement	2.73 (.78)	2.57 ^a (.80)	2.76 ^{ab} (.82)	2.63 ^{ab} (.65)	3.14 ^b (.74)	3.02 ^b (.80)	2.57 ^a (.71)	F(5, 306) = 3.36**
Should_gathering	2.85 (1.00)	2.51 ^{ab} (.83)	2.84 ^{abc} (.99)	2.86 ^{bc} (.96)	3.47 ^{cd} (.97)	3.53 ^d (.85)	2.34 ^a (.92)	F(5, 306) = 12.21***

Note. Uninv = uninvolved group

Means with different superscripts differ at $p < .05$, Bonferroni.

* $p < .01$; ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5.12. *Differences in adolescent Respect judgments for the Six Adolescent Activity Profiles*

Activities	Total Sample	Uninv	No work	Church & Work	Multiply Involved	No Church	Just work	Sig test
Respect_service	4.20 (.77)	4.10 ^{ab} (.84)	4.27 ^{ab} (.89)	4.07 ^a (.73)	4.60 ^b (.57)	4.34 ^{ab} (.59)	4.08 ^{ab} (.74)	F(5, 306) = 2.68*
Respect_standard	3.44 (.90)	3.27 ^a (.90)	3.64 ^a (.80)	3.37 ^a (.90)	3.82 ^a (.52)	3.57 ^a (.69)	3.25 ^a (.90)	F(5, 306) = 2.58*
Respect_movement	3.15 (.77)	3.01 ^a (.84)	3.27 ^a (.73)	2.99 ^a (.59)	3.44 ^a (.66)	3.37 ^a (.81)	3.04 ^a (.79)	F(5, 306) = 3.18**
Respect_gathering	2.70 (.90)	2.53 ^a (.82)	2.78 ^{ab} (.99)	2.69 ^{ab} (.87)	2.84 ^{ab} (.85)	3.07 ^b (.84)	2.45 ^a (.93)	F(5, 306) = 3.43**

Note. Uninv = uninvolved group

Means with different superscripts differ at $p < .05$, Bonferroni

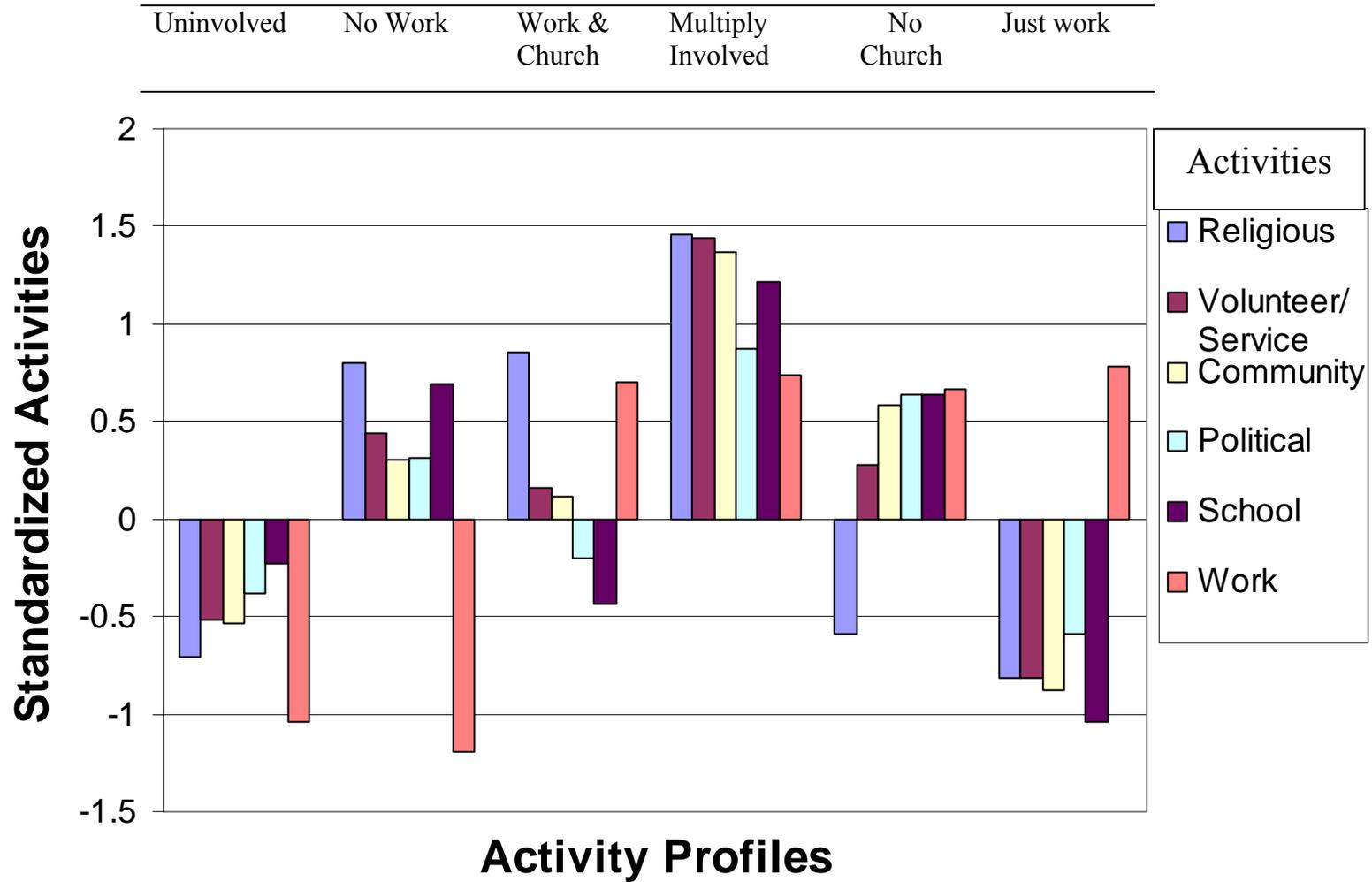
* $p < .01$; ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5.13 *Partial correlations (controlling for adolescent gender) between adolescents' age and adolescent judgments and justifications of four civic involvement categories*

	<u>Ratings</u>	<u>Justifications</u>
	Adolescent Age	Adolescent Age
Should be involved		Moral
1. Community Service	-.16**	-.04
2. Standard Political	-.03	-.07
3. Social Movement	-.02	-.02
4. Social Gathering	-.12*	.03
Wrong if not involved		Conventional
5. Community Service	-.12*	.03
6. Standard Political	.03	.03
7. Social Movement	-.02	.03
8. Social Gathering	-.01	.03
Respect		Personal
9. Community Service	-.12*	.05
10. Standard Political	-.02	-.01
11. Social Movement	-.01	.01
12. Social Gathering	-.07	.04

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 5.1 Standardized activity scores for the six activity profiles



Appendix A

Youth Civic Belief Survey

This survey asks you to give your opinion on a variety of political and community activities. We are interested in what teenagers like you think about what citizens in this country should be expected to do.

It is very important that you:

- A. Read each question carefully and give the answer that YOU think is best.
- B. Ask one of the people giving the survey if you have any questions...remember, if you have a question, chances are the person next to you has the same question!
- c. Many of the questions may *seem similar*, but it is important to carefully read think instructions at the top of the page and think about each question separately.

Appendix B

ID _____

Tell us about yourself...

1. What gender are you?

- Male
- Female

2. How old are you? _____ (years)

3. What is your birthday? _____ (Month/Day/Year)

4. What was is your grade in school? 9th 10th 11th 12th

5. School grades (for the year):

- Mostly A's
- Mostly B's
- Mostly C's
- Mostly D's
- Mostly F's

6. What is your ethnicity (check all that apply)?

- African-American/Black
- Asian-American/Pacific Islander
- Caucasian/White
- Hispanic/Latino
- Native American
- Other

(describe)_____

7. Who currently lives in your home (check all that apply)?

- mother (birth or adopted)
- father (birth or adopted)
- brothers/sisters? (ages of siblings) _____
- other adults (who?) _____
- stepmother
- stepfather

8. Are your parents currently... Married? Separated? Divorced?

9. What is the highest level of schooling your mother (or female guardian) completed?

- Completed 8th grade
- Completed high school
- Completed college
- Graduate degree (doctor, lawyer, PhD)
- Don't know or unsure

10. What is the highest level of schooling your father (or male guardian) completed?

- Completed 8th grade
- Completed high school
- Completed college
- Graduate degree (doctor, lawyer, PhD)
- Don't know or unsure

How much do you think people *SHOULD* do the following activities?
 ID_____

<i>Do you think people SHOULD...</i> (Circle the number)	Doesn't matter	Maybe should	Probably Should	Mostly Should	Definitely Should
1. Take part in a political protest	1	2	3	4	5
2. Join a community sports or music club	1	2	3	4	5
3. Volunteer for a fundraiser aiding victims of a natural disaster	1	2	3	4	5
4. Write to a newspaper, magazine, blog, or website about a social or political issue	1	2	3	4	5
5. Volunteer to help the elderly	1	2	3	4	5
6. Join a political party	1	2	3	4	5
7. Attend a community social event or dance	1	2	3	4	5
8. Be patriotic and loyal citizens	1	2	3	4	5
9. Attend a community festival or theater event	1	2	3	4	5
10. Work on a political campaign	1	2	3	4	5
11. Volunteer to help feed the homeless	1	2	3	4	5
12. Join a neighborhood social club	1	2	3	4	5
13. Protest against a law that they disagree with	1	2	3	4	5
14. Keep up with current events and politics	1	2	3	4	5
15. Volunteer to clean up a local park	1	2	3	4	5
16. Know who their elected representatives and leaders are	1	2	3	4	5
17. Boycott a company's product or service	1	2	3	4	5
18. Participate in public meetings about community issues	1	2	3	4	5
19. Volunteer to tutor poor students	1	2	3	4	5
20. Sign a petition for a cause	1	2	3	4	5
21. Vote in a political election	1	2	3	4	5

How wrong is it NOT to do the following activities?

ID_____

Circle the number

<i>How wrong is it if someone DOES <u>NOT</u>...</i> (Circle the number)	Not at all wrong	A little wrong	Somewhat wrong	Quite wrong	Very wrong
1. Take part in a political protest	1	2	3	4	5
2. Join a community sports or music club	1	2	3	4	5
3. Volunteer for a fundraiser aiding victims of a natural disaster	1	2	3	4	5
4. Write to a newspaper, magazine, blog, or website about a social or political issue	1	2	3	4	5
5. Volunteer to help the elderly	1	2	3	4	5
6. Join a political party	1	2	3	4	5
7. Attend a community social event or dance	1	2	3	4	5
8. Be a patriotic and loyal citizen	1	2	3	4	5
9. Attend a community festival or theater event	1	2	3	4	5
10. Work on a political campaign	1	2	3	4	5
11. Volunteer to help feed the homeless	1	2	3	4	5
12. Join a neighborhood social club	1	2	3	4	5
13. Protest against a law that they disagree with	1	2	3	4	5
14. Keep up with current events and politics	1	2	3	4	5
15. Volunteer to clean up a local park	1	2	3	4	5
16. Know who their elected representatives and leaders are	1	2	3	4	5
17. Boycott a company's product or service	1	2	3	4	5
18. Participate in public meetings about community issues	1	2	3	4	5
19. Volunteer to tutor poor students	1	2	3	4	5
20. Sign a petition for a cause	1	2	3	4	5
21. Vote in a political election	1	2	3	4	5

Reasons for doing the activities. There are many different reasons why people might take part in different political, civic, or community activities. For each of the below activities, choose the reason that YOU think best explains why people should take part in that activity. -If you think there is more than one reason, choose what you feel is the MOST IMPORTANT reason

WHY SHOULD PEOPLE.... (Put an "X" in the box)	Important for things to run smoothly, people need to do their part	Person's own choice or desire, up to the person, personal fulfillment	Helps or benefits other people	Important to follow customs and do what is expected of you	Practical benefits: school, job, career experience, gain other's respect
1. Take part in a political protest	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Join a community sports or music club	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Volunteer for a fundraiser aiding victims of a natural disaster	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Write to a newspaper, magazine, blog, or website about a social or political issue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Volunteer to help the elderly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Join a political party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Attend a community social event or dance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Important for things to run smoothly, people need to do their part	Person's own choice or desire, up to the person, personal fulfillment	Helps or benefits other people	Important to follow customs and do what is expected of you	Practical benefits: school, job, career experience, gain other's respect
8. Be a patriotic and loyal citizen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Attend a community festival or theater event	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Work on a political campaign					
11. Volunteer to help feed the homeless	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Join a neighborhood social club	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Protest against a law that they disagree with	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Keep up with current events and politics	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Volunteer to clean up a local park	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Know who their elected representatives and leaders are	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Important for things to run smoothly, people need to do their part	Person's own choice or desire, up to the person, personal fulfillment	Helps or benefits other people	Important to follow customs and do what is expected of you	Practical benefits: school, job, career experience, gain other's respect
17. Boycott a company's product or service	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Participate in public meetings about community issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Volunteer to tutor poor students	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Sign a petition for a cause	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Vote in a political election	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

How much would you respect someone who did the following activities? ID

<i>How much would you RESPECT someone who... (Circle the number)</i>	None at all	Very little	Some	Quite a bit	A lot
1. Took part in a political protest	1	2	3	4	5
2. Joined a community sports or music club	1	2	3	4	5
3. Volunteered for a fundraiser aiding victims of a natural disaster	1	2	3	4	5
4. Wrote to a newspaper, magazine, blog, or website about a social or political issue	1	2	3	4	5
5. Volunteered to help the elderly	1	2	3	4	5
6. Joined a political party	1	2	3	4	5
7. Attended a community social event or dance	1	2	3	4	5
8. Was a patriotic and loyal citizens	1	2	3	4	5
9. Attended a community festival or theater event	1	2	3	4	5
10. Worked on a political campaign	1	2	3	4	5
11. Volunteered to help feed the homeless	1	2	3	4	5
12. Joined a neighborhood social club	1	2	3	4	5
13. Protested against a law that they disagree with	1	2	3	4	5
14. Kept up with current events and politics	1	2	3	4	5
15. Volunteered to clean up a local park	1	2	3	4	5
16. Knew who their elected representatives and leaders were	1	2	3	4	5
17. Boycotted a company's product or service	1	2	3	4	5
18. Participated in public meetings about community issues	1	2	3	4	5
19. Volunteered to tutor poor students	1	2	3	4	5
20. Signed a petition for a cause	1	2	3	4	5
21. Voted in a political election	1	2	3	4	5

Organized Activities In an *average month*, how often do you do the following activities OR work with the following groups: ID___

<i>How often do you....</i>	Never	Not often	Some	Quite often	Very often
1. participate in an organization affiliated with a political party or union	1	2	3	4	5
2. participate with a school sports team	1	2	3	4	5
3. volunteering to help with activities at your school or church (setting up for a dance, working at a concession stand, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
4. participate in a community social club	1	2	3	4	5
5. attend religious services	1	2	3	4	5
6. participate with an organization focused around a political or social cause	1	2	3	4	5
7. take part in a computer, language, or academic club at school	1	2	3	4	5
8. participate in a local or community sports team outside of school	1	2	3	4	5
9. work for charity to collect money for a social cause	1	2	3	4	5
10. take part in local or community art, music, or drama organization	1	2	3	4	5
11. take part in student council or school political positions	1	2	3	4	5
12. participate in religious social activities	1	2	3	4	5
13. volunteer to help poor, sick, or disabled people in your community	1	2	3	4	5
14. take part in a community club/group (Boy/Girl Scouts, YMCA, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
15. take part in a school art, music, or drama group	1	2	3	4	5

<i>How often do you....</i>	Never	Not often	Some	Quite often	Very often
16. volunteer to clean up your neighborhood, school, or community	1	2	3	4	5
17. take part in a political rally or protest	1	2	3	4	5
18. participate in religious community service activities	1	2	3	4	5
19. take part in a community social club	1	2	3	4	5
20. know what's going on in the news and about political events	1	2	3	4	5
21. work at an after school job	1	2	3	4	5
22. help your family around the house (baby-sit, prepare meals, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
23. take part in <u>OTHER</u> activities or groups not mentioned above??	1	2	3	4	5
Describe _____ _____					

Have you taken any Social Studies or Government courses in school?

- Yes
- No

If YES, please list the courses you have taken so far:

Appendix C

Parent Permission Form

The Youth Civic Development Project
 Principal Investigator: Dr. Judith Smetana
 Coordinator: Aaron Metzger, M.A.

Introduction:

This permission form describes the project and what you may expect if you decide to allow your teen to participate. Your child is invited to be in a research study exploring teenager's beliefs about civic responsibility and citizenship. Your teen was selected as a possible participant because your teen is in the 10th through 12th grade at Rush Henrietta High School. Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you have before you decide whether or not to allow your teen to participate. This form contains important information and telephone numbers so please keep a copy to refer to. If you have any questions, please call Aaron Metzger at the phone number listed below.

Purpose of Project

Democratic societies depend on the participation of their citizens. However, people might have different opinions about what exactly citizens should be expected to do. We at the Youth Civic Development Project are interested in learning more about how teens develop different beliefs about community and political involvement. We want to learn more about the ways teens think about civic responsibility and citizenship. We are also interested in how the unique experiences that different teenagers have might influence the way they think about these issues.

Description of Study Procedures

If you agree to have your teen participate in this study, your teen will be asked to meet with project staff at your child's school. Your child will be asked to complete some questionnaires, which focus children's attitudes and beliefs towards different types of civic behaviors such as community service, community social events, and different types of political activities. In addition, your child will be asked to report on the types of organized activities in which they are currently involved, such as extracurricular activities, church groups, and community clubs/groups. The questionnaires will take approximately twenty minutes to complete. Students will complete the surveys during class-time approved by Rush Henrietta high School staff (for 12th graders, Economics or Participation in Government; for 10th and 11th graders, Health class) or during students' study hall.

Additionally, some of the teens' participating in this study will be contacted to participate in a short follow-up interview. Participation in this short interview is entirely voluntary, and students will have the option of declining the interview even if they completed the questionnaire portion of the study. The audio-taped interview will assess your teen's perceptions of beliefs about why people should or should not participate in different types of civic activities. The interviews will be conducted during students' free time, such as study halls or homerooms.

Risks of Participation

Participation in this study is associated with minimal risks.

Benefits of Participation

There are no direct benefits to your child from participating in this study, but he or she will be contributing to our understanding of civic involvement.

Payment for Participation

Regardless of whether or not he or she completes each part of the study, each teen participating in the study will be entered in a drawing for a \$50 gift certificate to the Marketplace Mall.

Confidentiality of Records

All information about your child will be held in the strictest confidence within the confines of New York State and federal law, and will be used only by project staff. All information will be referred to by numbers only, not by names, and the information will be kept in a secure place. While we will make every effort to maintain your confidentiality, it cannot be absolutely guaranteed. The University of Rochester may inspect the permission form you sign and/or review completed research measures from the project. The results of the project may be presented at meetings or in publications, but your child's identify will not be disclosed. We will also share the results of the study with Rush Henrietta High school staff when the study is completed, but we will not provide information on individual students.

Contact Persons

For more information concerning this research, please contact Dr. Smetana (Principal Investigator) at (585) 275-4592 or Aaron Metzger (coordinator) at (585) 739-7311. If you have any questions about your child's rights in this project, you may contact the Human Subjects Protection Specialist at the University of Rochester Research Subjects Review Board, Box 315, 601 Elmwood Avenue, Rochester, NY 14642-8315, Telephone (585) 276-0005, for long-distance you may call toll-free, (877) 449-4441.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your child is free not to participate and you may withdraw your permission at any time, for whatever reason. In addition, your child may choose to discontinue participation at any time during the study. In the event that your child withdraws from the study, the information he or she has already provided will be kept in a confidential manner.

Parental Permission

I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this permission form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my permission for my child to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form for my records and future reference.

Parent/Guardian: _____ Print Name and Title

Parent/Guardian: _____ Signature

_____ Date

Appendix D

Assent Form
(Students Ages 14-17)

The Youth Civic Development Project
Principal Investigator: Dr. Judith Smetana
Coordinator: Aaron Metzger, M.A.

Introduction

This assent form describes a research study and what you may expect if you participate. You are being asked to sign this assent form because you are a 10th – 12th grade student at Rush Henrietta High school. We ask that you read this form carefully.

Purpose of Project

Democratic societies depend on the participation of their citizens. However, people might have different opinions about what exactly citizens should be expected to do. We at the Youth Civic Development Project are interested in learning more about how teens develop different beliefs about community and political involvement. We want to learn more about the ways teens think about civic responsibility and citizenship. We are also interested in how the unique experiences that different teenagers have might influence the way they think about these issues. Your participation is very important to us.

Description of Procedures

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete some questionnaires. The questionnaires focus on your attitudes and beliefs about different types of civic behaviors such as community service, community social events, and different types of political activities. In addition, you will be asked to report on the types of organized activities in which you are currently involved such as extracurricular activities, church groups, and community clubs/groups. The questionnaire will take approximately twenty minutes to fill out and will be completed during class (for 12th graders, during Economics or Participation in Government, and for 10th and 11th graders, during study hall).

Risks of Participation

Participation in this study is associated with minimal risks.

Number of Subjects:

We plan to enroll approximately 450 10-12 grade students from Rush Henrietta High School in this study.

Payment for Participation

Regardless of whether or not you complete each part of the study, each teen completing the questionnaire will be entered in a drawing for one of three \$50 gift certificates to the Marketplace Mall.

Confidentiality of Records

All information about you will be held in the strictest confidence within the confines of New York State and federal law, and will be used only by project staff. While we will make every effort to maintain your confidentiality, it cannot be absolutely guaranteed. The University of Rochester may inspect the permission form you sign and/or review completed research measures from the project. The results of the project may be presented at meetings or in publications, but your identity will not be disclosed. The results will be disclosed in terms of group performance; we will not be discussing individual participants.

Contact Persons

For more information concerning this research, please contact Dr. Smetana (Principal Investigator) at (585) 275-4592 or Aaron Metzger (Coordinator) at (585) 739-7311. If you have any questions about your rights in this project, you may contact the Human Subjects Protection Specialist at the University of Rochester Research Subjects Review Board, Box 315, 601 Elmwood Avenue, Rochester, NY 14642-8315, Telephone (585) 276-0005, for long-distance you may call toll-free, (877) 449-4441.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free not to participate and you may withdraw at any time, for whatever reason. In the event that your child withdraws from the study, the information you have already provided will be kept in a confidential manner.

Signature

I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this assent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I agree to participate in this study.

Student: _____ Print Name and Title

Student: _____ Signature

_____ Date

Person Obtaining Consent (Belmont Certified EEPD Mentor/Staff)

I have read this form to the student and/or the student has read this form. An explanation of the research was given and questions from the student were solicited and answered to their satisfaction. In my judgment, the student has demonstrated comprehension of the information.

_____ Print Name and Title

_____ Signature

_____ Date

Appendix E

Parental Information Letter

The Youth Civic Development Project
Principal Investigator: Dr. Judith Smetana
Coordinator: Aaron Metzger, M.A.

Dear Parent:

I am a researcher from the University of Rochester, and I am interested in how adolescents develop beliefs about civic duty and citizenship. High school students are approaching the age when they will be able to vote. However, citizens in this country can participate politically in other ways such as by writing letters to the editor, joining a protest or rally, or being members of political organizations. In addition, individuals have opportunities to impact their communities through community service and volunteering activities. I am interested in teenagers' attitudes and beliefs about civic participation, and how important they view these activities to be. The information we gain from this study could be useful to teachers and others involved with youth to help increase their civic involvement.

We would like to ask your permission for your high school student to participate in a research study addressing these issues. The purpose of the research is to learn more about teenagers' attitudes toward different types of political participation, community service, and volunteering. The findings will only be used for research purposes, and your child's responses will be confidential. Your child's name will not be known to anyone outside of study staff. At the end of the study, we will share the results of the study with your child's school, but we will not provide any information about individual students. You may contact Aaron Metzger at any time if you would like further information about the study.

More specifically, we would like your permission to have your student fill out a short survey at school that takes about 20 minutes to complete. This study will minimally affect academic class time, and the study has been approved by teachers and administrators at Rush Henrietta High School. Twelfth graders will complete the survey in their Participation in Government class or Economics class. Tenth and eleventh graders will complete the survey in Health class or during a study hall. All participating students will be entered into a drawing for one of three \$50 gift certificates to Marketplace Mall.

I hope you will permit your teenager to participate. If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at the number listed below. A Parental Permission Form is enclosed. If you do agree to let your student participate in our research study, please complete this form and have your child return it to me at school. Please note that we will also seek assent from your child. Your child will be included in the research only if both you and he or she agree.

Sincerely yours,

Aaron Metzger, M.A.
Clinical and Social Psychology

Phone: 275- 1762

Appendix F

INTERESTED A CHANCE AT 50 BUCKS??



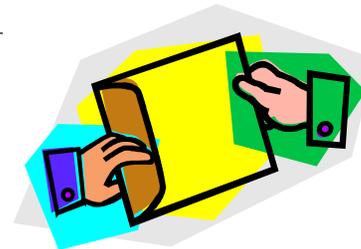
- All you have to do is take part in a short study
- What's the study about??



- How do I participate?
 - Bring back a [SIGNED PERMISSION FORM](#) classroom and put it in the folder
 - Fill out a short questionnaire right during this class period



–...ONLY 15-20 MINUTES
–TO FINISH



- What's in it for me??
 - Everyone who participates is entered in a drawing for one of [THREE 50 DOLLAR GIFT CARDS](#) to MARKETPLACE MALL

