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ON FIVE CAMPUSES OF A MIDWESTERN UNIVERSITY.

Indiana University, Ph.D., 1973
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AUTHORITY, THE CAMPUS, AND THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM:
A THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION ON FIVE
CAMPUSES OF A MIDWESTERN UNIVERSITY.

Charles Raymond Wise

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the
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Accepted by the Faculty of the Graduate School
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

In the United States, during the period from 1967 to 1970, the level of protest activity by students on university campuses was noticeably higher than any previous period in recent memory. At several points this "protest movement" seemed to constitute a major threat to the continued operation of the American system of higher education and even to the operation of the American political system itself. Indeed several of the "leaders" of various protest activities indicated that their objective was to disrupt the functioning of the political system which they considered corrupt.

It appeared to me that the protest activity seemed not to emanate exclusively from student concern over specific educational or political issues or events. Instead the widespread occurrence and reoccurrence of small and large scale outbreaks of protest seemed symptomatic of a lessening of basic student attachment to the political system. In short the basic authority relationship between the government and the student population of the nation seemed to be in question.

During this period students seemed to emerge as a major political force in their own right. Political analysts and political officials as well, began to devote substantial attention to the actions of dissident student groups as well as students generally. Given this situation it is appropriate to examine student attitudes and actions in regard

to their attachment to the authority relationship of the American political system.

This study will first attempt to delineate the concept of authority in terms of its historical development and relationship to other concepts crucial to the functioning of democratic governments. Authority will then be discussed in terms of its role in the operation of the political system. An examination will be undertaken of previous research and theory dealing with the development of attitudes toward authority and student attitudes and behavior. Specific hypotheses and empirical models will be stated regarding the relationship between background variables, attitudes, and protest activity. Finally empirical sample data for five university campuses will be utilized to test the stated hypotheses and models.

Authority

Authority is a crucial concept linking the individual to his government. It is a concept that political theorists have dealt with in various ways for centuries. It has been differently defined and different functions for society have been attributed to it. At certain times there has been little consensus regarding the normative evaluations of authority in government. At others, there has been substantial consensus.

This chapter explores the theoretical treatment of the concept of authority to determine its importance for the political system as explicated by several political theorists. This discussion provides

a frame of reference for the operationalization of the concept of authority tested in this study and gives some idea of its wider significance for the evaluation of the condition of the American political system.

Authority as a Concept: Definitions of Authority

The original definition of authority probably stems from the Latin word augere which means to augment. The word auctoritas derives from this usage. What authority or those in authority augmented was the foundation of the state--the founding of the nation from whence comes the original legitimacy for government.¹ However, political theorists have defined it differently, and there are almost as many definitions as there are theorists. It is difficult to extract similarities from any series of definitions, but it seems that most emphasize one of three attitudes: (1) the right to issue commands or orders by those exercising it; (2) the general acceptance of commands by those subject to the commands; (3) the relationship of interaction between those who command and those who obey commands.²

The emphasis of definitions of this first category emphasizes that the commands or exercise of authority will be followed by those to whom they are directed.

Definitions of the first category focus on the position, office, or the source from which a command is issued, or the institutionalized nature of the control exercised.³ Robert MacIver defines authority as the "established right to determine policies and act as leader."⁴

John H. Hollowell refers to authority as "the right to enforce obedience."⁵ Talcott Parsons writes of it as "the institutionalization of the rights of 'leadership' to expect support from the members of a collectivity."⁶ Karl Deutsch clearly points up the emphasis on source. "A source of messages that receives habitual preferential treatment as regards attention, transmission, and obedience in politics or social life may be said to possess authority."⁷ Michels defines authority as "The capacity, innate or acquired, for exercising ascendancy over a group."⁸

The emphasis of definitions of this first category and in others like them assume that the commands or exercise of authority will be followed by those to whom they are directed. The question of acceptance is assumed in these definitions.

The second group of definitions focuses on the acceptance of the authority commands or relationship, or on the voluntary nature of the compliance with commands, requirements, or orders. Acceptance here is not assumed but must be gained. Bertrand de Jouvenel refers to authority as the faculty of inducing voluntary assent. Authority is exercised only over those who voluntarily accept it.⁹ Herbert J. Spiro states, "Authority is a kind of 'additive' which leads us to accept policies about our fate, even though these policies are made by others."¹⁰ Discussions of authority focusing on its acceptance many times define it in terms of "legitimate power." As an example Dahl refers to authority as "legitimate influence."¹¹ The idea is here that if an official action is not accepted or perceived by the

citizen as legitimate it is not authoritative but connotes something else, possibly coercion. The emphasis in these definitions is on the acceptance by those subject to authority and the considerations affecting this acceptance.

The third group of definitions stresses the relational aspect of authority. These are concerned with the relationship between those exercising authority and those subject to it. Carl Friedrich defines authority as "the capacity for reasoned elaboration. . . in terms of the opinions, values, beliefs, interests and needs of the community within which the authority operates."¹² Utilizing a similar distinction Bachrach and Baratz employ authority as a relational concept that implies rationality.¹³ Yves Simon in his essay on the nature of authority states, "Authority is an active power, residing in a person and exercised through a command, that is, through a practical judgment to be taken as a rule of conduct by the free will of another person."¹⁴ Bierstedt specifically stresses the relational nature of authority. To him authority is a relationship.¹⁵

The focus in this third group of definitions is on the relationship embodied in authority. Discussions proceeding from this point of departure usually make distinctions concerning the nature of the interaction between those in authority positions and those in subordinate positions. They focus on the process of interaction rather than on the actions of either those in command or those who are subordinate.

Of course, definitions are not just employed in the abstract sense but toward some purpose in which they will be used. John Day

makes a useful distinction between sociological and legal authority. The sociological usage is "the voluntary acceptance by one man or group of men of some decisions of another."¹⁶ Legal authority is distinguished not by any form of actual power, but "power prescribed by a system of rules, which may be laws or a constitution."¹⁷ This distinction helps us to remember that in relationship to government there is a formal attribution of authority that may or may not embody authority in the sociological sense. As Day states, "Although possession of 'sociological' authority does sometimes lead to the granting of 'legal' authority, it is more usual for people to grant 'sociological' authority to the men who have 'legal' authority. In other words, that the constitution entitles a man to rule is a strong motive for people to obey him voluntarily."¹⁸ Although political science focuses on the formal attribution of authority, we are concerned with the extent to which sociological authority is also involved.

George Catlin in his discussion of authority points out that authority is a neutral term in political science.

For the purposes of political science, authority is neither good in itself nor bad. It carries no poison necessarily, whatever may be the warnings of psychologists and others. . . , but also no necessary implication of goodness and awe, unless brought in, as in papal encyclicals, by the words 'legitimate' and 'rational.'¹⁹

Catlin's point is especially relevant at this time since in many writings and discussions, authority has come to be confused with

authoritarianism. Indeed, the term authority seems for the most part to have lost any meaning of its own and in politics has come to be equated with authoritarian government. Day points out the confusion, "Criticism of 'authority' in an authoritarian state is, therefore, frequently directed against coercive power unauthorized by the subjects and not really against authority at all. . . attacks on 'authority' may often be attacks on what are more accurately called the unauthorized coercive power of governments. Authority and coercive power are so closely associated in some men's minds that one is often mistaken for the other."²⁰ This is to say that the presence of authority in government does not imply either an excess of it or a misuse. Indeed I will argue later that government requires authority.

To a certain extent this misunderstanding can be attributed to the work done in the study of authoritarianism in psychological research. Popularly held conclusions from this research, but not related to it in any systematic way, has left the implicit assumption that authority in human relationships in general, and government in particular, is somehow a manifestation of aberrant behavior and is something to be avoided. As Giovanni Sartori aptly states, "For example, 'authoritarianism' has suggested the epithet 'authoritarian personality' to indicate the type of personality structure that is not adapted to the democratic way of life. The trouble is, again, that this term leaves the impression that the type of personality which can best serve democracy should be authority-less. Of course this is not so."²¹

Authority then should not be confused with authoritarianism. The attitudinal relationship will be discussed in detail below.

To distinguish authority from authoritarianism, following Sartori, authority will be used here in its authoritative sense.²²

David Easton writes of authority in this way; "If A sends a message to B and B adopts this message as the basis of his own behavior without evaluating it in terms of his own standards of what is desirable under the circumstances, we can say A has exerted authority over B. B here has accepted a message from A as authoritative for or binding upon him and without further contemplation of its merits acts to carry out A's intention as incorporated in the communication."²³

Here I am concerned with the citizens (A's) accepting messages from government officials (B's) as authoritative for or binding upon them.

The problem with this use of authority in its authoritative sense is that it refers to behavior in isolated situations. This definition refers to stimulus-response situations. It makes no determination with regard to the context of the behavior. It can be utilized to describe the President issuing an executive order or a robber obtaining a wallet from a victim on whom he holds a gun.

Here I am concerned with behavior in systems and in this particular inquiry, behavior in the political system, and not with actual individual instances of compliance. My concern is with a pattern of expectations that people hold in the political system regarding the making of decisions by those in governmental office. This pattern of expectations has import for stress on the political system and the persistence

of the political system itself. My use of authority will be that those in positions of responsibility in government have sufficient expectation that their decisions are considered generally legitimate and will generally be willingly complied with by those to whom they are directed. To achieve this expectation the governed consider the decisions of the governors legitimate and generally acceptable, and hence authoritative for them.

The emphasis of this definition like those of category two above is on the general acceptance of commands by those to whom they are directed. The general acceptance of the legitimacy of commands by citizens is most relevant to the operation of the political system. Focus on acceptance provides a straightforward meaning for the function of the political system as will be seen later.

In the research presented here I focus on the students' view of the legitimacy of the authority of the American Political System.

Historical Treatment

As mentioned before I am concerned here with authority in government. The great thinkers have been studied in depth for centuries to shed light on the relationship among man, his society and his government. Although my purpose is not to even attempt an exhaustive or extensive treatment of classical thought on authority, I will state a few of the conceptions of authority as they have developed historically to provide a basis for the discussion of some allied concepts related to authority in government.

Hanna Arendt has pointed out that neither Plato nor Aristotle provides political theory with a complete concept of authority. They do provide a starting point by introducing such a concept by referring to situations of dominance in non-political situations such as that of a ship captain and his crew.²⁴

The Romans introduced the concept of authority as the basis for political life. As mentioned previously, authority is derived from the Latin word augere which means to augment, and what was augmented under the Romans was the foundation. The authority of government at any given time was based on the act of the founding of the state by the original founders. In the Roman case, the founding of Rome was a sacred and binding event.²⁵

However, the exercise of authority of the governors is not authoritative in itself. It derives from the principles of the original founding. "Thus, precedents, the deeds of the ancestors and the usage that grew out of them, are always binding."²⁶ Tradition is thus relied on to bolster the functioning of authority. Religion, too, was introduced to further support the conception of authority in that the gods were felt to have authority among, rather than authority over, men. They "augment" and confirm human actions but do not guide them.²⁷ Thus, the trinity of authority, tradition, and religion was born which was to provide the basis for political life for several hundred years. "The strength of this trinity lay in the binding force of an authoritative beginning to which "religious" bonds tied men back through tradition."²⁸ The transfer of the trinity to the Roman

Catholic Church and the rulers of the christian era provided the stepping-stone to the rule of kings utilizing the same trinity in a different form.²⁹

The concept of foundation and the conception of time oriented toward the past were lost in the reformation and the age of enlightenment. The trilogy was such that when one point was undermined so were the others. The modern conception of time oriented toward progress and the future undermined the element of tradition in the trinity removing the sacredness of foundation. Hence, a new basis of authority was needed and the one that emerged opened up new difficulties for authority with which we are still struggling today. These difficulties are visible in modern political activity, and are applicable to the concerns addressed here.

For western political theory the contract theorists have provided the most important attempt for a rational basis upon which to rest the exercise of political authority. Hobbes is perhaps the theorist who treats authority most explicitly. Men are said to form a social contract out of fear to protect their lives and property. They combine into a single corporate body. They also form a governmental contract between those who govern and those who are governed. Hobbes states or implies in several places that authority springs from the consent of those subject to it. This consent to authority requires no more than that those subject to it submit to a power which they believe is great enough to ensure that they stand to lose more than they gain by disobedience to it, and this submission is a tacit contract as distinct

from an express one. However, if those men feel there is no one already powerful enough to make it worth their while to submit to them, and if they think it their interest that there should be, a tacit contract is no longer enough. They then must choose someone to submit to and must ensure that he has the power to compel obedience, and they must set up a ruler by express contract, who will be a sovereign by institution.³⁰ "Hobbes' concept of authority presupposed a system of rules which determine who may legitimately make certain types of decisions, make certain sorts of pronouncements, issue commands of a certain sort, and perform certain types of symbolic acts. Hobbes brings this out by saying that the actions of a representative are authorized."³¹

However, basing authority upon consent introduces the possibility of the withdrawal of consent and the subsequent collapse of authority. Hobbes sought to forestall the future claim of a right by individuals to withdraw their consent by arguing that since the agreement is one between each individual and every other individual, a withdrawal of any one individual from the contract would be a breach of faith unless the consent of every other person with whom he severally consented was obtained.³² The moral force of the contract stems from natural law. The fallacy in this argument is that by accepting a purely utilitarian basis upon which to rest the existence of political authority, it becomes logically impossible to deny to those who so contracted (when they consider it useful or utilitarian to do so to) the right to abrogate the contract on the same utilitarian grounds.³³ The

significance of this goes beyond theoretical argument. Political philosophy often becomes incorporated into political ideology and then into the structure and approach to particular political systems. The resting of political authority upon the consent of a people no matter how insulated from the immediate populace postulates a contingent, not a constant, relationship. This contingent relationship of authority, if incorporated into a political system, puts emphasis on the acceptance of authority by the citizens of that system.

American Conception of Authority

The original American conception of authority was firmly grounded in the political experience of the citizens of the time and was justified by recourse to the thought of the contract theorists. The Mayflower compact, for instance, was drafted to organize particular governmental relations in the new colony of Massachusetts. It was drafted at the "founding" of the colony and its binding nature stemmed from this. Likewise the binding nature of the Constitution derives from the "founding of the nation." "The party 'solemnly and mutually' bound themselves 'together into a civil body politic' for their 'better ordering and preservation'; and they agreed to 'enact, constitute, and form' laws for the common welfare to which they promised 'all due submission and obedience.'"³⁴ In doing this they were promising fealty to the laws arising from the arrangement among themselves,

not from any platonic class of superior individuals. They contracted to establish authority.

The idea of authority coming from the people was reaffirmed in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution. The people by this time had over a century of political experience in their own colonial governments. The authority of government lodged in the Constitution was derived from the consent of the people. As Madison states, "The express authority of the people alone could give due validity to the Constitution."³⁵ Even if one branch of government becomes tyrannical and encroaches on the others, Madison and the other founders saw an appeal to the original source of authority, the people. In matters of alteration of the government, too, appeal was to the people.³⁶ That this authority was thought to be derived from the people by their consent through contract was expressed by John Adams, "The first 'collection' of authority must be a unanimous agreement to form themselves into a nation, people, community, or body politic and to be governed by the majority of suffrages or voices."³⁷

The idea was that the formal contract establishing authority was embodied in the written document of the Constitution. In this the formal structure of authority was designated. It has been written many times that the founders were distrustful of concentrated power and so established a "separation of powers." The effect of this was to fragment the structure of authority. This has very real consequences in terms of the operation of government and the policies produced. As Charles S. Hyneman aptly points out, "The fact is that rarely does

any one elected official have all the authority required for instituting and carrying through a public policy of substantial importance."³⁸ The result is that several "authorities" are involved in any given policy area or affect any given sector of the citizenry at a particular time. The exercise of authority is viewed in terms of responsiveness to the citizens through elections. In this way, the authority originally granted by the people in their original community is anchored in the continuing operation of government.³⁹ The electoral process is one way the American citizen interacts with the formal authority of government. As Hyneman points out, "Selecting officials is but a part of the total enterprise of maintaining popular control of government. The citizen lays demands before the officials, criticizes the service they provide, chafes at the regulations they subject him to, and drags his feet or openly rebels when he thinks that authority has reached beyond its proper bounds."⁴⁰ In short, the authority originally derived from the people undergoes constant evaluation through continuous interaction with present government authority.

The interaction with formal authority over time changes the structure of authority and also changes citizen evaluations of it. Originally most governmental authority was lodged in and attributed to the legislative branch. Gradually the center of authority of American government has shifted from Congress to the Presidency. In addition, a vast bureaucracy has arisen to which increasing delegation of authority has been given. The citizenry as a whole, too, has somewhat

altered its view of governmental authority from one of general mistrust to one of widespread but selective acceptance. In many new areas the citizens have granted or authorized the government to affect their lives. Charles Hendel proposes that the American attitude toward authority is an ambivalent one. On one hand the American people retain an inherent distrust of formal governmental authority. On the other hand they are willing to grant more far reaching authority to attain some particular public good.⁴¹

In the American conception of authority emphasis is placed very much on the citizen's acceptance of authority both for the legitimation and operation of the political system.

Nature of Authority - Allied Concepts

David Hume, in his essay "Of the Origin of Government" notes that men will always "take liberties," so to speak, and thus authority is ever necessary in some form to maintain "peace and order" in civilized society.⁴² This statement is an example of the feeling explicated by political theorists over time that society and government require political authority. Individuals each pursuing their own interests will conflict and to preserve order, authority must resolve the conflict for the well being of the individual.⁴³ Pursuit of individual interests narrowly conceived leads the individual into a position where he cannot perceive his larger interest. In addition, the interests of society as a whole must be represented.⁴⁴

The need for authority in its most basic form is felt to stem from the necessity of men to live and interact with each other.⁴⁵ Authority is also necessary for the operation of government itself, particularly democratic government. Without authority a government will collapse.⁴⁶ Of course, theoretically no authority is necessary in a society of rational men for problems where interests conflict. Perfectly rational men will perceive the interests of themselves and others in the larger long-term sense. They will arrive at the viable solution. Here authority is but a substitute for insufficiently enlightened citizens. However, practically, many times men do not act rationally and authority is necessary for common action toward common goals.⁴⁷ In addition, most people probably have some feeling for the need and desirability of governmental authority for their own well being.⁴⁸

Governmental authority, of course, does not exist in a vacuum. Many other political considerations figure into its exercise. The theoretical considerations surrounding it do not constitute a vacuum either, and theorists throughout the centuries have discussed authority in terms of these considerations. A few will be reviewed here to further explicate the concept of authority.

One of the first concepts allied with authority that comes to mind is political obligation. The need for obligation in a system of political authority derives from the desire to avoid the requirement of justifying each individual exercise of authority wherever it may occur. It is the idea that the citizens have the general feeling

that they ought to accede to the commands of the governmental authority in general. The advantage to the efficient operation of government as a value is obvious. On the individual level, "Genuine authority calls out attitudes in people, for instance, a spirit of obedience."⁴⁹ It is generally the case that in most ongoing governmental systems the citizens feel some general obligation to obey the government. Political theorists for centuries have given reasons why men should obey their governments; i.e., they attempt to explain why the general fact that men do in fact obey their governments should be expected.⁵⁰ Indeed, some have tried to postulate a general theory of political obligation. However, several theorists have argued that no general theory of political obligation is possible, because all general theories admit cases that would not require obedience.

Political obligation becomes a problem in individualist political theories that postulate the existence of men prior to the state. Reasons have to then be presented why such men become obligated to obey authority. Social contract theories contain this problem which has not been solved satisfactorily. Obligation rests on some moral feeling that prior agreement is binding. This boils down to saying we do something because we agreed to, and agreeing to it makes it right. However, as pointed out above the agreement is justified on utilitarian grounds in the first place, and obligation resting on such grounds is shaky indeed. The social contract basis of political obligation has been built into American political thought and somewhat

into practice. To the extent that members of a political system rest their political obligation on such grounds, the system is open to periodic calls for justification of agreement.

Another basis of political obligation which is visible in American political thought is that of parliamentary democracy. It rests heavily on procedure for its justification. The parliamentary argument attempts to get around the agreement difficulty of the social contract by leaving open the question as to whether the thing about which I am being consulted is in itself good, and concentrates itself on the question of whether it was done in the proper manner (i.e., it is a question of legality).⁵¹ The electoral principle is often referred to in this light in American politics. If the order comes about as a result of an election, we are somehow more bound to obey it. This poses more of a problem which is visible now when elected representatives delegate authority to appointed bureaucrats.

The closely allied concepts of legitimacy and acceptance are often considered in conjunction with authority. The significance of legitimacy and acceptance for authority is that governmental authority that is considered legitimate by an individual is most likely to be accepted by that individual though he may reject it on other grounds. As Arendt states, "Those who are not only in power, but in authority are aware that their (authoritarian) power depends upon its legitimacy, which is assumed and "proven" by invocation of a source beyond or above the rules."⁵²

Max Weber has provided probably the best known classification of grounds on which the leaders of a political system might claim legitimacy for their rule and members might accept their claims. To Weber legitimacy was an empirical concept, and the test of it was what the members of the political system thought of their leaders. He identified basically three grounds for authority:⁵³

1. Rational grounds - resting on a belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority);
2. Traditional grounds - resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them (traditional authority);
3. Charismatic grounds - resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him (charismatic authority)

In the case of legal authority, obedience is owed to the legally established impersonal order. In the case of traditional authority, obedience is owed to the person of the chief who occupies the traditionally sanctioned position of authority and who is (within its sphere) bound by tradition. In the case of charismatic authority, it is the charismatically qualified leader as such, who is obeyed by virtue of personal trust in him and his revelation, his heroism or his exemplary

qualities so far as they fall within the scope of the individual's belief in his charisma. Weber himself admits that these are not usually found in their pure form but are mixed.⁵⁴ Weber has been criticized by several authors for failing to distinguish sufficiently between personal and institutional authority.⁵⁵ However, the point is made that members may find several grounds for attributing legitimacy to a regime and hence accepting the authority of the regime.

Dahl proposes that popular governments - democracies - necessarily require more legitimacy than dictatorships as political leaders cannot impose a democracy on a people if a majority, or even in practice a large minority, reject it. Dahl states that, in general, in democracies political leaders need gain more legitimacy to exercise authority because they are not permitted to acquire sufficient resources to enforce their policies through naked power.⁵⁶ Dahl treats the extent to which the government is legitimate and the power of leaders accepted as authority as one of the three major differences in political systems.⁵⁷

Weber mentioned three grounds of legitimacy. This suggests the concept of source. There are undoubtedly many possible sources of authority depending on the political system. Herbert Spiro proposes that they seem to fall into two major categories - substantive and procedural.⁵⁸ Some sources may be called substantive, because they are like qualities which are attached to or possessed by a policymaker. Examples would be age, experience, training, study, foundation, wealth,

tradition, beauty, inherited titles, symbols, strength or religion. Other sources may be called procedural, because they refer to the procedures which produced the policy or according to which the policymaker is selected. Examples are methods of election or appointment, systems of accountability, participation and use of information in policymaking and means of publicizing policy. As Spiro points out there has been a shift of emphasis in western political systems from substantive to procedural sources of authority.⁵⁹ In the United States, the individual participating as a member of the electorate and the constituent power may be taken as the government's main source of authority. No government would have authority unless it was felt to operate within the framework of the Constitution. Tradition plays some role, too, but so often tradition can be taken to prove many sides of an argument.⁶⁰ The people are the ultimate source of authority, but that authority must be designated to a particular governmental arrangement to be exercised. Hendel summarizes the relationship:

The people, according to the early American formula, are the "source of authority." Do they themselves not have as a people that which they can delegate to certain specific bodies of the government? Yes and no. Of course, the authority is theirs that issues from them to the agents who are to exercise it according to the law. But only when it is actually issued and effective is it authority; what it is before that actual "emanation" is not properly called "authority." The nation or the people are the "source." The metaphor is significant; a source is like a spring running down a hillside, taking its courses according to the lay of the land. There is power in it, but the power is delivered only through the particular sluices into which it is channeled for purposes of doing work. Authority should, thus, always be thought of as power vested in a determinate agency, either in the law

or in the various bodies that perform the functions of government. The people or the nation are the great indeterminate reservoir of all the power that is put to work.⁶¹

Thus, vested authority must be exercised and thus we come to the much discussed allied concept of power. These two terms, authority and power, are related and much confusion surrounds their use. This probably should be expected since there is much controversy surrounding the meaning of power itself. The confusion between power and authority is usually found in some particular context of use. For example, when the policeman exercises his authority and forces the criminal into a car, this is said to be an example of power. However, most political theorists draw a distinction between power and authority as such.⁶² It is said when power or coercion has to be used, authority has failed. Acceptance of authority must be voluntary. This is especially important for a democratic government. A democratic government seeks to implement the wishes of its citizens to the highest degree possible without coercion.⁶³

I think the confusion can be cleared somewhat by reference to distinctions made by John Day. Day proposes that there are really two distinctive uses of the word "power" when it is used by people, although the uses are related. Both uses refer to the ability to produce certain actions in others under particular conditions. One use, the coercive, specifies the method employed, namely force, while the other, the causative, does not. Authority is not any form of coercive power but is a form of causative power. Anyone who exercises

political authority in the sociological sense is able to command obedience to laws and therefore has power in the causative sense. However, even if political authority does not include coercive power, it is true that in practice most possessors of political authority are authorized to use coercive power when necessary. They are so authorized because they are considered trusted to use coercive power for the benefit of the community. Those who obey the government just because of fear are really not granting governmental authority legitimacy. But, those who do accept the legitimacy of governmental authority recognize there will be times that for their own good those in positions of authority should be allowed to use power in the coercive sense and they authorize them to do so. A government secures obedience by authority and coercive power.⁶⁴ At any given time it may use more of one or the other. It may possess one but not the other. A government such as a dictatorship may possess much coercive power but little legitimate authority and is able to retain rule only at the expense of providing an elaborate internal security and police system. Authority, then, may be viewed as a type of power if one wishes, but of a noncoercive nature.

Another concept usually discussed in conjunction with authority is hierarchy. The authoritarian relation between the one who commands and the one who obeys rests neither on common reason nor on the power of the one who commands; what they have in common is the hierarchy itself whose rightness and legitimacy both recognize.⁶⁵ Arendt describes the structure of governmental authority in its pure form

in terms of a pyramid.⁶⁶ Parsons talks of a series of subsystems each with its own authority-pattern.⁶⁷ The idea we may glean here is that a political system often contains subsystems or different levels of government with men in positions who exercise authority in different ways. This is apparent in the American federal structure of government with national, state, and local levels of authority as well as within the national structure itself. On all these levels there are those who exercise authority--leaders and those who accept and follow it--followers.

In most discussions of authority, theorists come to grips with the problem of arbitrary exercise of authority. To some extent this is handled by saying that authority must be legitimate. However, some theorists are not satisfied because authority sometimes carries the connotation of blind obedience on the part of those who are followers. They are afraid of the danger of arbitrary exercise allowed in such a condition. The concept of reason becomes important for both leaders and followers. The questions posed are, does authority necessitate the suspension of the faculty of reasoning on the part of the followers, and is unreasonable authority then legitimate?

As stated above the source of authority in American political thought is held to be the people as constituent power exercised through a contract and designated in the Constitution. In addition, it was pointed out that in contract theories the moral power to keep the contract is provided by reference to natural law and thus the rule of reason.

Several theorists postulate that authority must be reasonable to be legitimate and then if it is, there is little problem of blind obedience. This is because the followers are acting reasonably in making a prior decision to allow themselves to be bound by future acts of authority grounded in reason.⁶⁸ It is reasonable for them to do so on at least two grounds. First, on the criterion of economy of time and effort. If I think that those in authority are likely to make decisions the way I as a reasonable man would make them after considering all the evidence, I am likely to want to spend my time on other matters which I value and grant legitimacy to those in authority.⁶⁹ Secondly, there is the criterion of discretion. I am likely to want to get a decision in many matters quickly and realize that if I have to have those in authority explain everything to me and everyone else, and have all of us participate in every decision, government in any community beyond a small group becomes impossible. This does not mean I am not free to criticize a particular exercise of authority or openly disagree with the decision made. It is still reasonable for me to obey the command when given.⁷⁰ As Dahl⁷¹ points out and as has been demonstrated empirically,⁷² there is a range of concern with political matters. Dahl identifies four groups, the apolitical strata, the political strata, the power seekers and the powerful. Those from the political strata on up to the powerful are in varying degrees psychologically "involved" in governmental decisions. They may discuss politics, at least infrequently, but accept authority of the powerful regularly. As Rokeach states, "And there need be no

inherent contradiction between reliance on authority and reliance on reason, so long as we use independent reason to guide us in selecting the authorities we choose to influence us and so long as we use reason to tell us when to throw overboard one authority in favor of another."⁷³ Thus, it seems that obedience to authority need not be considered irrational or blind.⁷⁴

But, how is arbitrariness in the exercise of authority avoided? How does reason come into play? Jerome Hall provides an appropriate overview of the role of reason in the exercise of democratic authority; "Although authority is not an expression of reason, it presupposes, at least in a democracy, that reason and science have been put to the maximum use to solve the problem in hand."⁷⁵ Carl Friedrich specifies that authority is associated with reasoning not in a syllogistic sense but rather with the reasoning which relates actors to opinions and beliefs, and opinions and beliefs to values, however defined.⁷⁶ However, decisions are often made quickly and of necessity without recourse to painstaking study. This does not, however, make the exercise of authority arbitrary. "Now it is important that this 'reasoning' is not necessarily, nor even usually, employed in fact, though it may be hinted at or suggested by symbols. But it is important that the 'potentiality of reasoned elaboration' of the communication exists."⁷⁷ Of course, in any given case this may be difficult to establish but over time may be demonstratable. This above conception of reason is not static or present in terms of some natural law, but is based on the

values and beliefs of the citizens. Therefore, those in authority must keep in tune with the citizens to retain their authority.⁷⁸

This exercise of authority based on reason and especially the potential reason necessitates that those in authority positions be allowed a certain amount of discretion. Discretion is necessitated because even after reason and investigation have run their full course, several equally valid solutions have become available or the conclusions reached fall short of the necessary specificity.⁷⁹ Edmund Burke is perhaps the most famous classical theorist who argued for the necessity of discretion in the exercise of authority. Indeed, his well known idea that the representative act as trustee allows complete discretion of those in authority. Again the idea of discretion does not include the arbitrary act.

In conjunction with the concept of authority, discretion is much more circumscribed than might at first appear. As Carl Friedrich writes, "Discretion may be defined in various ways, but what is always involved is (1) the notion that a choice between several alternatives can, indeed must, be made; and (2) the notion that such a choice is not to be made arbitrarily, wantonly, or carelessly, but in accordance with the requirements of the situation."⁸⁰ Of course, in any given situation or issue area some men will differ as to whether more or less discretion should be allowed and this judgment will affect their acceptance or rejection of the legitimacy of the authority being exercised.

Thus even though discretion also sometimes allows for the abuse of the exercise of authority by those in authority positions for either private gain or for the benefit of one section of the population at the expense of another section, the extent of the danger of abuse of authority depends on the individuals in authority and the particular political system. In some systems the danger is greater than in others.⁸¹

Discretion does indeed allow those in authority flexibility, but men are want to give their rulers complete discretion to rule over them. Therefore, over time citizens have insisted upon certain limitations in the exercise of governmental authority. Citizens do not give their governments carte blanche, "And if authority is thus subject to exploitation, it must be subject to limitation also. It can act without restraint only where its end is in fact coincident with its ideal object. It's policy, that is to say, is only sovereign where it is serving the sovereign purpose."⁸²

One way to limit the exercise of authority in government is by charter, Constitution, or law. It is true these must be enforced, but such understandings previously agreed upon and written down take on an aura that may be transgressed only at great peril on the part of those in authority. The idea of higher law taking precedence over the momentary decisions of governmental authorities: "In some fashion or other the public claim rides high above the authorities of any nation or of any day or generation in history, and law is supreme in a sense, whether or not there be means to enforce it."⁸³ The founders

thought that the higher law should be embodied in the Constitution where the limitations on authority were spelled out in the document itself and then in the first ten amendments constituting the Bill of Rights. They intended that by specifying the structure of government and the placement of offices according to the separation of powers doctrine, additional limitations would be placed on the arbitrary exercise of authority.

In addition to a higher law such as a Constitution, law itself in the common law tradition carries with it an aura of higher law. Charles Hendel aptly states the relationship between common law and exercise of authority.

But there is nonetheless effective law in society above the laws of government. Regular procedures of justice are established through custom and general acceptance. Accordingly, acts of authority will not be considered justified, and consequently not obeyed, if they are simply arbitrary and pre-emptory dictates of power. Furthermore, claims and arguments are heard when both questions of right and questions of fact must be examined and proven. Such provisions for the exercise of authority according to law, so that things are done decently and in order, witness a settled respect for the personal liberty of man. Authority that operates otherwise is condemned as not being true authority."⁸⁴

In addition to these more formal limitations on authority, there are also informal limitations that may be more important than the formal ones, because they are relied on to bolster the formal limitations. These informal limitations are derived from the individual's view of authority. The individual expects authority to be exercised to benefit him. When it is not, he is opposed to its exercise and does not cooperate or openly protests.⁸⁵ Individuals acting in

concert constitute an informal brake on the exercise of authority. In this way changes in beliefs, values, interests and desires become incorporated in the acceptance of authority and thus in the actual exercise of it.⁸⁶ The significance of acceptance of authority for the operation of the political system is reinforced. It also means as Hendel concludes, "The claim to absolute fixed authority on anyone's part is ever a complete illusion. In every aspect, then, authority is essentially limited."⁸⁷ It is limited in the macro sense for the population over time. For a given individual or group in any given case it can seem all encompassing, which can be uncomfortable and frustrating for that individual or group.⁸⁸

This leads us to a further consideration concerning the operation of a political system. Most political theory at some point or another has to come to grips with the relationship between authority and freedom. There is little doubt that American political thought, immersed as it is in individualistic political philosophy, has stressed freedom. Indeed, many discussions treat freedom as the antithesis of authority. In fact, in recent times political theory as well as popular ideology has been largely devoted to the maximization of individual freedom as opposed to the activity of particular governments or governments in general. In political science the exercise of government authority has come to be characterized as "authoritarian" and has engendered several denunciations of political attitudes or opinions of individuals as well as of governments. It is the position taken here that authority in point of fact is not the antithesis of

freedom and that the two concepts may be quite compatible. If this is true the above prevalent conception seems all the more unfortunate.⁸⁹

An attempt at complete reconciliation between the two concepts will not be presented here. A great deal of political theory has been devoted to the joint discussion of the two concepts, and it would be impossible to duplicate all the arguments here. Instead, I will point out one facet of the problem that seems to concern my discussion.

There is little question that at certain times and in certain situations liberty and authority can be opposed. Those in authority may command me to do something that I do not wish to do and, if I obey, my liberty is said to be abridged.⁹⁰ However, I may decide to accept the authority because I feel by doing so that on the whole I will have greater freedom of action even though in the particular instance my choice is circumscribed. Paradoxically, I use my freedom to restrict my freedom.⁹¹ For the political system those in authority will not want to use coercive power too often lest it lead to rebellion or near-rebellion and will generally, if they are rational, want to command in such a way to maximize freedom for the most people at a given time.⁹² Thus, it is the conception held here that there is a balance between liberty and authority that is necessary for the smooth functioning of the political system. As Yves Simon concludes with respect to liberty and authority, "As to their complementary character, it is quite clear that authority, when it is not fairly

balanced by liberty, is but tyranny, and that liberty when it is not fairly balanced by authority, is but abusive license."⁹³ Thus, liberty and authority are not unalterably opposed, but the proper balance between the two in any given political system is by no means assured. Men will differ with regard to the existence or nonexistence of the balance and the direction of the imbalance if they feel it exists, and this will affect their evaluations and thus their actions in regard to the exercise of authority. Certain political communities have made certain structural provisions which they felt enhances the opportunity for balance. In the American system, the Constitutional system, the electoral system, and the rule of law were all instituted to preserve the balance.⁹⁴

The evaluations of the exercise of authority may be made within the above context. Men are felt to enjoy certain freedoms that are held to be impervious to the normal everyday exercise of authority. These freedoms are often referred to as rights. Sidney Hook discusses the meaning or nature of "rights." He indicates that when a person asserts that he has a right he is making a claim on other people. "A right is a claim which entails an obligation or duty on the part of others in specified times and circumstances to recognize it whether in fact the law does so at the moment."⁹⁵ This conception holds that rights do not exist above the jurisdiction of a political system and are not impervious to its processes.

Rights are, however, felt to be somehow more basic than political interests, demands, or desires. The concept of "right" carries with

it the connotation of an accepted claim on society which all members grant are necessary for the well being of the society and its members. Rights are considered somehow more fundamental than the everyday activities of government and the effect of these activities on its citizens.

If government is felt to abridge the rights of its citizens it is held to be illegitimate. However, this does not necessarily mean that rights are absolute and impervious to the action of government. Indeed government will be judged in some respects in how it treats certain rights of its citizens. It will, in consequence, be limited by these judgments.⁹⁶ Little is gained by insisting on the absolute nature of certain rights.⁹⁷ Rights do conflict in actual situations, and government is called upon to resolve the conflict.⁹⁸ In such situations, some may feel the government's decision abridges their rights. In a democracy, however, the selected leadership may be replaced for transgressing too often on certain rights.⁹⁹ This provides one safeguard to abuse of authority in this area. In addition, men in judging government treatment of rights will make decisions regarding its legitimacy and either cooperate or resist the government's authority accordingly.

Summary

In this chapter authority as a concept has been discussed. Definitions of authority have been presented and have been found to fall primarily into three categories. (1) The right to issue commands or

orders by those exercising them; (2) the general acceptance of commands by those subject to the commands; (3) the relationship of interaction between those who command and those who obey commands. The historical development of the concept was traced, and the contingent relationship of authority by the contract theorists and its resultant emphasis on acceptance was delineated. The inherent American distrust of authority was explored. The interrelationship of acceptance and legitimacy of authority was discussed and it was pointed out that citizens may have several grounds for attributing legitimacy to a regime and thus accepting the authority of the regime.

Authority as it is used here means that the governed consider the decisions of the governors for the political system legitimate and generally acceptable. The emphasis here is on the acceptance of the legitimacy of authority and its impact on the political system.

FOOTNOTES

¹Arendt, Hanna, "What Was Authority," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, pp. 99-100.

²Robert L. Peabody employs an analogous threefold classification in his discussion of authority. (1) A property of a person or office, especially the right to issue orders; (2) a relationship between two offices, one superior and the other subordinate, such that both incumbents perceive the relationship as legitimate; (3) a quality of a communication by virtue of which it is accepted. "Authority," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 1, p. 473. In addition, Young C. Kim employs a somewhat different classification. (1) The notion of right (or ability) to issue commands and/or to expect or exact obedience; (2) the stressing of the voluntary nature of command acceptance; (3) the dimensions of acceptance with or without special reference to the reasons for compliance. "Authority: Some Conceptual and Empirical Notes," Western Political Quarterly, vol. 19, 1966, pp. 223-228.

³Kim, Young C., "Authority," op. cit., pp. 223-224.

⁴MacIver, Robert, The Web of Government, Macmillan, New York, 1947, p. 83.

⁵Hollowell, John H., The Moral Foundation of Democracy, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1954, p. 107.

⁶Parsons, Talcott, "Authority, Legitimation and Political Action," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, p. 210.

⁷Deutsch, Karl, Nerves of Government, Free Press, New York, 1963, p. 179.

⁸Michels, Roberto, "Authority," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. II, p. 319.

⁹Jouvenel, Bertrand de, Sovereignty, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1957, pp. 29-32.

¹⁰Spiro, Herbert J., "Authority, Values, and Policy," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, p. 50.

¹¹Dahl, Robert, Modern Political Analysis, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1963, p. 19.

¹²Friedrich, Carl J., Man and His Government, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1963, p. 226.

¹³Barach, Peter, and Baratz, Martin, "Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytic Framework," American Political Science Review, vol. 57, 1968, pp. 632-642.

¹⁴Simon, Yves, The Nature and Functions of Authority, Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 1940, p. 7.

¹⁵Bierstedt, Robert, "The Problem of Authority," in Monroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles Page, eds., Freedom and Control in Modern Society, Octagon Books, New York, 1964, p. 67.

¹⁶Day, John, "Authority," Political Studies, vol. 11, 1963, p. 258.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 262.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 263.

¹⁹Catlin, George, "Authority and its Critics," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, p. 128.

²⁰Day, op. cit., p. 265.

²¹Sartori, Giovanni, Democratic Theory, Praeger, New York, 1965, p. 139.

²²Sartori writes, "Since authority and democracy are so closely interwoven that we can hardly speak of democracy without speaking of authority, let us suppose that at a certain point in the discussion we have to use the adjectival form instead of the noun. What are we supposed to say? Shall we call democracy an 'authoritarian' system? This is clearly inadvisable. Thus if we wish to convey the idea that democracy typically requires power or authority, our only escape is to resort to the subtle distinction between authoritarian (non-democratic) authority and authoritative (democratic) authority." Ibid., p. 139.

²³Easton, David, "The Perception of Authority and Political Change," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, pp. 179-180.

²⁴A statement from Hanna Arendt, is enlightening here. "The grandiose attempts of Greek philosophy to find a concept of authority which would prevent deterioration of the polis and safeguard the life of the philosopher foundered on the fact that in the realm of Greek political life there was no awareness of authority based on immediate

political experience. Hence, all prototypes by which subsequent generations understood the content of authority were drawn from specifically unpolitical experiences, stemming either from the sphere of "making" and the arts where there must be experts and where fitness is the highest criterion, or from the private household community." Arendt, Hanna, "What Was Authority," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, pp. 97-98.

²⁵Arendt, "What Was Authority," Ibid., p. 100.

²⁶Ibid., p. 101.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid., p. 103.

²⁹Thanks to the fact that the foundation of the city of Rome was repeated in the foundation of the Catholic Church, though, of course, with a radically different content, the Roman trinity of religion, authority, and tradition could be taken over by the Christian era, with the result that the miracle of permanence, too, repeated itself; for within the framework of our history, the durability and continuity of the Church as a public institution can only be compared with the thousand years of Roman history in antiquity. Ibid., p. 104.

³⁰Plamenatz, John, Man and Society, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1963, vol. 1, p. 126.

³¹Peters, R. S., Symposium by R. S. Peters and Peter Winch from Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, Supp. vol. 32, 1958, pp. 207-40.

³²Willoughby, Westel W., The Ethical Basis of Political Authority, MacMillan, New York, 1930, p. 180.

³³Ibid., p. 181.

³⁴Jacobson, "Knowledge, Tradition, and Authority," op. cit., p. 118.

³⁵Madison, James, The Federalist Papers, Mentor Edition, New American Library, New York, 1961, p. 279.

³⁶Madison states, "As the people are the only legitimate fountain of power, and it is from them that the constitutional charter under which the several branches of government hold their power, is derived, it seems strictly consonant to the republican theory to recur to the same original authority, not only whenever it may be necessary to enlarge, diminish, or re-model the powers of government, but also

whenever any one of the departments may commit encroachments on the chartered authorities of the others." Madison, James, The Federalist Papers, #49, op. cit., pp. 313-314.

³⁷ Peek, George A. Jr., The Political Writings of John Adams, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1954, p. 125.

³⁸ Hyneman, Charles S., Popular Government in America, Atherton, New York, 1968, p. 135.

³⁹ Hyneman provides a summary statement of the classic idea of the operation of the system; "The people (i.e., an inclusive electorate) choose public officials; the elected officials make policies and exercise control over appointed officials who carry on the day to day activities of government. The structure of offices and the placement of authority in the several offices is the decisional apparatus of government. If the elected and appointed officials who exercise significant authority are truly responsive to public expectations, then government by the people is secured. Ibid., p. 127.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 130.

⁴¹ Hendel states, "So we oscillate between two moods with respect to authority, one resentful, one welcoming. When it appears as an unlimited remote power over which we seem to have little or no control ourselves and to which we cannot gain access even to put in our word and register our grievance, we envisage authority as evil. If it is a sort of home rule, an assigned authority for a specific task to be performed and one of general benefit to the nation, we accept such authority without concern or the slightest animus. Charles W. Hendel, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, p. 5.

⁴² David Hume, "Of the Origin of Government," in David Hume's Political Essays, Library of Liberal Arts, 1955, pp. 39 and 42.

⁴³ As Catlin states, "Authority intervenes to set a limit to the excess of individual power. . . In any actual situation there must be restraint." George Catlin, "Authority and Its Critics," op. cit., pp. 159.

⁴⁴ Hendel summarizes the classical argument; "Hobbes returns us to the aspect of authority with which we began; the necessity of some power acting to sustain the community, to protect it as a whole, and to safeguard many things about it which are deemed important for its subsistence. Since men as individuals or even disciplined groups will not always regulate their own conduct sufficiently to those ends, authority must intervene on the proper occasion to force them to do what they ought to do." Hendel, Charles, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," op. cit., pp. 17-18.

⁴⁵As Arendt points out, "To live in a political realm with neither authority nor the concomitant awareness that the source of authority transcends power and those who are in power, means to be confronted anew, without the protection of tradition and self-evident standards of behavior, by the elementary problems of human living together. Arendt, "What Was Authority," op. cit., p. 110.

⁴⁶In observing governments of mass societies Kornhauser concluded, "Where democratization proceeds without adequate safeguards for authority, it leaves the new rule naked before mass movements which would destroy it. Kornhauser, William, The Politics of Mass Society, Free Press, New York, 1959, p. 129.

⁴⁷Simon, Yves, The Nature, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

⁴⁸Hendel aptly concludes, "The recognition of this need for authority does not depend upon the instruction of philosophy. Plain folk feel the necessity of some sustaining power for their community before philosophers offer their reasoning on behalf of the res publica and the common good. People can have a present sense of the reality of the whole body of which each one is a member and naturally react, through a kind of self-preservation, toward anything that disrupts the familiar order and leaves them lost, helpless, and exposed to the terrors of an alien, threatening environment. Thus, men look to authority as a saving power in their existence. Hendel, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," op. cit., pp. 8-9.

⁴⁹Hendel, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," op. cit., p. 16. He also states, "Authority appearing in the character of right is answered by an internal moral obligation." Ibid.

⁵⁰McClelland states, "No serious political theorist argues that men are obliged to obey governments which are totally unregenerate (though they may given other reasons for obeying them, e.g., fear of sanctions), but beyond that most political theorists have on the whole been on the side of obedience and have vied with each other in explaining why men should do what they have always done anyway." John McClelland, A Primer of Political Theory, forthcoming, p. 44.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 41.

⁵²Arendt, "What was Authority," op. cit., p. 83.

⁵³Weber, Max, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, Oxford University Press, New York, 1947, p. 328.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 329.

⁵⁵McIntosh, Donald, "Weber and Freand: On the Nature and Sources of Authority," American Sociological Review, 1970, vol. 35, p. 901.

⁵⁶Dahl, Robert, Modern Political Analysis, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1963, p. 32.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 31.

⁵⁸Spiro, Herbert J., "Authority, Values, and Policy," in Carl J. Friedrich, ed., Authority, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, p. 53.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 54-55.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 55.

⁶¹Hendel, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," op. cit., p. 25.

⁶²For example, Sartori states, "It is all very well to say that the political process is a 'power process'. But once we have said this, we must distinguish between one type of power and another: between potestas and auctoritas, between power as force (or domination) and power as authority, between power to coerce and power to get things done. Thus, 'authority' is the term that we need for the purpose of indicating not the power that is suspended from above over those who have to submit to it, but on the contrary, the power that comes from spontaneous investiture and draws its force and efficacy from the fact that it is acknowledged. Authority is, we could say, a power that is based on persuasion, prestige, deference. And when we speak of authority we refer to a leadership that arouses and receives spontaneous support." Sartori, Democratic Theory, op. cit., pp. 137-138.

⁶³As Sartori points out, "In regard to our problem, the distinction between power and authority is serviceable in that it allows us to specify that democracy is the political system which is built on the mode of exercising power that is called authority, in the sense that the typical feature of democracy is that it tends to transform power into authority, a vis coactiva into a vis directa. Far from being repugnant to democracy, authority is its power formula par excellence. The ideal cherished by those who look forward to a genuine democracy is not the conquest of power but, on the contrary, its minimization, and therefore the replacement of "power holders" by what we might call "authority holders." Ibid., p. 138.

⁶⁴Day, "Authority," op. cit., pp. 259-262.

⁶⁵Arendt, "What was Authority," op. cit., p. 82.

⁶⁶"As an image for authoritarian government, I propose the shape of the pyramid, which is well known in traditional political thought. The pyramid is indeed a particularly fitting image for a governmental structure whose source of authority lies outside itself, but whose seat of power is located at the top, from which authority and power is filtered down to the base in such a way that each successive layer possesses some authority, but less than the one above it, and where, precisely because of this careful filtering process, all layers from top to bottom are not only firmly integrated into the whole but are interrelated like converging rays whose common focal point is the top of the pyramid as well as the transcending source of authority above it." Arendt, Hanna, Between Past and Future, Viking Press, New York, 1961, p. 98.

⁶⁷Parsons, Talcott, "Authority, Legitimation, and Social Action," op. cit., p. 216.

⁶⁸ John Day aptly states the argument that accepting authority is rational. "If one does what somebody else wants only after deciding that there are good reasons for doing this, one is not acting in obedience to the other's authority. Yet this does not mean that submission to authority is necessarily wholly irrational. It is important to distinguish between accepting the authority of a government and obeying the commands of a government whose authority is accepted. Acceptance of authority may be rational; obeying the commands of authority cannot be rational. A man may accept the authority of a government in order to secure certain ends, such as an ordered society or safety on the roads; this is rational. This acceptance of a government's authority commits the rational man to certain non-rational behavior. To secure his ends the man entrusts the government with working out certain means. The government issues commands and makes laws which the man obeys without inquiring how these means are fitted to the ends that he and the government have in view. His acceptance of the government's authority entails his obeying the government's laws whether or not he understands the arguments for them." Day, John "Authority," op. cit., p. 264.

⁶⁹For an excellent discussion of the Criterion of Economy see Dahl, Robert, After the Revolution, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1970, pp. 40-56. Dahl postulates that the criterion of economy will be applied by reasonable men to any system of authority.

⁷⁰John Day states, "It is quite consistent for a man who unquestioningly obeys a government's commands because they are authoritative to argue with the government about commands it proposes to give. A government often does not exercise its authority before it makes a decision or issues a command, but permits or invites discussion." Day, John, "Authority," op. cit., p. 266.

⁷¹Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, op. cit., p. 56.

⁷²Campbell, Angus, et. al., The American Voter, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1960, pp. 101.

⁷³Rokeach, Milton, "Authority, Authoritarianism, and Conformity," in Berg, Irwin A., and Bass, Bernard M., eds., Conformity and Deviation, Harper and Row, New York, 1961, p.

⁷⁴Arendt responds to some recent formulations of acceptance of authority as blind; "For many people, who are unprepared to go to the labor of adequately instructing their judgements or cultivating their reason, authority must necessarily, from lack of leisure, be in large measure what Riesman and Fromm describe as "other direction." Insofar as this springs from strong community sentiment among ordinary folk or a neighborly pragmatic advice that confronts pretentiousness itself 'springing from the grass-roots' there is no need to deplore it. But against rootless mob sentiment and fear of 'not getting on,' the corrective is to replace such mass 'other direction' in Ortega's and Riesman's meaning." Arendt, "Authority in the Twentieth Century," op. cit., p. 140.

⁷⁵Hall, Jerome, "Authority and the Law," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, p. 63.

⁷⁶Friedrich, Carl, "Authority, Reason, and Discretion," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, p. 35.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 37.

⁷⁸Friedrich writes, "The forgoing analysis helps in understanding better the peculiarly fluid quality of power based on authority. Since opinions, values, and beliefs are continually changing, in response to changes in the environment and to creative innovations, whether of a political, aesthetic, or religious nature, it is quite possible, indeed a recurrent experience, that a person may lose his power based on authority, not because the commands he gives or the opinions he utters are less 'authoritative' in the sense that they may be elaborated by reasoning, but because such reasoning is related to opinions, beliefs, and values that have lost their validity. Ibid., p. 38.

⁷⁹Hall, "Authority and the Law," op. cit., p. 63.

⁸⁰Friedrich, "Authority, Reason, and Discretion," op. cit., pp. 40-41.

⁸¹As Yves Simon writes ". . . authority, at times, is used for the private good of the one who exercises it. It is in no way essential to authority to take this form of a domination of servitude. Yves Simon, Nature, op. cit., p. 7.

⁸²Laski, Harold J., Authority in the Modern State, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1919, p. 53.

⁸³Hendel, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," op. cit., p. 13.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 19.

⁸⁵Harold Laski writes, "Whatever the requirements of legal theory, in actual fact no man surrenders his whole being to the state. He has a sense of right and wrong. If the state, or its instruments, goes too consistently against that sense, he is pricked into antagonism. The state, that is to say, is for him sovereign only where his conscience is not stirred against its performance. Nor is this all. He expects from the state the fulfillment of its purposes. He expects it to make possible for him the attainment of certain goods." Laski, Harold J., Authority in the Modern State, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1919, pp. 42-43.

⁸⁶Laski further writes of the "internal limitation of authority," "Conduct that would distress one generation is regarded with equanimity by its predecessor. But that does not alter the vital fact that for authority a way of life is prescribed. It is not, indeed, laid down in a written code, though it only lies the more profoundly in our nature because it is articulate. For every statesman knows well enough that there are certain things he dare not do because the sense of the public will be against him. That system of convention is important. It emphasizes the conditionality of power. It means, in other words, that so deep is the expectation of what, broadly speaking, may be termed the right conduct of authority that its antithesis ensures the provocation of penalties. Ibid., p. 42.

⁸⁷Hendel, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," op. cit., p. 19.

⁸⁸As Day states, "Compared with the unvarnished power of the strongest the authority of the government is a benefit to the individual, but as a curb on his freedom to do as he wishes it is a hindrance. . . Government control may be necessary to preserve society, but for the individual any restriction on his absolute freedom is irksome." Day, "Authority," op. cit., p. 266.

⁸⁹Hendel's comment is relevant here, "We are further confused by an uncritical general philosophy unfavorable to authority in any form. The modern ethical image of man is that of a person free and entirely responsible for himself. This idealization has passed into common currency where it has accumulated an additional trait that seriously alters its value for philosophy. The free, responsible, self-governing individual is thought of as self-sufficient. Cherishing this notion, one becomes blind to the need and importance of society for the free

individual. The wisdom of Aristotle in the Politics is not understood, that man actually lives in society "by choice and by necessity." We fail to realize that man can enjoy the desired freedom and self-sufficiency only in a social order where there is an effective authority. Hendel, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," op. cit., pp. 5-6.

⁹⁰ Frank Knight comments, "There is an inherent conflict between order and individual freedom in the literal meaning, including the right of associating by mutual agreement among the parties directly concerned. The effective freedom of the individual in any society acting under law--necessarily interpreted and enforced by some agent with a good deal of arbitrary discretion, that is, power more or less precisely defined and limited by law--is finally limited by his freedom, or actual ability, to leave the organization." Knight, Frank H., "Authority and the Free Society," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, p. 71.

⁹¹ See John Day's discussion of the problem, Day, "Authority," op. cit., pp. 266-267.

⁹² "We may construct a scale of political conditions with unrestrained coercive power at one end and perfect freedom at the other. On this scale authority is an intermediate term." Day, "Authority," op. cit., p. 266.

⁹³ Simon, Yves, The Nature, op. cit., p.

⁹⁴ See Marshall Smelser, "The Reconciliation of Liberty and Authority in the American Revolution," in George N. Shuster, ed., Freedom and Authority in the West, University of Notre Dame Press, London, 1967.

⁹⁵ Hook, Sidney, The Paradoxes of Freedom, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1967, p. 4.

⁹⁶ Harold Laski proposes one conception of the limitation of authority in respect to the rights of citizens and the actions of government. "The balance of forces in a community is subject to sufficient variation to make the conflict of ideals inevitable. A process of internecine selection secures the triumph of some attitude.

This theory of internal limitation upon the action of authority is essentially a pragmatic one. It admits that any system which failed in practice to secure what is largely termed the end of social life would be inadequate. It is sufficiently alive to the importance of stability to seek to place the fundamental notions of each age beyond the temptation of malicious enterprise. It is such notions we have termed rights. It is such notions we have denied the power, at least in theory, of government to traverse. For we say that their

realization is essential to the end of the state; and government is itself only a means to that end." Laski, Authority, op. cit., p. 65.

⁹⁷ Sidney Hook specifically rejects only absolutistic interpretation of rights in American government. "It is this failure to realize that any specific freedom which we regard as desirable is only one among a plurality of other desirable freedoms, proclaimed as rights, which is responsible for the absolutistic interpretation of the rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, especially of its Bill of Rights. I, for one, have never been able to bring myself to believe that the philosopher-statesmen of the American Republic were absolutists, despite some high judicial authority which endorses this view. Grant, for the moment, even on the absolutistic view, that men are endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, and property -- and the indefinite number of other rights which these generic terms encompass. Surely no one could be so optimistic as to believe that they are all and always compatible with each other. The right to liberty, however specified, sometimes threatens the right to property and vice versa, and either or both of them may on occasion conflict with the right to the pursuit of happiness." Hook, Sidney, The Paradoxes of Freedom, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

⁹⁸ As Hook points out, "...no community, even of anarchists, can escape the necessity of choice when allegedly absolute rights conflict-- or in grave situations as we have seen, they always conflict. If blind impulse or brute force is not to resolve the conflict, reflective balancing of the interest and claims at stake must resolve it as best it can." Hook, Sidney, The Paradoxes of Freedom, op. cit., p. 53.

⁹⁹ Sidney Hook draws a distinction between the handling of rights in democratic and totalitarian regimes. "The public interest cannot therefore be fairly established when imposed arbitrarily from above by a governing regime not responsible to control by the democratic process. Consequently when a right is abridged in a democratic community, the character of the action, even if we consider it mistaken is toto caelo different, when due process has been observed, from a decree of a totalitarian regime which defines the public interest as it sees fit. Hook, Sidney, The Paradoxes of Freedom, op. cit., p. 52.

CHAPTER II

This chapter focuses on the function of authority in the political system and its subsystems. Within a political system authority is an ever present concern for the government and its citizens. At times it becomes of central importance for both.¹ In terms of political systems in general, Robert Dahl postulates that one of the three important differences between political systems is the extent to which the government is legitimate and the power of leaders is accepted as authoritative. He points out that political systems vary a great deal in the extent to which their members regard their governments as legitimate.² Particular attention will be given in this chapter to the role of authority in the maintenance and operation of the political system. In addition, the consequences of challenges to authority in the political system and its subsystems will be examined.

The Political System and Support

David Easton and Jack Dennis designate two conditions as the essential variables of any political system. "We will say that a political system persists when two conditions prevail: when its members are regularly able to allocate valued things, that is, make decisions; when they are able to get these allocations accepted as authoritative by most members most of the time."³ A given political system will not necessarily continue to persist under all environmental

conditions. Indeed, political systems undergo varying degrees of stress. "The introduction of the notion of stress suggests that there may be forces at work that threaten to undermine the capacity of a society to sustain some kind of system through which values are authoritatively allocated. The persistence of some kind of political system would therefore depend upon the way in which it handles typical stresses."⁴ One of the assumptions here is that conditions exist under which stress portends danger for the persistence of the political system. This persistence is in question when the relevant members of the system will be unable to make decisions regularly for the society or if they are able to do so, that they do not succeed in getting them accepted as authoritative by most members most of the time.⁵ Stress can be said to be a condition that occurs when disturbances, internal or external in origin, threaten to displace the essential variables of a political system beyond their normal range and toward some critical limit. Thereby it prevents a political system from operating in a characteristic way.⁶

One of the inputs for a political system is support. Stress may arise from the inability of a system to keep the input of support at some minimal level. Support can be defined as feelings of trust, confidence, or affection that persons may direct at certain aspects of a political system.⁷ Support is necessary for system persistence and prosperity. It provides a context within which those in authority maximize their efficiency in making allocations. Major sources of

stress can be found in the decline of support for any one of the following political objects as defined by Easton and Dennis:

The political community refers to that aspect of the political system that we can identify as a collection of persons who share a division of political labor.

The regime refers to that aspect of the political system that we may call its constitutional order in the very broadest sense of the term. Regime is used in a general sense to mean the political unit itself--its governing institutions, the general patterns of action, and the values that have been incorporated into the operation of government over time.

The authorities are those members of a system in whom the primary responsibility is lodged for taking care of the daily routines of a political system. In democratic systems we describe them as the elected representatives and other public officials, such as civil servants.⁹

In the present study we are concerned with the regime and authorities of the American political system. The linkage between these political objects and authority for the political system is crucial. Authority does not exist as some suprasocietal phenomenon.¹⁰ It must be invested in something finite. The authority of the American political system is invested in the regime or its constitutional order and its authorities or positions as defined above. Therefore, I will be concerned in this study with the legitimacy of authority

of the regime (regime authority) and the legitimacy of authorities in official positions (position authority).

Individuals respond in a variety of ways to their government without knowing the particular officials involved in making the decisions. Legitimacy of the authority of the regime also provides additional support for particular political authorities. It provides a milieu of acceptance within which they can potentially operate.

In the American political system authority is also invested in particular authorities or offices. As Hyneman points out an office is a lodgement of authority.¹¹ Further, the distinction between a position and the man occupying it is fundamental to all modern states. Authority vests in the position not the man.¹² However, positions are filled by people and the authority of the position will no doubt be judged by the actions of the people who fill them.¹³ As Easton states, "The readiness of the members of a political system to maintain or shift their support for political authorities is a function not only of who they think the authorities are, but also of their perceptions of the way in which the authorities act."¹⁴ Legitimacy of position authority provides an incentive for the citizens to comply to directives. It allows governmental decisions to be implemented.

A summary of the preceding points for the operation of a political system is provided by Easton and Dennis:

Stress on the essential variables, therefore, may flow from a condition in which support declines below some determinate level for one or another of these three basic political objects. Below this level of support, one or

another of these fundamental components of a system would be inoperative. For some kind of system to persist, a society must be able to assure itself that its members share a division of political labor, that there is a regime acceptable to the politically relevant members, and that some authorities are ready and able to govern. If a society is unable to sustain any one of these three objects (political community, regime, political authorities), we hypothesize that its political system--a network of relationships through which authoritative allocation of valued things occur--will not endure for long.¹⁵

The type of authority that a regime exercises may be distinguished by the degree to which its population acts in accord with regulations concerning the maintenance of the regime and has diffuse orientations approving the regime, and its authorities. This means it must receive compliance and support, which are interrelated.¹⁶

Support may be divided into specific and diffuse. Specific support increases or declines depending upon the way in which the members interpret the consequences of the various outputs of the system. Diffuse support on the other hand, is the generalized trust and confidence that members invest in the various objects of the system as ends in themselves. The peculiar quality of diffuse attachment is that it is not contingent on any quid pro quo as with specific support; it is offered unconditionally. Diffuse support represents a deep-rooted attachment to the political system that enables it to weather the discontent brought on by objectionable policies and the hardships members are called upon to undergo in the form of taxes, hazardous military service, or other sacrifices. For the political system to persist over time, the politically relevant members must

learn to put in a minimal level of diffuse support for the political objects.¹⁷

It is difficult to determine exactly what this minimal level of diffuse support would be for any particular individual political system. Easton points out that even when those in authority positions are fully capable of making decisions and seeking to implement them, compliance on the part of the citizens will vary on a continuum. The probability of citizens accepting all the decisions of the authorities as binding is most assuredly going to be less than one. However, Easton postulates that for persistence it must be higher than .5. Below this level the system would be in a state of constant turmoil and confusion. The ratio must fall within a limited range well above that of chance, because below that level the system would collapse for lack of sufficient authority being attached to its allocations.¹⁸

Rose states that little attention has been given to the minimum level of mass support and compliance necessary to maintain a regime. Clearly the withdrawal of support and compliance by a small number of people may produce a reaction out of all proportion to the number involved, because initiators of an insurrection depend for success upon the multiplier and demonstration--effects of their behavior. It is not quite clear how large the small group of defectors must be in order to alter a regime's authority pattern substantially.¹⁹ The implication for the study of student behavior here is obvious.

The concern of this study is with the degree of diffuse support existing for the authorities and regime of the American political system.

The Legitimacy of Authority in the Political System

The view taken here is that diffuse support for a political system is not a static phenomenon. Different groups may offer or withhold support at various times, and the degree of support for given populations will also vary. As stated above support may be at any point on a continuum for a given time. The particular level is subject to change. For this reason, the authority of a political system must be considered as variable--not a constant.²⁰ This perspective leads me to assess existing levels of support for authority at different times and assess its meaning for the operation and persistence of the political system.

Some may think that this cannot be considered a problem for the economically affluent United States. However, in his cross national study of political violence, Gurr concludes that discontent tends to be politicized--blamed on the regime--and to contribute to the normative and utilitarian justification for political violence, to the extent that government has in the past responded effectively to discontent and not the level of current deprivation. In addition, Rustow reports that in all three parts of the world--democratic, communist, and developing--changes of regime have been more frequent than have orderly changes of government within a continuing regime.²¹ "In other words, political problems most often thought to characterize the undeveloped African and Asian world also recur in societies with high levels of social and economic development."²²

Therefore, I expect that the authority of the American political system is subject to many of the same challenges that have affected other political systems. Of course, it would be impossible here to determine what the level of authority is for the American political system as a whole. Such a task is beyond the evidence available. However, it may be instructive to review some of the possible alternatives for the condition of political authority.

Rose states that logically there are four directions in which regimes can move: legitimation, isolation, coercion, and repudiation. These are pure types. Among the four, only repudiation can be said to reach a terminal position. Most regimes can be said to operate at some intermediate stage moving in one direction or another.²³ This process indicates that I am not just concerned with the authority of a regime when it is upon the brink of repudiation. The intermediate stages and the dynamics of change in authority have implications for the operation of the political system.

At full legitimation there is a high degree of support for the regime and authorities and stress is minimized. At repudiation or close to repudiation support for the regime and authorities is low and stress is maximized. The system may also be in isolation where support is high but compliance low. As Rose himself points out, this position is unlikely to be maintained for long. Stress is likely to be generated. Finally regime and authorities may operate in a context of coercion where support is low and compliance high. Again

the system is unlikely to remain here for too long as stress tends to build.

Here I will focus on support for the regime and authority positions of the American political system to assess their attitudinal position with regard to college students.

Authority and Costs in the Political System

A useful perspective from which to view the function of authority in the operation of a political system is embodied in the concept of cost. The idea here is that under a given set of conditions, more or less resources will be required for the authorities to make authoritative allocations depending on the level of legitimacy attributed to the authority of the regime at that time. Herein lies the real value of the legitimacy of authority to the regime. As Dahl reports, "When a political system is widely accepted by its members as legitimate, and when the policies of its officials and other leaders are regarded as morally binding by its citizens, then the costs of compliance are low. Conversely, when legitimacy and authority are low, leaders must use more of their money, police, privileges, weapons, status, and other political resources to secure compliance."²⁴ Coercion is a possible substitute for authority as stated above but the costs must be maintained at a high level. Complete reliance on coercion would be extremely difficult. Other overt measures are likewise less reliable.²⁵

As Dahl points out attempts to rely on coercion to any significant degree in a democratic system is extremely difficult--even more so

than other types of systems. If civil disobedience on a large scale or even civil war is to be avoided, a government engaged in coercing large minorities needs to have at its disposal an imposing array of coercive forces--a centralized and disciplined police system, a secret police, a compliant judiciary, military and bureaucratic establishments ready to obey the government when "duty" requires the coercion of fellow citizens.²⁶ Constitutional democracies do not usually readily allow for these things and heavily regulate the use of force, even prohibiting many uses.

How beneficial legitimacy of authority can be is pointed up by a study of strife conducted by Gurr for the years 1961-1963. A number of nations were identified that had less strife than might be expected on the basis of characteristics they shared with more strife-ridden nations. One apparent common denominator among them was a high degree of perceived popular legitimacy of the regime.²⁷

Situational Component of Authority

As far as the danger of repudiation or the lack of persistence is concerned, many of the constraints affecting the future resolution of contemporary problems of authority arise from precursive conditions. This means that the regime and also its authorities work within the framework of these conditions. It does not mean that the fate of the regime is predetermined nor that the authorities may be excused for their actions in affecting the legitimacy of the regime. Indeed even in democratic systems where democratic forms provide no substantive

redress, extra-legal noncompliance is likely. What the authorities do is a factor in the nature of the legitimacy of authority of the regime. However, the greater the number of precursive conditions and contemporary influences tending toward repudiation, the lower a regime's chances of survival.²⁸ Correspondingly, the greater the number of precursive conditions and contemporary influences tending toward repudiation the higher the cost to those in authority positions for getting decisions accepted.

One precursive condition that seems especially relevant here is a general decline of traditional authority, or the decline of the idea of authority in men's minds generally. This is postulated by several theorists and was alluded to earlier. Robert Nisbet probably catches the crux of what observers have been writing:

The most striking fact in the present period of revolutionary change is the quickened erosion of the traditional institutional authorities that for a millennium have been Western man's principal sources of order and liberty. I am referring to the manifest decline of the legal system, the church, family local community, and most recently and perhaps most ominously of school and the university.²⁹

Traditional authority may or may not be declining. However, one significant precursive condition is the highly positive legitimacy the American government has traditionally enjoyed among its citizens.

Subsystems and Authority

A political system of course does not exist as a unitary entity. It is made up of various subsystems which are interrelated in a variety

of ways. In the American political system there are different levels of the political system including Federal, State, Local and I would include in regard to students--a university level. Within these levels, there are different functional agencies and departments, or subsystems, of the main subsystems. The citizen interacts with the political system at several points on the various levels and with the various agencies. His orientation toward the legitimacy of authority of the regime and the authorities is developed through a combination of his perception and the actions of the relevant subsystems of authority.

In the American political system the subsystems are interrelated with the citizen through a nationalization of issue concerns that has taken place over time. This means that often issues or crises are focused into the national arena and then reverberate through the subsystems.

The University as a Subsystem of the American Political System

It is true that for the society as a whole the main orientation of the university is not political in the same sense as a city or state government. However, in recent years several political scientists have more and more come to consider the university as a political subsystem.³⁰ Easton in referring to the educational subsystem notes that there are some kinds of social institutions whose actions are so heavily weighted with political consequences that they are considered political institutions. There are other kinds of institutions, many

of the actions of which have political consequences that are primarily devoted to other aims. However, some of these have a considerable impact on the political system as a whole and therefore must be included in the political system.³¹ The university may be considered such an institution for several reasons.

First, the evidence indicates that for some time colleges and universities, especially public ones, have become more and more integrated with the concerns of the larger political system. This trend may have been engendered by the close cooperation of the universities with the Federal government during World War II. Since that time through both increasingly large appropriations from state government and grants-in-aid from the federal government, state colleges and universities have become more thoroughly involved with external government entities along a broad range of activities. In addition, as national, state, and city governments have increased their appropriations to universities they have increased both their substantive and process demands on them. The university has become more dependent on external political centers that have been destined to alter its relationship to government and limit its independent status. The literature on the politics of higher education is becoming ever more extensive documenting the political relationships that have arisen.³² Through its external relations the university may be considered an integral part of the political system.³³

Second, reinforcing their view, the university has come to be regarded as a problem-solver for various far-reaching problems besetting society and government. The university's role as a power

resource for the larger society involves decisions about whether to apply university resources to support one governmental policy or another. Universities are involved in programs from space to health administration, from counterinsurgency research to social welfare training. The impact of this development has not been lost on the public. Citizens have come to realize that no matter what their status, they have some kind of a stake in the university. Their demands have received a hearing at all levels of government.³⁴

Third, as the university has grown in commitment and complexity, the internal interests have grown and the conflicts have magnified. In response to the external political relationships, the universities internal relationships have increasingly become politicized. In particular student demands for inclusion in government of universities have increasingly been on the rise.³⁵ An increasingly growing literature is commenting on student participation and proposing various internal governmental arrangements to deal with it.³⁶ Through many of these proposals, the idea of wider participation of students in university governance appears as a common thread. Increasing demands are made by students to treat universities according to the tenets of participatory democracy.³⁷ "The notions of broadening and democratization give us direction, but not much more. They indicate only that the university must now be studied and handled as a political system."³⁸ Little formal research has been done in this area and many relationships remain unclear.³⁹

Fourth, in recent years the university has been caught up in the nationalization of politics. Most applicable here is the protest of national political issues on college campuses that have captured the center of concern of the nation. The Gallup Poll on July 1, 1970, reported that for the first time campus unrest was considered by the largest proportion of respondents to be the number one problem facing the nation.⁴⁰ Many if not most of these protests concerned national issues or events on the national scene. In many of these the university authorities are seen as representatives of the political system.⁴¹ Richard Peterson in a study of several hundred college protests and the issues involved in them came to the conclusion that protest over off-campus issues is more readily predictable than protest over campus conditions.⁴² Substantial numbers of students increasingly hold the university responsible for national political conditions.⁴³ Furthermore, student activists respond to specific national political events as a group and they react within the university setting.⁴⁴

The Role of Students, University, and Authority

Interest is now focused on the role of the university and its students in either withholding or accepting the legitimacy of authority of the political system and thus providing diffuse support.

Easton states the contribution that education makes to the integration and maintenance of the political systems is as follows: "It helps develop and transmit certain basic political orientations that

must be shared, within a certain range of variation, by most members of any ongoing system." Easton describes the acquisition of political roles as politicization and states that the maintenance of the system will depend, in considerable degree, on the extent to which the process of politicization has been successful.⁴⁵

Of course the experiences of those during different stages of the educational system can foster political roles that deny legitimacy to authority as well as grant it. In most societies the universities' historic role has been to nurture critical attitudes. Students may find ready opportunities to adopt challenging political roles. The university in modern America provides an opportunity for those critical of authority to interact with each other and win adherents.⁴⁶ Students themselves possess personal factors which facilitate this type of activity. These interact with the situation to provide for the challenge of authority. These personal factors will be examined in more detail below.

The point I wish to stress here is that the significance of hypothesized student rejection of political authority and student political action goes beyond recent campus confrontations and the number of students involved.⁴⁷ Students are an integral part of the larger society. They may help initiate basic changes, but they also reflect the larger social system.⁴⁸ As Lipset has pointed out in his extensive studies of student movements in many countries, "Essentially my reading of the situation in a variety of contexts would suggest that the predominant explanation lies in the set of factors which

makes intellectuals and students the prime source of protest in all situations in which specific events undermine the stability of the social order, that is, call into question the legitimacy of existing arrangements. All societies are periodically subject to such crises of authority."⁴⁹ And so the university as a subsystem and the students within it can play a crucial role in denying the legitimacy of authority of the system as a whole.⁵⁰ The combination of factors embodied in this subsystem perhaps as history as shown make it the most likely source of challenge.

It is certainly conceivable that under the right set of circumstances, student disturbances could pose a significant threat to the regime of the American political system. There is little doubt that they have caused authorities to incur significant costs in making decisions that authoritatively allocate values.⁵¹

Students and University Authority

The national political situation and its impact for authority in the political system has not been without its impact on authority in the university subsystem. University administrators are objectively not in a particularly strong authority position.⁵² However, students may perceive them as the responsible authority figures. To begin with the university authority system has been collegial rather than strictly hierarchical. The faculty shares in many of the relevant decisions that concern students. In addition, the authority of university administrators is constrained by the actions of state

government and boards of trustees. The authority of the administration over the students is constrained by various traditions and in recent times has been further paired back. The university subsystem has been referred to as a system of multiple, crisscrossing authority--relations of differing types and strengths.⁵³

The authority of university administrators in the United States has been increasingly challenged by activists as a part of their rejection of what they saw as illegitimate political authority.⁵⁴ Issues such as Cambodia, ROTC, and Dow Chemical have lead to challenges of academic authority and increased demands for governmental structural change in the university.⁵⁵ Even demands for the alteration of the purposes of the university itself to "social action" have been made.⁵⁶

The result of this has been considered by many observers to have undermined the authority of administrators--the holders of formal authority positions in the university subsystem.⁵⁷

Many students may not perceive the administrators of universities as politically relevant. However, in crisis circumstances the actions of university authorities as a result of issues in the wider political system often meld with the actions of other governmental officials.⁵⁸

Student sympathy for activists in crisis situations is well documented. At times governmental action can strike home hard, as in tuition raises or laws dealing with financial aid to university students.

The university provides an ideal setting for the rejection or challenge to authority of the political system. University authorities are available and vulnerable. Grievances are present and can be

exploited. The ecological concentration of challenge activity can have maximum impact. The fact is protests on university campuses have been used to focus challenge to legitimacy of authority in the wider political system through rejection of authority on the campus.⁵⁹

It might be expected that students in large residential university settings would be more affected by these conditions. In these the student spends most of his time with other students and "campus" concerns are more immediate to him than if he merely commuted to the campus, returning for classes, returning home to the concerns of family and friends not connected with the university. In the large university setting the individual's role as "student" may make him more cognizant of campus concerns including the large university's population's concern with the larger political system. In short, situational components may accentuate feelings toward the political system and its subsystems.

The setting is available, but the attitudes of those involved are crucial. To them I now turn.

Summary

This chapter has been concerned with the role of authority in the functioning of the political system. The acceptance of political authority within a political system provides diffuse support for the community, the regime, and the authorities. The political community includes all citizens and officials of the political system as a collectivity. The regime refers to the political system's constitutional

order in the broadest sense of the term. The authorities are those in whom the primary responsibility is lodged for taking care of the routines of the political system. The rejection of authority of any one of these centers creates stress on the essential variables of the political system and increases the costs of allocating values or making decisions. Above a certain level of rejection of authority the maintenance of the regime itself is called into question.

The orientations of citizens toward the regime and its authorities are developed through a combination of their perceptions and the actions of the relevant subsystems of political authority with which they are in contact. One of the political subsystems that has become more relevant for system operation in recent years is the university subsystem. Students provide a prime source of protest in which specific events can undermine the stability of the political system. Student protests have provided a source of stress and have increased costs to policy-makers. The impact of their actions go beyond the confrontations within the confines of the University subsystem itself. Therefore their orientations toward the legitimacy of authority of the regime and its authorities could be crucial variables in the operation and maintenance of the American Political System.

FOOTNOTES

¹As Hendel observes, "The determinate authority, whether of the law or of the offices of government, is thus only relatively so--one can never be sure in important vital issues which one or whether any of our institutions 'has authority.' A redetermination of where the authority of the people lies and who is properly acting or speaking in their name is always likely to become a problem of the day." Hendel, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," op. cit., p. 26.

²Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, op. cit., p. 31.

³Easton, David and Dennis, Jack, Children in the Political System, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1969, p. 49.

⁴Ibid., p. 52.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Easton, David, A Framework for Political Analysis, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1965, p. 94.

⁷Easton and Dennis, Children, op. cit., pp. 56-58.

⁸Gurr, Ted. R., Why Men Rebel, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1970, p. 185.

⁹Easton and Dennis, Children, op. cit., pp. 59-60. Other theorists propose other distinctions among the objects of attitudes toward the political system. Almond and Verba propose "output affect"; expectations about the treatment they can expect from government, and "input affect", feelings about participatory processes. Almond, Gabriel A., and Verba, Sidney, The Civic Culture, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1963, chap. 4.

In addition, Gamson proposes four objects of "political trust: incumbents, political institutions, the public philosophy of the regime, and the political community." Gamson, William A., Power and Discontent, Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois, chap. 3.

¹⁰As Hendel observes, "The mantle of authority naturally falls, however, on whatever serves to represent and uphold the public claim amid the strife of private interests. The established laws are invested with authority, but so are all the particular agents of government who are useful or essential to the maintenance of society. The personages who govern or sense the State are "the authorities," and indeed, the meaning of authority is sometimes exclusively associated with those eminent figures who have de facto rule. They are the visible bearers of the authority of the State whose decisions and

actions directly touch the conduct of lives of those governed, whereas the laws are invisible and without the direct impact of force. Nevertheless, people can distinguish between the man who wields power and the quality of authority attached to him by virtue of his office. Hendel, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," op. cit., pp. 9-10.

¹¹Hyneman, Popular Government, op. cit., p. 136.

¹²McIntosh, "Weber and Freud: On the Nature and Sources of Authority," op. cit., p. 909.

¹³Laski's comment is instructive here, "The truth is that in the processes of politics what, broadly speaking, gets registered is not a will that is at each moment in accord with the state -- purpose, but the will of those who in fact operate the machine of government." Laski, Authority, op. cit., p. 37.

¹⁴Easton, "Images of Authority," op. cit., p. 188.

¹⁵Easton and Dennis, Children, op. cit., p. 60.

¹⁶Rose, Richard, "Dynamic Tendencies in the Authority of Regimes," World Politics, vol. 21, 1969, p. 604.

¹⁷Easton and Dennis, Children, op. cit., p. 61-63.

¹⁸Easton, A Framework, op. cit., p. 97. For an analogous discussion of diffuse support see, Parsons, Talcott, "Authority, Legitimation and Political Action," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, p. 212.

¹⁹Rose, "Dynamic Tendencies," op. cit., p. 606.

²⁰Rose observes that in the light of the events of the past few years in Western as well as Eastern and Southern Europe, one might best forecast that today regimes are tending in very different directions, some toward full legitimacy, some toward coercion, and some toward repudiation. Ibid., p. 611.

²¹Rustow, Dankwart A., "Succession in the Twentieth Century," Journal of International Affairs, vol. 18., 1964, p. 107. See also von der Mehden, Fred R., Politics of the Developing Nations, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1964, p. 65.

²²Rose, "Dynamic Tendencies," op. cit., p. 612.

²³Ibid., p. 608.

²⁴Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, op. cit., p. 32.

²⁵"The outlay of energy involved in having to force, manipulate, or persuade members into conformity with a decision, would exceed the resources of any but the smallest face-to-face political system." Easton, "Framework for", op. cit., p. 184.

²⁶Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, op. cit., p. 76.

²⁷See Gurr, Ted, "A Causal Model of Civil Strife: a Comparative Analysis Using New Indices." The American Political Science Review, vol. 62, 1968, pp. 1104-1124.

²⁸Rose, "Dynamic Tendencies," op. cit., pp. 626-627.

²⁹Nisbet, Robert A., "The Twilight of Authority," The Public Interest, no. 15, 1969, p. 3. See also Arendt, Hanna, "What Was Authority," in Carl Friedrich, ed., Authority, op. cit. For a statement of a general decline of authority in the United States see Thomas, Sid B. Jr., "Authority and the Law in the United States, 1968," Ethics, vol. 79, 1969.

³⁰For example, John Collins writes, "Using this characteristic of a university as a "community of scholars" as a complete description of a contemporary university, many critics discount the relevancy of any discussion or need for student participation in the running of a university. What this view leaves out is the appreciation that contemporary universities also significantly allocate political values indistinguishable from the larger political community." Collins, John, "Student Participation in University Administration and Campus Disorder" paper presented at the sixty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1970, p. 7.

Other examples including treatments of the university as a political subsystem in papers presented at the 1970 APSA meeting include: A. Belden Fields, "The Effects of Student Activism in Industrialized Countries;" Leon D. Epstein, "The State University: Who Governs?;" and John P. Spiegel, "University Effects of Student Protest."

³¹"However, since the actions of each of these types of institutions may have considerable impact upon the kinds of decisions that are made for a society, to exclude these consequences of their behavior from a political system would be to take a restricted and superficial view of politics. It is for this reason that we must include within the system, not only the behavior of institutions that are clearly political, but also those aspects of the actions of institutions that have political consequences, even though the major consequences and orientation of these institutions may lie in a

different direction." Easton, David, "The Function of Formal Education in a Political System," School Review, 1957, pp. 308-309.

³²For an excellent survey of works treating the University's external political relationships, see, Gove, Samuel K., and Soloman, Barbara W., "The Politics of Higher Education: A Bibliographic Essay," Journal of Higher Education, vol. 39, 1968, pp. 181-195.

³³Gladys Kramer's observation is instructive here, "One of the major governmental and political developments of the post-World War II period has taken place under our noses without exciting our intellectual curiosity to any significant extent, namely the growth in size and proliferation in numbers of state universities and colleges as major governmental institutions. Not only do our state and local government universities affect directly the lives of a far greater proportion of our youth today than they did a generation ago, thereby using up a far greater part of state and local budgets than formerly, but universities, as we know, are major recipients of federal teaching and research grants and major government contractors of research services." Kramer, Gladys, M., "The State University as a Political System," The Journal of Politics, vol. 31, 1969, p. 290.

³⁴As Edward J. Bloustein has written, "It is plain that for good or ill education has gone public. It is vested with a national interest and increasingly funded out of the public purse. . . Still another facet of what we might call the nationalization of education is that members of the public in unprecedented numbers and coming from social strata and classes never before heard from in the halls of academia are now personally concerned with collegiate and academic affairs. Government officialdom, employers, professionals, workers, and parents of widely varying backgrounds all now feel a vital interest in a new found national resource and they expect it to meet their needs. Bloustein, Edward J., "The New Student and His Role in American Colleges," Liberal Education, vol. 54, 1968, pp. 351, 352-353.

³⁵"In sum, students and others are raising the issue of student participation in university governance based on a desire to apply democratic ideals to a system which should properly be understood as a political community besides being an academic community." Collins, John N., "Student Participation in University Administration and Campus Disorder," Paper delivered at the sixty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1970, p. 8.

³⁶Examples of various ideological treatments of the problem are: Bowles, Donald W., "Student Participation in Academic Governance," Educational Record, vol. 49, 1968, pp. 257-62.

Eberle, August, W., "Tricameral System Aligns at Policy Level," College and University Business, vol. 47, 1969, pp. 32-33, 56.

Foster, Julian, "Power, Authority and Expertise: Administration in a Changing Context," Liberal Education, vol. 54, 1968, pp. 592-600.

Hallberg, Edmond C., "Academic Congress: A Direction in University Governance," Phi Delta Kappan, vol. 50, 1969, pp. 538-40.

Johnstone, Bruce D., "The Student and His Power," Journal of Higher Education, vol. 40, 1969, pp. 205-18.

Kerlinger, Fred N., "Student Participation in University Educational Decision Making," The Record, vol. 70, 1968, pp. 45-51.

Powell, Robert S. Jr., "Student Power and the Student Role in Institutional Governance," Liberal Education, vol. 55, 1969, pp. 24-31.

³⁷"The difficulty is plain when student power is most radically expressed in a conception of university community government. Power here is to the people, but only to the people who live, study, and work in the university at a given time. Faculty, other staff, and students are of this community, and so perhaps are any residents of the immediate campus neighborhood. Implicit in the dominant authority of the more numerous students, and the view that outside public representatives lack legitimacy in the community of the here and now." Epstein, Leon D., "The State University: Who Governs?" paper delivered at the sixty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1970, p. 18.

³⁸Hoffmann, Stanley, "Participation in Perspective?" Daedalus, vol. 99, 1970, p. 204.

³⁹Krammer writes, "Loose talk of 'participatory democracy' by militant student organizations, militant racial groups, fuzzy-minded but well intentioned social workers, educationists, and foundation representatives--all activists rather than scholars--leaves the problem of representation as currently propounded, completely muddled." Krammer, Gladys M., "The State University as a Political System," Journal of Politics, vol. 31, 1969, p. 306.

⁴⁰Gallup Opinion Index, July 1970, Report No. 61, Gallup International Inc., Princeton, N. J.

⁴¹As several observers of student activism have noted, recent protest politics on the campus often demand things beyond the power of a college or university to grant--e.g., withdrawal from Vietnam.

⁴²Peterson, Richard, "The Student Protest Movement: Some Facts, Interpretations, and a Plea." Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Convention, Washington, D.C., August 31-September 4, 1969, 10 pages mimeo., p. 8.

⁴³"To students involved in the protest movement, the connection between racism and war is quite real and the implication of the universities in both issues is equally real. Universities are viewed

as having actively endorsed our military policies by participating in generously financed war-related research and as having implicitly subscribed to racism by the exclusion of blacks, their history, and their culture from any significant role in campus life. Reinforcing these issues is the students' view of the structure of the university itself as excessively lineal" (hierarchically dominated from above). Spiegel, John P., "University Effects of Student Protest," paper presented at the sixty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1970, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁴"The response to the Cambodian invasion provided some very interesting data. Even though lines of communication among American campuses are much weaker than in France, American students can act in unison. The mind-sets at major American universities and colleges are sufficiently in tune that a single political stimulus can get off similar spontaneous responses." Fields, A. Belden, "The Effects of Student Activism in Industrialized Countries: Some Comparative Reflections on France and the United States," paper presented at the sixty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1970, p. 13.

⁴⁵Easton, "The Function of Formal Education," op. cit., p. 311.

⁴⁶Walter Metzger sums up the situational factor well. "Surely there is something to the notion that, in making the modern university, society built more dangerously than it knew. Assemble young people at their peak of energy, assure them of incessant contact over many years, drench them in critical traditions of liberalism, radicalism, avant-gardism, let them savor books that are elsewhere inaccessible or forebidden, free them from all but sporadic labors, protect them with a measure of extraterritoriality and you do create, wittingly or not a social combustion chamber." Metzger, Walter P., "The Crisis of Academic Authority," Daedalus, vol. 99, 1970, p. 576.

⁴⁷"It is important to note that the campus has not suddenly exploded, that, there is substantial tradition of student political concern and activity, and that students have played an important role in revolutionary movements throughout the years." Lipset, Seymour Martin, "Preface," Student Politics, Basic Books, New York, 1967, p. viii.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. xi.

⁴⁹Lipset, Seymour Martin, "Perspectives on Student Protest," Teaching and Learning, 1971, p. 28.

⁵⁰"We now have close to eight million students in the United States. Many metropolitan areas have over 200,000. Hence five or ten per cent can and do have a major effect on the body politic." Ibid., p. 30.

⁵¹Fields discusses the actions of French students, "First, the students did indeed pose a threat to the very existence of a political regime in an industrialized country. . . . By posing a credible threat to the existence of the political system, they rendered the costs of a continuation of aberating policies excessive to decision-makers." Fields, "The Effects of Student Activism," op. cit., p. 5.

⁵²"Even within the university, the weakening administrative authority was seldom apparent until recent student challenges exposed it as a paper tiger. Yet the important change really occurred before the suddenly new era of student power, and probably as the product of long-run factors." Epstein, Leon D., "The State University: Who Governs?" paper delivered at the sixty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1970.

⁵³Heyns, Roger W., "Stress and Administrative Authority," in Smith, Kerry G., ed., Stress and Campus Response, Yossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1968, p. 167.

⁵⁴Richard Flacks, a member and long time observer of SDS and researcher of student activists concludes, "My point is that SDS returned to the campus after a long hiatus for two reasons: first, it finally became clear that the effort to reform the university could be directly relevant to the general task of reconstructing the society. Second, and more important, university authorities made the confrontation necessary by actively aiding the institutions and forces in the society which SDS'ers regarded as most illegitimate and most dangerous to their personal futures and the future of the whole world." Flacks, Richard, "Student Power and the New Left: The Role of SDS." American Psychological Association, Washington, D. C., September 1968, p. 29.

⁵⁵"In terms of an egalitarian ethos, it may seem paradoxical accordingly, that students have not in this country been customarily viewed as among the constituents who exercise any de jure and de facto power over institutions of higher learning. Legislators, private benefactors, trustees, administrators, and faculty have long been the acknowledged sources of authority, but not the students themselves. And this is what many of the student activists really want to change whatever the surface issues may be. Wilson, Logan, "Protest, Politics and Campus Reform," op. cit., 49.

⁵⁶"The crisis of the university is thus far more than an institutional crisis. . . . There is a crisis of legitimacy, which has undermined the existing institutions. A crisis of legitimacy develops in any political system when its members feel that the institution is no longer effective and that part of the reason for inefficiency is not just technical miscalculations of ignorance, but also insufficient responsiveness to the needs of the members, even if the needs and desires are widely different." Hoffman, "Participation in Perspective," op. cit., p. 201.

⁵⁷"Authority, we appreciate, is legitimate as long as it is almost universally accepted. Its conception, even if unarticulated, then tends to be taken for granted. This is now hardly true for authority in the state university. Competing claimants conceive authority in conflicting and perhaps irreconcilable ways, thus denying the legitimacy of authority differently conceived." Epstein, Leon N., "The University: Who Governs?" op. cit., p. 18.

⁵⁸"While the government usually exercises a rather nebulous influence on the individual student, it can on occasion become a major force in his life. Government educational policies, particularly in the developing nations, have a profound impact on the educational system and, consequently, on the lives of individual students. Government pressures for political conformity, censorship, and suppression affects the students." Altbach, Philip G., "Students and Politics," in Lipset, Student Politics, op. cit., p. 81.

⁵⁹"Yet, if the press, the educational community, and the public believe that there has been a student revolution in the United States, then there has indeed been one. The fact that only a small minority of the students have participated in radical politics, or have criticized the workings of the university has not prevented many conferences and meetings concerning ways to deal with the 'new student.' Thus, in the United States, where the student population is large, heterogeneous, and generally not considered a politically crucial factor, a vocal student minority has been able to attract a good deal of attention and has stimulated much thought on political and educational issues. The effects of the new student left on the larger polity are still being felt, and it is clear that while the movement has been unable to change the nation's Vietnam policy, it has given a voice to the student community." Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Altbach, Philip G., "Student Politics and Higher Education in the United States," in Lipset, Student Politics, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

CHAPTER III

Up to this point I have mainly been discussing the function of authority within the political system at the system level. The functioning of authority, however, is heavily dependent on individuals. The interaction of individuals and their government depends to a great extent on the acceptance of authority by those individuals. The components that go into that acceptance and the corollary attitudes and actions toward the political system are the subjects of this chapter.

The linkage from the micro to the macro level is not a simple one. No claim is made that the attitudinal components explicated here necessarily will manifest themselves on the system level as reviewed above.¹ This is one possibility.

The attitudinal component in the authority relationship is especially crucial. As Thomas argues, ". . .the concept of authority as it is experienced as applying to this or that person or institution depends, for its subjective binding force, upon stronger personal ties between people who recognize these persons or institutions as authoritative than can possibly be generated by mere fear of law violation itself, no matter how harsh the sanctions become. Crudely put authority is a personal matter."² Moreover, Dahl reports that there is an extraordinary degree of agreement about the attitudes required to maintain a popular system among which the most important

are attitudes toward one's self, toward's others, toward values, toward the community, and toward authority.³

Environmental disturbances can profoundly affect attitudinal components of authority and may bring about shifts.⁴ However, the attitudes of the people themselves may bring to the situation pressures on authority that are not necessarily a simple reaction to environmental strains.⁵ In any case the attitudinal component interacts in various ways under varying conditions with environmental components to produce support, compliance, or resistance.

Those in positions of authority in government are usually not alone in their bids for institutional support. Dissidents or those who oppose those in power compete for allegiance of the populace. The populace as a whole at any one time will be made up of loyalists, neutrals, and active dissidents.⁶ The authorities will try to increase the number of loyalists and minimize the number of dissidents. The dissidents will do the opposite. System persistence will depend in part on the distribution of attitudes toward authority and the success the authorities enjoy relative to the dissidents.⁷ When the legitimacy attributed to the regime and the authorities by the populace is low, the dissidents gain strength, stress increases, costs of governing are higher for authorities, and system persistence is challenged.

The recent period of campus unrest in the United States seems to present a situation where the political system has undergone stress. The actions of college protestors have challenged the authority of

the American regime. The perceptions of college students have been crucial in this challenge to holders of authority positions. According to the President's Commission on Campus Unrest:

We also pointed out that the direct functional course of campus unrest has been the free existential act of commitment which each member of the student movement has made to a particular political vision, to the practice of expressing that vision publicly, and to particular acts of protest.⁸

No doubt issues played an important part in the emergence of the campus protest movement. However, my position is that the perceptions and attitudes of the participating students were crucial.⁹

Three kinds of attitudes may be said to be relevant to student protest action; (1) attitudes toward particular events and/or substantive policies; (2) ideological attitudes; and (3) attitudes toward authority.

Attitudes of the first type may pertain to relatively long-standing issue concerns, such as Vietnam policy or student participation in University governance, or a particular event such as the movement of United States troops into Cambodia or the refusal of the university administration to allow a speaker on campus. Attitudes of this type are difficult to assess because they are peculiar to the issue involved. No particular residual implication for the political system may be involved, but these immediate attitudes may be primary for specific protest occurrences. Attitudes of this type constitute what Easton calls specific support because support is contingent

upon specific outputs of the processes of the political system.

The concern here is more with diffuse or generalized support.

Attitudes of the second type focus on ideological attitudes regarding a range of issue predispositions or longstanding conditions in the social or political structure. Examples of these may be conservatism-liberalism or internationalism-isolationism. Attitudes of this type may or may not portend stress for the political system and may or may not be relevant for protest actions.

Attitudes of the third type may or may not have much relevance for particular protest occurrences, but would seem to have relevant implications for stress for the political system itself. It is useful to examine the relative import of the various kinds of attitudes for the willingness to engage in actions that portend stress for the political system.

The actions of many student groups in the United States have served to threaten the positions of those in authority.¹⁰ The attitudes of students in the United States toward authority may have become a major factor in system stress in the American Political System.¹¹ In general student activism has posed serious problems for authority in the American Political System.¹² Therefore, student attitudes toward authority are of considerable importance in the political system at this time.

Attitudes Toward Authority

From the discussion above it is apparent that the acceptance or rejection of authority in the authority relationship of the political system includes a crucial attitudinal component. The purpose here will be to discuss what we know about people's attitudes toward authority, how they are developed, and how they manifest themselves. Particular attention will be paid to previous empirical research as well as the theoretical interpretation of that research.

One of the earliest studies dealing with the attitudinal component of political behavior of authority was The Authoritarian Personality published in 1950. Hitherto, relatively little had been attempted in the way of empirical testing of the notions of psychological bases for political motivation. The research was prompted by the operation of a political and social system in Germany that served to perpetrate profound atrocities on millions of individuals. The desire to know more than the surface political facts for the extensive ethnocentrism in Nazi Germany prompted the researchers to undertake the study to uncover the psychological and social motivations behind such attitudes. In conducting their research they came up with the attitudinal type-- the authoritarian personality.

The authoritarian personality as the Berkeley researchers conceived it, combines external social repression with internal repression of impulses. In order to achieve internalization of social control, the individual's attitude towards authority takes on an irrational aspect.

The individual achieves his own social adjustment only by taking pleasure in obedience and subordination.¹³ The F-Scale was developed to test for the presence of the Authoritarian Syndrome. It consists of the eight dimensions of conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intraception, superstition and stereotype, power and toughness, destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity, and exaggerated concern with sexual goings-on.¹⁴

Since the original authoritarian personality research, literally hundreds of studies have been completed to expand and improve on the propositions raised in that study. It appears now that the true authoritarian personality in its full form is to be found in but a small minority of people. However, it stems from the same process in which all individuals obtain their basic attitudes toward authority in general and political authority in particular.

Edward A. Shils in his critique of the Authoritarian Personality proposes an extension of authoritarianism which is a right-wing phenomenon to a more generalized authoritarianism which may take on both left and right-wing forms. He charges the original design with the failure to distinguish between totalitarian Leninism, humanitarianism, and New Deal interventionism.¹⁵ Shils sees an overlap between right authoritarianism and the central features of Bolshevism.¹⁶ Both left and right authoritarianism are characterized by hostility toward parents; that of the right is expressed in the loyalty and submissiveness of the authoritarian personality and is a reaction

formation against hostility toward his parents. The left authoritarian denies the authority of the state for the authority of the party.¹⁷

The basic problem with studies that have attempted to tap the attitudes of the left in terms of the authoritarian syndrome is that they are still looking for the basic positive if irrational attachment to a source of authority whether it be the state or party. However, this leaves another aspect of attitudes toward authority unexamined. Those who have a positive attachment to authority have been described. However, is the person at the low end of the F-Scale non-authoritarian or is he possibly antiauthoritarian?¹⁸ The problem is that the absence of a positive authoritarian syndrome does not tell us anything about a possible negative attitudinal orientation toward authority. It is proposed here that negative attitudinal orientations may also be observed. Thus, on the compulsive end there is an antiauthoritarian attitudinal type.

Christian Bay proposes an antiauthoritarian type that may provide a starting point for discussion. Some campus protest movements have contained some antiauthoritarians of the compulsive form analogous to the compulsiveness of the authoritarian personality. Reference will be made to the possible coincidence of the antiauthoritarian and the compulsive radical but is not the main object of discussion.

Bay in raising the question of antiauthoritarianism defines it as, "A defensive predisposition to oppose uncritically standards and commands supported by authorities. The antiauthoritarian syndrome correspondingly is a group of attitudes tending to correlate highly

with antiauthoritarianism. And the antiauthoritarian personality is a type of person characterized by this attitude syndrome."¹⁹ The antiauthoritarian displays an intolerance of ambiguity, both cognitively and affectively.

He represses awareness of his own weakness and dependency needs. He sees all authorities as bad and wicked and all weak people as exploited and persecuted. He, too, is prone to black-white thinking. He, too, is unable to tolerate the awareness of a complex, ambiguity-ridden world and unable to see the complexity of human motivations in himself and others.²⁰

The acceptance and rejection of authority may be explicated here by reference to George Herbert Mead's and Charles Cooley's concepts of the "self" and the "significant other."²¹ In the concept of the self the person has certain core values which he considers part of his self-concept as he views himself as an object. When he interacts with others, the person allows certain individuals to affect these core values and denies other individuals the authority to affect them. When he comes in contact with others, the person compares what the other individual does and says with his core values and needs, and acts accordingly. If the other individual is considered significant by the person, his values may be altered if the actions of the other are divergent, or the values may be reinforced if they are congruent. The degree to which the individual allows others to alter these values is dependent upon the extent of his dependency on others to fulfill his needs. As stated, the antiauthoritarian has repressed his

dependency needs so it is reasonable to propose that he will allow less alteration of his core values.

The antiauthoritarian, like the authoritarian, experiences great anxiety and cannot tolerate ambiguity that presents a challenge to his self-concept. For this reason his reactions are ego defensive.

The antiauthoritarian really has never been fully socialized to accept the authority of secondary authorities to tell him about his "self." Secondary authorities are those in authority positions who do not know him as an individual as do primary authorities such as parents or employers. Behavior by secondary authorities that is counter to the antiauthoritarian's core values is automatically rejected because it is frustrating to him.²²

The result of this pattern is that the antiauthoritarian sets up ingroups and outgroups for himself as readily as does the authoritarian. The outgroups for the antiauthoritarian are the secondary authorities who are likely to be precisely the ingroup for the authoritarian.²³ Failure to reject outgroups categorically for both results in a great deal of anxiety due to their intolerance for ambiguity. The actions of secondary authorities are not evaluated on their own merits then--not separated in the cognitive or affective thinking of the anti-authoritarian. This thinking in relation to secondary sources is closed.²⁴ This concept is crucial to more general attitudes toward authority and will be discussed below.

The secondary authorities are then defined by the antiauthoritarian as members of an aggressive outgroup. The expression of hostilities by the antiauthoritarian further helps him to allay his anxiety.²⁵

However, if the antiauthoritarian rejects the authority of the secondary authorities to tell him about his "self," who are his significant others? Interaction with others who do not feel as he does will again result in a discrepancy between what they are telling him about himself and his core values. Therefore, the significant others for the antiauthoritarian must be found in his primary group and others like them.

The antiauthoritarian's hostility against secondary authorities whom he rejects are likely to become manifest in overt displays of power. Lasswell's conceptionalization of the power-oriented person is:

Our key hypothesis about the power seeker is that he pursues power as a means of compensation against deprivation. Power is expected to overcome low estimates of the self by changing either the traits of the self or the environment in which it functions. . . Our hypothesis about the power accentuating type is that power is resorted to when it is expected to contribute more than any alternative value to overcoming or obviating deprivations of the self.²⁶

So the same repression of dependency needs during childhood, the same intolerance of ambiguity, the same frustrations in the contemporary world, and the same resultant anxiety that have their outcome in the other components of the antiauthoritarian syndrome also result in the power component.²⁷

I have been discussing the antiauthoritarian syndrome in its compulsive form to provide a balance to the well-known authoritarian syndrome replicated hundreds of times in research. The objective

here is to illustrate the psychological field of attitudes toward authority. All dispositions toward authority are not of the compulsive type represented by the authoritarian and antiauthoritarian personalities. These represent processes somehow gone amiss. However, the authority formation process which all individuals undergo provides them with basic cognitive and affective orientations toward authority.

In light of the discussion above, I prefer to conceive of basic orientations toward authority not in terms of discrete types but in terms of an attitudinal continuum. Depending upon the particular socialization experience which individuals undergo, different points on the continuum will be occupied ranging from authoritarian, positive toward authority, neutral, negative toward authority, through anti-authoritarian. (See Figure I.)

It would seem much more fruitful to employ a continuum approach in describing populations with respect to their attitudes toward authority objects, whether the regime or authorities. Relying exclusively on explanations that account for compulsive types whether authoritarian or antiauthoritarian leaves a large part of any given population whether citizens or students unexamined. In the current research, I conceive of a distribution of authority attitudes toward both the regime and the authorities of the American political system. Data will be presented to explicate these distributions.

FIGURE I

Attitudinal Distribution Toward Authority

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Antiauthoritarian | Negative Toward Authority | Neutral Toward Authority | Positive Toward Authority | Authoritarian |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|

We have no evidence to indicate how a given population distributes on the continuum or how population distribution changes over time. It is not unreasonable to expect that some societies will be distributed more toward the positive pole while others are distributed toward the negative.

FIGURE II

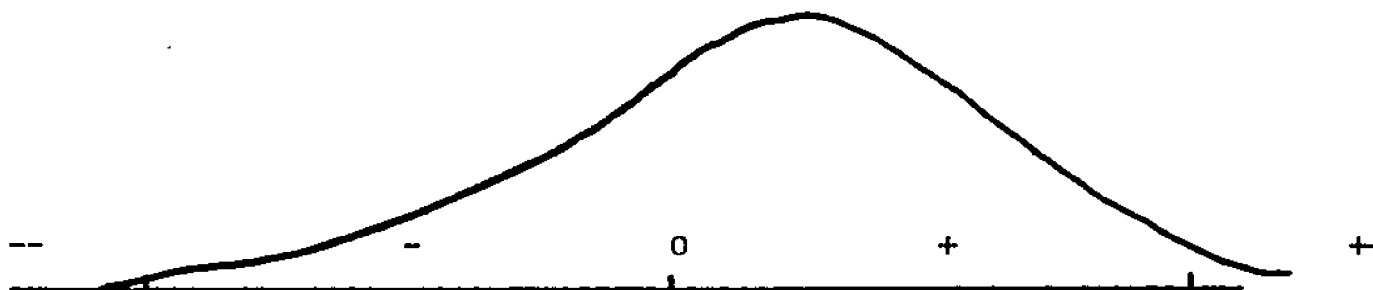
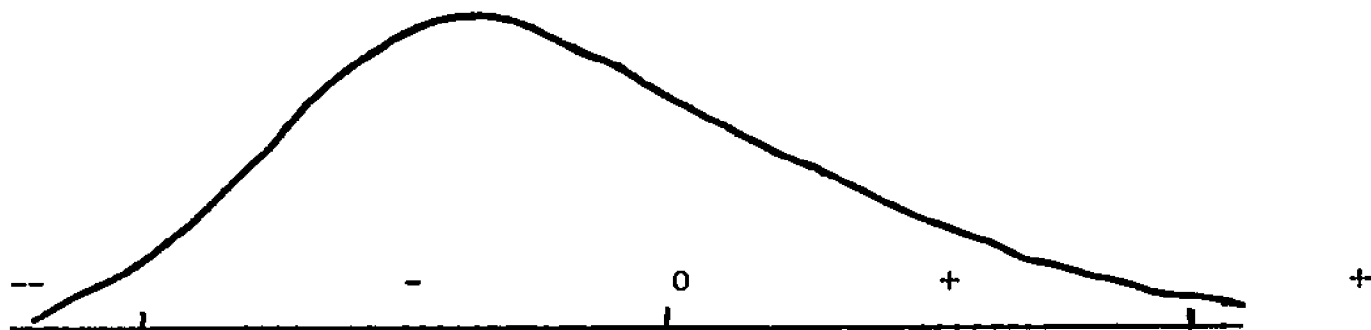


FIGURE III



This continuum represents the basic predispositions available. A given individual may be placed at any point on the continuum.

In addition, an individual's cognition of different authorities will affect various distributions of attitudes toward authority. In other words, individuals may group various authorities as being important for their attitudes in the political system at a given time. Later, how the college students grouped certain authorities will be examined.

Socialization Toward Authority

An examination of the socialization of attitudes toward authority is relevant here.²⁸ There has been much controversy over the socialization of childrearing of those involved in campus protests and their dispositions toward authority. Specifically, some have laid the cause of unrest on the middle class family, saying permissive childrearing practices and/or a general permissiveness of the society are responsible for student attitudes that are disrespectful of authority.²⁹ Bruno Bettelheim asserts that male activists are the product of an inadequate socialization experience in the home. He states the home life of male activists did not provide growing boys a chance to work through their Oedipal competition with the father. Thus, today's male activist assaults the constituted governmental authority as a way of working through unsettled relationships with authority.³⁰ Here the socialization of individuals toward authority will be explored and attention will be paid to theory and analysis of radical activist socialization.

The first socialization experiences which every individual undergoes are in relationship to his parents. The parents are responsible for the early learning experiences in all areas. They are also the first authority figures with which the child comes in contact. For major areas of learned behavior, the authority inception period extends from birth through the first six to ten years of life. During this period there is a progressive increase in the number and variety of behaviors covered by authority relations between the child and his parents. The initial acts of authority to which the child is subjected focus almost exclusively on his performance of physiological functions, successive experiences deal with control of himself, then relations with things, and finally relations with other people.³¹ The conflict between the desire to do exactly what the child wants and conformity to parental directives is somehow resolved during this period. The conflict is resolved by the imposition of parental authority throughout the authority inception period.³² Bay postulates the basic process the child goes through in adapting to his parents authority:

. . .most parent-child relationships are more or less strained by the parental authority function, which at times overshadows the child's sense of being loved unconditionally and induces hostility in him. If there is not much love to start with, this hostility is likely to induce guilt feelings and lead to repression, especially if the parents react severely against the show of hostility. Two patterns of repression are particularly significant; the child may repress primarily his hostility and develop submissive, authoritarian attitudes or he may repress primarily his dependency needs and develop aggressive, anti-authoritarian attitudes. Most children, of course, combine elements of both insofar as they learn to

repress, and all the attitudes that are the outcome of repression are more or less ambivalent, containing tendencies in opposite directions.³³

Of course different children can develop more one way than the other yielding varying basic dispositions in authority relations. The parental imposition of authority on the child in complex social relations teaches him about the variable character of social demands on individual behavior and instructs him in the fact that there are ranges of acceptable behavior for almost all situations of action.³⁴ In addition, through adjustment to authority the child has established for him, particularly through the authoritative acts of his parents, the fundamental concept of legitimacy. The imposition of parental authority is fundamental to the establishment of normative judgments in the child as the crucial link between social order and the internalization of norms that preserve that order. Finally, authoritative parental behavior during the authority inception period lays the foundation for the child's future conception of the authoritative figure and is critical in providing him with a generalized image of an authority holder. The individual then can compare this with future authorities.³⁵ Part of the individual's orientation toward political authorities may stem more or less from this period.

The child adopts or learns his values also, and the literature usually proposes that his primary values come from the parents. Some of these are relevant for later behavior including political behavior. The child derives many of his political attitudes first from his

parents and then from the school experience.³⁶ Robert Hess stresses that anticipatory socialization of political orientations occurs long before adulthood and actual political behavior and that the nature of this early conceptual and apperceptive experience influences subsequent socialization and behavior.³⁷

The concern here is for diffuse support existing for the authorities of the American political system. Easton and Dennis found that the groundwork for a high degree of positive diffuse support is laid during the political socialization process that the American child undergoes at an early age.³⁸ Greenstein and also Hess and Torney found an extraordinarily high positive regard for the President and also for other political authorities such as the policeman.³⁹

In most systems, authority usually becomes attached to the role itself rather than to the person. The roles seldom stand discretely but tend to be related and complementary.⁴⁰ As they perceived as such the structure of authority of the system is evaluated according to the actions of office holders over time.

Hess found in his subsequent research that the expression of highly positive attitudes toward the President is apparently not greatly influenced either by the incumbent of the office or by partisan affiliation. In the U. S., the child is socialized into attitudes toward a role, that is, to a position of authority in the system, and not to the occupant of the office. Hess states that as the child grows to adulthood, he is exposed to considerable debate and conflicts over the merits of alternative incumbants of the Presidency and of

other roles in the political structure. There is constant danger that criticism of the occupant will spill over to the role itself. He also found few differences between responses for Governor and President, adding further evidence that the authority directive may be learned increasingly as a whole.⁴¹ After the initial early positive attachment to political figures, as institutions come more clearly into focus with advancing age, Hess and Torney found that the overwhelming positive attachment to these figures was lessened.⁴² However, Hess charges in a subsequent article that schools are providing an overidealized expectation for the political institutions and a very high estimate of the power of the individual vote, combined with an ignorance of other legitimate channels of influence.⁴³ Through his research of cross national socialization, Hess provides this perspective of American socialization:

If our interpretation is valid, it seems possible that the early emphasis on the benign qualities of political authority sets a level of expectation that is never quite abandoned. As the maturing child becomes aware of role definitions and the fallibility of persons in authority, he looks to institutions to offer the protection that, as a small child, he wanted from parents and other figures. Even after this transfer has taken place the expectations of benevolence and morality on the part of political authority still colors his attitudes toward the occupant of political office and make small deviations from morality or honesty a matter of national concern.⁴⁴

The significance of this is that as other values are learned from parents and others, discrepancies of behavior of political authority role occupants may lessen the legitimacy in the eyes of individuals

possessing the diverging values and result in rejection of the authority of the authority holder. Greenstein suggests that the greatest change away from political authority is probably during adolescence.⁴⁵ This period may be the beginning of the authority challenging period. Depending on the basic disposition acquired during the authority-inception period, challenges may be more or less overt for different individuals.⁴⁶

Above, it was mentioned that for the antiauthoritarian the same repression of dependency needs leads to exertion of power. The establishment of the connection between socialization experiences leading to attitudes toward authority and attitudes toward aggression are of concern here. Several studies support the generalization that different socialization experiences and their resultant personality patterns lead to individual differences in potential for aggression.⁴⁷ People acquire dispositions to aggression during the socialization process.⁴⁸ Some theorists have concentrated on the socialization processes that produce revolutionary leaders and personalities.⁴⁹ However Gurr suggests that the primary concern should be with cultural or subcultural socialization practices to explain political violence, not with uncommon deviances. He cites that one basic dimension along which socialized attitudes toward aggression vary is the degree to which members of a culture internalize aggression. In some societies and among some subcultures the emphasis is intrapunitive where people acquire dispositions to inhibit their aggressive feelings and turn them inward, while in other subcultures

the emphasis is extrapunitive where people acquire dispositions to blame others and to regard as justifiable the acting out of aggression against others.⁵⁰ The point is that during the socialization process interaction with the parents develops dispositions toward authority and aggression which may later interact in the political area. The individual in repressing his dependency needs or his hostility and in his subsequent experiences develops basic dispositions towards authority and aggression which have political importance.⁵¹

Socialization of Student Activists

As mentioned above there has been much discussion of the backgrounds of those students participating in campus disturbances. Permissiveness in the home has been cited as a cause of unrest. This possible cause of student dispositions toward authority in their socialization experiences will be examined.

There is seemingly substantial evidence that distinguishes the backgrounds of student activists from the less politically committed students. These studies have shown that students involved in protest activities are characteristically from families that are urban, whose parents are highly educated with a disproportionate number of post-graduate degrees, more professional occupations, higher than average incomes and where formal religion is not important or Jewish homes.⁵² Richard Flacks has concluded that unlike the campus radicals of the Thirties, who were attracted to radicalism because they were

economically deprived or because their economic mobility was blocked, the present student movement is predominantly composed of students who have been born to high social advantage and who are in a position to experience the career and status opportunities of the society without significant limitations.⁵³ Families with these characteristics are precisely the kind where permissive practices are likely to be followed.⁵⁴ Flacks tests this notion in his study by administering the semantic differential to both students and their parents. Activists tend to rate their parents as "milder," "more lenient" and "less severe" than do non-activists. Similar data was obtained from the parents.⁵⁵ Looking at these data, the psychologists Jeanne Block, Norman Haas, and M. Brewster Smith conclude:

Many young activists in contemporary America were reared under the influence of Benjamin Spock who, as an articulate pediatrician, led a revolt against the more authoritarian, rigid, constraining child-rearing practices. . . . It may be argued that the emergence of a dedicated, spontaneous generation concerned with humanitarian values and personal authenticity is a triumph of Spockian philosophy and principles. Others have suggested, in a less benign interpretation, that activism is the consequence of excessive parental permissiveness, a failure to teach respect for authority, and an unfortunate submission to the needs and feelings of the child.⁵⁶

Kenneth Keniston, in his study of young radicals suggests that they were unable as children, to express their hostility toward their parents, but as adolescents can toward secondary authority figures.⁵⁷ Following the discussion above extrapunitive aggression is learned but is expressed outside the primary group. The child represses

his dependency needs but does not express his hostility toward the primary authority figures--his parents, because they are not oppressive. In addition, they share many of the values he holds as he has learned these values from them. Several studies report that activists share many of the same values of their parents and if anything are acting out the values they have been taught by their ideologically liberal parents.⁵⁸ Studies of the views of parents of activists confirm that they are likely to be significantly more liberal than the parents of non-activists and a significant number were radicals at an earlier age themselves.⁵⁹

There is evidence that in fact far from rejecting their parents' values student activists desire is to see them implemented. Their "gap" with their parents is that they see them an ineffectual in securing these important values in society.⁶⁰ When activists see a discrepancy between the values their parents have taught them and their parents' inaction to implement them, they can repress their hostility against their permissive but ineffectual parents; but when they see a discrepancy between these values and the actions of public authority figures their authority disposition allows an expression of hostility toward them. These values are reinforced during the college experience.⁶¹ There is seemingly substantial data to indicate that activists are drawn more heavily from the humanities and the social sciences.⁶²

It would be expected from this that those with permissive child-rearing experiences would tend to be more ideologically liberal. In

addition, it would be expected that those with more liberal ideological predispositions would be more likely to engage in protest actions. I will test this notion empirically.

Student Attitudes Toward the Legitimacy of Authority

The review of campus activist socialization serves to suggest socialization experiences that may have led to negative orientations toward authority, that may have found ready outlets in the political arena, and may have manifested themselves in overt and sometimes violent acts. The rejection of the legitimacy of authority is clear here. Somewhat less clear is the rejection of the legitimacy of authority by other students. That is, the recent student unrest may be only the visible manifestation of a wider spread orientation shared by a large number of students, who have undergone similar if not as salient experiences as the activists themselves. The challenge to the legitimacy of authority may not be confined to a few dissidents.⁶³

The outbreaks and a decline in the acceptance of the legitimacy of authority by college students may occur because of the interaction of their previous socialization experiences and the socialization experience of their college years. There is a growing body of theory that the American college student occupies a post-adolescent but pre-adult stage of life called "youth."⁶⁴ The youth stage is made possible by college attendance which postpones entry into full sociological adulthood and contributes to an extension of the

challenging of authority period.⁶⁵ Individuals in this stage are not identified with their future profession but with examining their basic relationship with existing society. What happens during "youth" is that the individual clarifies the relationship between self and society.⁶⁶ The identification is not with the adult society but with others of the same life stage and their concerns.⁶⁷

The import of this condition for authority in the political system is that there exists a population sector with the combination of characteristics and situation to provide the potential for covert and overt challenges to authority.⁶⁸ Combined with this is the fact that the college youth are in a position to observe actions of authorities arising from political and societal events that are at variance with the values gained during their socialization experiences and given content from peers and college experiences.⁶⁹ Along with what has been explored above, it may be expected that the individual of the "youth stage" is less likely to tolerate these discrepancies on the part of public authorities; and more likely to question the legitimacy of the authorities themselves.⁷⁰ A further significance of a more widespread potential for challenging the legitimacy of authority is that those disposed toward more overt measures of challenge depend upon others in this stage of life for a reference group to approve actions.⁷¹ The college community is a particularly suitable collection of individuals in this stage of life for this purpose.⁷²

It may be expected that the student bodies of colleges and universities would approve more overt challenges to constituted authority than would the population as a whole.⁷³ In addition the university itself may provide situational stresses and value discrepancies.⁷⁴ Universities also provide formal authorities which impose constraints and due to the nationalization of university concerns may be seen as representatives of the authority of the larger society.⁷⁵ The moderate students questioning authority acting as a reference group for the more activist students has been a ready source of stress for the universities and for the American political system.⁷⁶

In other words authorities in the University subsystem may be more relevant for college students in relationship to the political system than other authorities because they perceive that this is where the authority structure has impact on them. Active participants as well as the student reference group operate from the same cognitive framework. This will be examined in detail below.

The potential for violence in a situation of low support for authorities is real. This is true whether support is low for a subsystem or the system as a whole.

The President's Commission on campus unrest sums up the importance of the situation for the political system:

Democratic societies are especially vulnerable to conflicts of cultures and values such as that which exists today. For when hostilities emerge, each group attempts to attack its opponents by wielding the power of government against them.

Each group therefore confronts not only opposing groups, but also the threat of government oppression. Matters can reach a point at which government is seen by all sides as repressive and illegitimate. Hostilities then intensify, the likelihood of violence and death increases, and civil society can disintegrate into a brutal war of each against all.

We emphasize that this nation is not now in any such condition, but we must also warn that it would come to that if the escalation of hostility and fear does not stop.⁷⁷

Situational Component

The potential for rejection of the legitimacy of authority for the political system has been examined. Why might the discontent break out in the university? Why do students choose to take out their political grievances on university authorities? Undoubtedly one reason is that the university is the closest subsystem of the political system and also one of the most vulnerable.⁷⁸ In addition its effects on the lives of students are the most immediate and are often stressful.⁷⁹ The university presents some students with strong value conflicts.⁸⁰

Second, civil strife is increasingly being conducted in the political arena.⁸¹ Discontents of individuals are increasingly becoming politicized.⁸² Political institutions are seen as the way to maximize values and transform society. The university is considered as the political subsystem with resources to solve societal problems. These include not just student problems but more far-ranging problems and conflicts facing other groups as well.⁸³

The universities have made great strides in solving several societal problems and some students expect solutions to the ones

that fit their values.⁸⁴ Failure or non-attention is likely to lead to open rejection of authority.⁸⁵

The Legitimacy of Authority and Dissent

The connection between socialization toward authority and socialization of aggression has been discussed above. Here the discussion is extended to authority and dissent.

One possibility is that as the legitimacy of authority for the regime and/or the authorities declines, the likelihood of support for overt methods of dissent increases.⁸⁶ Other researchers have found that people who consider the authority of their political leaders to be legitimate are less likely to approve of violent attacks on those leaders.⁸⁷ However, feelings of legitimacy for the authority of the regime and its authorities may not be the only factor for the individual in deciding to engage in or support such acts.⁸⁸ The feelings of legitimacy may be primary or contributory. If primary, specific issue concerns would not make much difference in the individual's decision to support or engage in overt methods of dissent. If contributory, the feelings of legitimacy of authority may provide an attitudinal background against which disagreement with particular policy decisions could spark actual participation or support for acts of dissent. In this study, the nature of the relationship between student attitudes toward the legitimacy of authority of the regime and authorities of the American political system will be examined empirically.

Attitudes and Dissent

I mentioned above that three kinds of attitudes may be said to be relevant to student protest action and these were attitudes concerning specific events or policies, ideology, and authority. Men may decide that a particular government action or policy conflicts so much with values that they hold near and dear that they must protest such action or even rebel against it. Alternatively, men may feel that longstanding policies conflict with ideological positions they hold and they protest against these policies. In the third place men may decide that value conflicts with governmental actions and policies have reached such a magnitude that their belief in the legitimacy of the authority of government is abridged and they protest against the regime and its authorities.

In most situations all three attitudes will come into play in varying degrees depending on the individual. That is, an individual may vehemently object to a specific action, feel that it stems from a longstanding policy he ideologically opposes, and further feels that actions of government have reached a point where he no longer accepts the legitimacy of regime authority as position authority. He then engages in protest activity. Another individual may disagree with the specific action, but he is not too upset in ideological terms, nor does he deny the legitimacy of regime authority or position authority. He may also engage in protest action. In short, the decision to protest may depend more or less on all three of these kinds of attitudes.

In addition a given set of circumstances may provide the context for one or more to be maximized. A specific event in itself may be so onerous that it sparks protest although it is not in keeping with any particular longstanding policy. On the other hand, another action, possibly a movement of troops into Cambodia, may spark protest stemming from all three attitudinal sources. Protests then may be issue specific, ideology specific, or authority specific or may represent a combination of all three in varying degrees.

The question has been raised if the waive of protests the universities' experienced represented feeling of rejection of the authority of government by the young. An attempt will be made to determine how much of the variance in willingness to support protest actions can be explained by authority attitudes in order to answer this question.

Summary

This chapter has dealt with attitudes and authority and their relationship to the operation of the political system, particularly to protesting actions or policies of the regime and its authorities. Positive attitudes toward the legitimacy of regime authority are crucial to the maintenance of the political system. Attitudes are also crucial to protest actions. Three classifications of attitudes were discussed: (1) attitudes toward particular events and/or substantive policies; (2) ideological attitudes; and, (3) attitudes toward authority. Previous research related to authority attitudes

was discussed and it was suggested that authority attitudes form a continuum from extremely negative to extremely positive.

It was pointed out that the first socialization experiences the individual has regarding authority is with parental authority and then with authority in school. Several researchers pointed to parental permissiveness as a possible cause of attitudes leading to protest actions. The individual may become attached to certain values and not tolerate value discrepancies brought on by governmental actions or policies. For college students the University is the closest subsystem of the political system and it may provide value discrepancies necessary to protest. A combination of the three types of attitudes delineated above may be responsible for particular protest actions and any one of the three may predominate depending on the circumstances. The question was raised if the wave of University protests represented a rejection of authority.

This discussion involves several main theoretical questions. Do family socialization experiences lead to negative authority attitudes? What is the nature of such authority attitudes? Do family socialization experiences lead to propensity to engage in protest activity? Do college socialization experiences lead to propensity to engage in protest activity? Are authority attitudes linked directly to propensity to engage in protest activity? Are ideological attitudes linked directly to propensity to engage in protest activity?

In the next chapter hypotheses directed toward these questions will be explicitly specified and theoretical models delineated. In addition variables will be operationalized and the methods of testing specified. In chapters five and six empirical data will be utilized to test the specified hypotheses and models.

FOOTNOTES

¹Fred Greenstein reminds us, "The intellectual operations necessary for systematic aggregation remain to be perfected. It would be unfortunate if psychological data on the members of political systems were not used, where appropriate, in explaining system regularities. Past reductionist tendencies in micro-macro analyses no doubt account for the present absence of well-developed procedures for analyzing aggregation.

In moving from analyses of underlying personality structure to analyses of the political and social structure, we need to be sensitive to the many links in the inferential chain--each of them a possible source of complications." Greenstein, Fred I., Personality and Politics, Markham, Chicago, 1969, pp. 139-140.

²Thomas, Sid B. Jr., "Authority and the Law in the United States, 1968," Ethics, vol. 79, 1969, p. 117.

³Dahl, Robert, Modern Political Analysis, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1963, p. 91.

⁴"Environmental disturbances may help to shape not only what the members want, but the sentiments they display toward the political system, as a whole, its institutions and leaders." Easton, David, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1965, p. 155.

⁵"On the one hand, political strains may arise because of inconsistencies within individual members of the population. Alternatively, strains may arise because of the coexistence of groups of individuals whose internally consistent orientations are in conflict with each other." Rose, Richard, "Dynamic Tendencies in the Authority of Regimes," World Politics, vol. 21, 1969, p. 621.

⁶Gurr, Ted R., Why Men Rebel, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1970, p. 276.

⁷"Levels of institutional support are a function of the relative scope of dissident and regime organizations and of the degree to which leaders can demand and receive sacrifices from members in the service of organizations;. . . If regime institutional support is high vis a vis dissident institutional support, political violence is likely to be limited in scope, duration, and intensity." Ibid., p. 277.

⁸The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970, p. 78.

⁹Clearly, whatever it is that transforms a condition into an issue lies in the eyes of the beholder--or, more precisely, in his opinions and perceptions. The emergence of these issues was caused by a change in opinions, perceptions, and values--that is, by a change in the culture of students. Students' basic ways of seeing the world became during the 1960's less and less tolerant of war, of racism, and of the things these entail. This shift in student culture is a basic--perhaps the basic--contributing cause of campus unrest. Ibid., p. 60.

¹⁰Bell and Kristol conclude, "For the 'politics of confrontation' the goal is not really the satisfying of grievances but the destruction of authority itself." Bell, Daniel and Kristol, Irving, "Introduction" in Confrontation, Basic Books, New York, 1969, p. xi.

¹¹"We now have close to eight million students in the United States. Many metropolitan areas have over 200,000. Hence, five or ten per cent can and do have a major effect on the body politic." Lipset, Seymour Martin, "University Students and Politics in Underdeveloped Countries," in Lipset, Seymour Martin, ed., Student Politics, Basic Books, New York, 1967, p. 30.

¹²E. Wright Blake in his assessment of activism in six countries, including the United States, identifies similarities in student activism of which one is that, "all of them raise problems of public order for university and public authorities." Blake, E. Wright, "Roots and Soil of Student Activism," in Lipset, S. M., ed., Student Politics, Basic Books, New York, 1967, p. 56.

¹³Adorno, T. W., et. al., The Authoritarian Personality, Harper and Row, New York, 1950, p. 759.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 228.

¹⁵Shils, Edward A., "Authoritarianism: 'Right' and 'Left,'" in Christie, Richard, and Jahoda, Marie, eds., Studies in the Scope and Method of "Authoritarian Personality", The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1954, p. 31.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁸It is suggested that the low end may contain both. Some evidence for this was suggested by Adorno. "We encountered a few subjects who had been identified ideologically with some progressive movement, such as the struggle for minority rights, for a long time, but with whom such ideas contained features of compulsiveness, even

of a paranoid obsession and who, with respect to many of our variables, especially rigidity and 'total' thinking, could hardly be distinguished from some of our high extremes." Adorno, op. cit., p. 772.

¹⁹Bay, Christian, The Structure of Freedom, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1958, p. 206.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Mead, George Herbert, Mind Self and Society, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1967. Cooley, Charles, Human Nature and the Social Order, Schocken Books, New York, 1967.

²²Bay suggests that perhaps the most general determinant of defensiveness is the element of frustration, meaning the blocking of individual goals or attempts at need-satisfaction. Authoritarianism is considered one chronic source of frustration, derived from the failure of personality integration and the resulting unawareness of and failure to satisfy some of the basic needs. Another example of chronic frustrations interfering with psychological freedom is antiauthoritarianism. Bay, The Structure, op. cit., p. 233.

²³"One man's ingroup may psychologically be another man's outgroup, even if they belong to the same community and the same ethnic and religious group. The psychologically important variable is not the choice of ingroup, but the tendency to differentiate sharply between ingroup and outgroup. More extreme tendencies of this kind are evidence of intolerance of ambiguity, which in turn may be considered part of a broader syndrome of defensive tendencies. Depending on the person's tendency to submit to or to challenge authorities, he may be called an authoritarian or an antiauthoritarian personality." Ibid., p. 717.

²⁴Rokeach writes, "It is assumed that every communication received from an external authority source contains two kinds of information. It contains information of a substantive nature and it contains information about the authority source itself. . . The more open one's orientation toward authority, the more will the two kinds of information be clearly distinguished from each other and the more will each be evaluated and responded to on their respective merits." Rokeach, Milton, "Authority, Authoritarianism, Conformity," in Berg, Irwin, and Bass, Bernard M., Conformity and Deviation, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1961, p. 235. See also Rokeach, Milton, The Open and Closed Mind, Classic Books, New York, 1960, pp. 62 and 69.

²⁵"However, neurotic anxiety is likely to be combined with intolerance of ambiguity--or a flight into rigid cognitive categories. This is likely to increase the resistance to many types of communication, but this resistance hinges less on their contents than on the

perception of the degree of authority of the communicator, in all probability." Bay, "The Structure," op. cit., p. 366.

²⁶Laswell, Harold, Power and Personality, Viking Press, New York, 1963, pp. 39-40. Bay also agrees and states, "The thesis that a power drive is a probable result of various kinds of repression-producing experience, notably in childhood, can perhaps be seen as one more specific deprivation from a more general thesis; that frustration tends to produce aggression. Bay, "The Structure," op. cit., p. 301.

²⁷Eysenck found that tough-mindedness was related to aggression, rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, narrow mindedness and mental concreteness. Eysenck, H. S., Psychology and Politics, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1954.

²⁸"The basis of the concept of social authority--the concept of a person or an institution having the right to speak for the social group in laying down norms for behavior and backing them with sanctions--lies in the experience of childhood. In childhood, I suggest a rule is experienced as authoritative when it is regarded as placing a reasonable limit on behavior." Thomas, Sid B. Jr., "Authority and Law in the United States, 1968," Ethics, vol. 79, 1969, p. 118.

²⁹"Although the permissiveness hypothesis has been used in the crudest manner to berate and deplore the behavior of youth, it cannot be lightly dismissed. There is considerable evidence that activist and alienated students are members of well-educated families, deeply committed to liberal doctrines. In such houses children are given unusual freedom to criticize, debate, and question. Restless students also have frequently attended primary and secondary schools dedicated to the ideal of progressive education, schools that in their efforts to maximize freedom and creativity, seek to minimize discipline and frustration." Halleck, S. L., "Twelve Hypotheses of Student Unrest," in Smith, G. Kerry, ed., Stress and Campus Response, Jossey Bass, San Francisco, 1968, p. 128.

³⁰Dickenson, James C., "Student Activism and the Characteristics of Activists," Bettelheim quoted in Des Moines Register article by William Braden.

³¹Dubin, Elisabeth R., and Dubin, Robert, "The Authority Inception Period in Socialization," Child Development, vol. 34, 1963, p. 894.

³²Ibid., p. 895.

³³Bay, "The Structure," op. cit.

Hess summarizes the outcome for political authority, "On the basis of the United States data alone, our view of the child's early

attitude toward political authority figures is that they arise from the psychological needs of the child as well as from definitions of authority that come to him from his experience. . . . To the child, authority is defined not only as superior but as exceedingly powerful. . . . The response of the child to this feeling of vulnerability is to reassure himself that the authority figure is benign and that he will protect the child and not harm him. He sees authority figures as benign because it is too threatening to see them as malevolent. This tendency which also applies to his view of parents is a psychological technique for dealing with the feelings of powerlessness, and, perhaps, with his own feelings of aggression toward authority. We propose, then, that the child's image of political authority is designed to cope with his feeling of vulnerability and of aggression with regard to superior power." Hess, Robert D., "The Socialization of Attitudes toward Political Authority: Some Cross-National Comparisons," International Social Science Journal, vol. 15, 1963, p. 555.

³⁴Dubin, "The Authority Inception Period," op. cit., p. 895.

³⁵Dubin, Ibid., p. 896. From his cross-national socialization research Hess agrees: "The cultural influences that seem to combine with developmental effects suggest that the authority system of the family may be critical in the socialization of attitudes toward authority. This is a possibility we are now exploring in studies in the United States and Germany, but on which we have no data from other countries in North or South America. The material we have so far shows that such a connection exists between the child's view of his family and his views of non-family authority figures." Hess, Robert D., "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authority: Some Cross-National Comparisons," International Social Science Journal, vol. 15, 1963, p. 555.

³⁶Hess, Robert D., and Torney, Judith V., The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Aldine, Chicago, 1967, p. 217.

³⁷Hess, "The Socialization," op. cit., p. 545.

³⁸Easton, David, and Dennis, Jack, "The Child's Political World," American Political Science Review, vol.

³⁹Hess and Torney, "The Development," op. cit., p. 38, and Greenstein, Fred I., Children and Politics, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1965, pp. 35-36.

⁴⁰Easton, David, and Dennis, Jack, Children in the Political System, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1969, p. 99.

⁴¹Hess, "The Socialization," op. cit., pp. 546 and 552.

⁴²Hess and Torney, "The Development," op. cit., p. 38.

⁴³Hess, Robert D., "Political Attitudes in Children," Psychology Today, vol. 2, 1968-69.

⁴⁴Hess, "The Socialization," op. cit., p. 552.

⁴⁵Greenstein, Children, op. cit., p. 51.

⁴⁶M. Kent Jennings points out that childhood is a period of basic commitments to various parts of a political system. Adolescence is a period of greater responsiveness to political inputs, of greater capacity to argue and reason about political positions, and of a higher concern for political issues. Jennings, M. Kent, "The Pre-Adult Orientations to Multiple Systems of Government," Midwest Journal of Political Science, vol. 11, 1967, pp. 291-317.

⁴⁷See Bandura, Albert and Walters, Richard H., Adolescent Aggression, New York, Ronald Press, 1959; Berkowitz, Leonard, Aggression: A social Psychological Analysis, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1962; Eysenck, H. J., The Psychology of Politics, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1962; Stagner, Ross, "Studies of Aggressive Social Attitudes," Journal of Social Psychology, vol. 20, August, 1944, pp. 109-140; Epstein, Ralph, "Aggression Toward Outgroups as a Function of Authoritarianism and Imitation of Aggressive Models," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, vol. 3, 1966, pp. 574-579; Himmelveit, Hilde T., "Frustration and Aggression: A Review of Recent Experimental Work," in Pear, T. H., ed., Psychological Factors of Peace and War, Hutchinson, London, 1950, pp. 178-180.

⁴⁸Gurr, Ted, Why Men Rebel, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1970, p. 161.

⁴⁹See Harold Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 125; Wolfenstein, E. Victor, The Revolutionary Personality: Lenin, Trotsky, Gandhi, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1967, p. 307; Durbin, E. F., and Bowlby, John, Personal Aggressiveness and War, Kegan Paul, Trenck, Trubner, London, 1939; Riezler, Kurt, "On the Psychology of the Modern Revolution," Social Research, vol. 10, 1943, pp. 320-336; Leiden, Carl and Schmitt, Karl M., The Politics of Violence: Revolution in the Modern World, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1968.

⁵⁰Gurr, Why Men Rebel, op. cit., pp. 164-165.

⁵¹Mitscherlich points out the significance for the political system: "The attempts at explanation (at least by sociologists) that have so far appeared seem to me to neglect the idea that it may be

primarily, early infantile social experiences that lead to the unbridled outbreaks of excess aggressive instinct that burst in on society. . . The elimination of dependence on parents and other authorities to satisfy desires has lessened the attachment to and feeling for authority." Mitscherlich, Alexander, "Changing Patterns of Authority: A Psychiatric Interpretation," in Lesis J. Edinger, ed., Political Leadership in Industrialized Societies, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1967, pp. 44-45.

⁵²Braungart, R. G., "SDS and YAF: Backgrounds of Student Political Activists," Pennsylvania State University, Department of Sociology, 1966, mimeo, p. 9; Flacks, Richard, "The Liberated Generation: An Explanation of the Roots of Student Protest," Journal of Social Issues, 1967, vol. 23, p. 55; Trent, James W. and Craise, Judith L., "Commitment and Conformity in the American College," Journal of Social Issues, vol. 23, 1967, pp. 35-36; Keniston, Kenneth, The Young Radicals, Harcourt, Brace, and World, New York, 1968, p. 306; Katz, J., The Student Activists: Rights, Needs, and Powers of Undergraduates, Standord Institute for the Study of Human Problems, 1967; Peterson, R. W., "The Student Left in American Higher Education," Daedalus, 1968, vol. 97, pp. 293-317; Watts, W. A., and Whittaker, D., "Some Socio-Psychological Characteristics of Members of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement and the Student Population at Berkeley," Applied Behavioral Science, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 41-62; Westby, D., and Braungart, R., "Class and Politics in the Family Backgrounds of Student Political Activists," American Social Review, 1966, vol. 31, pp. 690-692.

⁵³Flacks, "The Liberated Generation," op. cit., p. 56.

⁵⁴Greenstein reports in his study, "Lower status childrearing practices foster compliance to authority; upper status socialization places a much greater emphasis on self-expression and individual aspiration. And we find that upper status children are a good bit more capable than lower status children of criticizing political authority and more readily learn to perceive themselves as independent judges of political events. Greenstein, Children, op. cit., p. 155.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 70-71.

⁵⁶Block, Jeanne H., Haan, Norma, and Smith, M. Brewster, "Activism and Apathy in Contemporary Adolescents," in James F. Adams, ed., Contributions to the Understanding of Adolescence, Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1968.

⁵⁷Keniston, Young Radicals, op. cit., pp. 220-221.

⁵⁸Braungart, "SDS and YAF", op. cit., p. 9; Flacks, "The Liberated Generation," op. cit.; Aiken, Michael, Demerath III, N. J., and Marwell,

Gerald, "Conscience and Confrontation: Some Preliminary Findings on Summer Civil Rights Volunteers," University of Wisconsin, Mimeo, 1966, p. 12.

⁵⁹Samuel Lubell reports that those with radical family unbringing represented a sixth of all the leftists who turned up in his random sample and comments that "the sons and daughters of one-time Socialists, Communists, and other leftists. . . provide the organizational leadership for demonstrations at many campuses." Lubell, Samuel, "The People Speak," News releases reporting on a study of American college students, April 28, 1966, pp. 1-2. For similar reports see Lyons, Glen, "The police Car Demonstration: A Survey of Participants," in Lipset, S. M. and Wolin, Sheldon, eds., The Berkeley Student Revolt: Facts and Interpretations, Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1965, p. 524.

⁶⁰Flacks' discussion of the main value themes of activists involved in the theme of "moral purity" was the perception that (a) the older generation "sold out" the values it espouses; (b) to assume conventional adult roles usually leads to increasing self-interestedness, hence "selling out." Flacks, op. cit., p. 57. Keniston reports similar findings. Keniston, The Young Radicals, op. cit., pp. 220-221.

⁶¹Blake, E. Wight, "Roots and Soil of Student Activism," in Lipset, S. M., ed., Student Politics, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

⁶²Soloman, Frederick and Fishman, Jacob R., "Youth and Peace: A Psychological Study of Student Peace Demonstrations in Washington, D. C.," The Journal of Social Issues, vol. 20, 1964, p. 61; also Watts and Whittaker, "Some Social Psychological," op. cit., p. 51; Flacks, "The Liberated Generation," op. cit., p. p55; and Trent and Craise, "Commitment and Conformity," op. cit., pp. 35-36.

⁶³"The evidence of opinion surveys seems to indicate that for every student who wins a stripe in battle, there exists a myraid of students who impugn the moral basis of authority without going to the lengths of all out war. One way of putting this is to say that the challenge to legitimacy is more extensive than to the challenge to regulations. Another - and, I think a very useful - way of putting this is to say that the crisis of authority consists less in the rise of acts of disobedience than in the decline of the spirit of subordination." Metzger, Walter, P., Daedalus, 1970, vol. 99, p. 569.

⁶⁴Those postulating the stage of "youth" in this context include: Lipset, S. M., "Students and Politics in Underdeveloped Countries," in Lipset, S. M., ed., Student Politics, Basic Books, New York, 1967, pp. 3-53; Erickson, Erick, "Reflections on the Dissent of Contemporary Youth," Daedalus, vol. 99, 1970, pp. 155-176; Blake, E. Wright, "Roots

and Soil of Student Activism," in Lipset, S. M., ed., Student Politics, op. cit., pp. 54-73; Keniston, Kenneth, Young Radicals, op. cit.; The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1970.

65 "University students live on the boundary between the last stage of adolescence, with its freedom from the burdens of adult responsibility, and the first stages of adulthood, with its complex of pressing tasks and difficult decisions. University students are generally at an age which is defined as biologically adult; many non-students of the same age have often already entered upon adult activities, married, earn money and spend it as they wish. Students are often at the age where they vote and marry, and many do both. Yet few university students earn all their livelihood; many remain financially dependent on their parents, and the society at large still treats them in many ways as irresponsible adolescents, permitting and even approving of a certain amount of sowing of "wild oats." They may even violate the laws in various ways without being punished. In many societies the university is responsible for student conduct, and the corporate autonomy of the university is often a symbol, as well as a bulwark, of the immunity of the students from external authority on their dependent condition." Lipset, S. M., Student Politics, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

66 See Keniston, Young Radicals, op. cit., pp. 264-272, and Trent and Craise, "Commitment and Conformity," op. cit., p. 48.

67 "Indeed it often appears to those of college and university student age, whether or not they are students, that it is in reaction to their peer group, in gaining a status within it, in being involved in its activities and associations, and in measuring themselves by its standards, that they find the most reliable clues to their personal identity and to a temporary role for them to play in a society governed by more experienced and mature people. Blake, E. Wright, "Roots," op. cit., pp. 59-60.

68 "The freedom and protectedness of modern youth, which is much greater than that of youth in other eras, may account for its greater willingness to take the risks--the risk of punishment for breaking laws, the risk of opprobrium for speaking out--that go with defiance of authority. The notion of a psycho-social moratorium, which pictures youth as identifying with the oppressed other even as it seeks a more authentic self, may tell us why the new Left and not the old Left, joins political with psychological objectives." Metzger, "The Crisis," op. cit., pp. 574-575.

69 "Increasingly in the modern world, which includes the highly educated sector of the emerging nations, equality, efficiency, justice, and economic well-being are presented as the values of the good

society. Poverty, racial discrimination, caste systems, social inequality, administrative and political corruption, and cultural backwardness are all violations of such principles. In all countries, of course, reality is usually at variance with principles, and young persons, especially those who have been indulged in adolescence and are alienated from the authority of their elders, or of their parents, teachers and other rulers of the institutional system, feel this strongly. Educated young people everywhere consequently tend disproportionately to support idealistic movements which take the ideologies or values of the adult world more seriously than does the adult world itself." Lipset, S. M., "Students and Politics," op. cit., p. 16.

⁷⁰Erickson takes this position, see Erickson, Erick, "Reflections," op. cit., p. 164.

⁷¹"Whether or not a person is a member of some group, that group can function as a comparative reference group for him to the extent that the behaviors, attitudes, circumstances or other characteristics of its members represent standards or comparison points against which he makes judgments and evaluations, including self-judgments that the general student body can be a composite reference group for individual students." Feldman, Kenneth A., and Newcomb, Theodore, M., The Impact of College on Students, vol. 1., Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1969, p. 237.

⁷²"The student community is not only a comparative reference group for its individual members, it is also in varying degrees a normative membership group. Students have mutual and reciprocal influence on one another. In the interaction they develop consensual and shared sets of expectations regarding each others' behavior and regarding important aspects of the common environment. These consensual and shared expectations--known as norms or standards--form the basis of the student peer groups' power over individual members." Ibid., p. 240.

⁷³In a student survey using a sample of 690 college seniors from 97 colleges and universities, William Bowers reports that 21.5% of the respondents approved of civil disobedience on behalf of a social cause and 30.9% only mildly disapproved. Bowers, William J., "Trends in College Campus Deviance," College Student Survey, vol. 1, 1970, p. 21-30.

⁷⁴Brown asserts that students are undergoing major reorientation in their values as a natural consequence of growth and development within their four years at college. Such growth itself provides a ready source for stress and conflict which is further heightened by the discrepancy between student expectations and preparations for college today and the reality of our institutions. Brown, Donald R., "Student Stress and the Institutional Environment," Journal of Social Issues, 1967, vol. 23, p. 106.

In addition, the President's Commission on Campus Unrest concludes, "Still, without attempting to endorse a particular point of view, we do think it can be said that some of the causes of student unrest are to be found in certain contemporary features of colleges and universities. It is impressive, for example, that unrest is most prominent in the larger universities, and that it is less common in those in which, by certain measures, greater attention is paid to students and to the needs of education, and where students and faculty seem to form single communities, either because of their size or the shared values of their members. President's Commission Report, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

⁷⁵Lunsford suggests that the university administration stands as highly visible representatives of formal authority in a community long suspicious of hierarchy. Lunsford, Terry F., "Authority and Ideology in the Administered University," American Behavioral Scientist, 1967, vol. 11, p. 5. Also, President's Commission Report, op. cit., pp. 73-75.

⁷⁶"It is precisely because of these high expectations that the university has forfeited some of its authority and legitimacy in the eyes of many "moderate" students. For radicals, perhaps, the university, as part of the established society, may never have had much authority or legitimacy. But without the support of moderates, militant disruption could never have become a nationwide problem." President's Commission Report, op. cit., p. 74.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 214.

⁷⁸Gurr postulates the general case for the manifestation of potential challenge. "Discontent leads men to political violence when their attitudes and beliefs focus it on political objects, and when institutional frameworks are weak enough, or opposition organizations strong enough, to give the discontented a sense of potency." Gurr, Why Men Rebel, op. cit., p. 155.

⁷⁹"We would suggest that the willingness to break loose against authority afforded by activism, the growth in the usage of drugs, and the increase in drop-outs by able students, as well as the emphasis on privation and self-orientation reported by Katz and Keniston are to some considerable degree a reaction to the competitive stresses placed on today's students. They are under extreme coercion, and it is not surprising that some, from extremely privileged backgrounds, strike out against the system, that they see the university as an agency of authority which fosters the "rat race" that they welcome an opportunity to secede, to get off the treadmill." Lipset, S. M., and Altbach, Philip, "Student Politics and Higher Education in the United States," in Lipset, S. M., ed., Student Politics, op. cit., p. 237.

⁸⁰"The new student coming frequently from a different class and culture than the traditional student, is deeply impressed by the contrast in his values and those embedded in the rules of the traditional college. He is suspicious of the trustees and the college president because they are representatives of a value system and of a time he is in the act of rejecting. Under the circumstances, he sees no good reason to accept the authority of the trustees and college president over the conditions of his own life." Bloustein, Edward J., "The New Student and His Role in American Colleges," Liberal Education, 1968, vol. 54, p. 357.

⁸¹Gurr presents data from 114 nations that show that on the basis of form alone about 90 per cent of the reported outbreaks of collective violence were "political." He also presents data to show that political motives predominate in all forms of strife. Gurr, Why Men Rebel, op. cit., pp. 177-178.

⁸²After presenting data showing an increased correlation of discontent and political violence Gurr concludes: "The implication is that most discontents in the modern world are not political but politicized. Two characteristics of contemporary societies have contributed to the focusing of diverse discontents on the political system: the ambiguity of origin of many deprivations in increasingly complex societies, and the widening scope of governmental responsibility in fact and in popular expectation for resolving value-distribution conflicts and generating new values," Ibid., p. 179.

⁸³Gurr points out that something as simple as a rice demonstration can have wider significance. "This example suggests more generally that varied discontents, arising from economic and interpersonal as well as power deprivations, clear or ambiguous in origin, can be channeled into an act of protest that apparently has a narrow political focus. A characteristic of the political regime that contributes to the politicization of discontent is the degree to which power and resources are concentrated in particular political institutions." Ibid., p. 181.

⁸⁴"And yet the new student is a very political person. . . No other generation of young people has had such political effect, none has been so heralded by journalists or so courted by politicians. They have quite suddenly achieved a sense of their own authority. . . Bloustein, "The New Student," op. cit., p. 356.

⁸⁵"If a regime's past performance has been broad in scope and relatively effective, it is likely to be subject to demands to deal with new problems. If demands articulated through conventional channels lead to responses the discontented find inadequate, they are increasingly likely to resort to demonstrative, sometimes violent tactics." Gurr, Why Men Rebel, op. cit., p. 182.

⁸⁶Gurr provides the hypothesis: "The intensity and scope of normative justification for political violence vary strongly and inversely with the intensity and scope of regime legitimacy." Ibid., p. 185.

⁸⁷"If the legitimacy-illegitimacy continuum is related to the magnitude of political violence in its entirety, the relationship is likely to be linear and inverse throughout, but different causal mechanisms are operating on either side of the zero point; positive feelings toward the regime are causally linked with normative inhibitions against political violence, negative feelings toward the regime are a direct instigation to violence, although they are unlikely to be sufficient unless combined with other discontents." Ibid., p. 187.

⁸⁸Using an American sample, Kim found a negative relationship between belief in leader legitimacy and approval of and willingness to participate in antigovernment violence. Kim, Y. C., "Authority: Some Conceptual and Empirical Notes," Western Political Quarterly, vol. 196, p. 233. In addition, Gurr constructed an indirect measure of regime legitimacy-illegitimacy for 114 nations and found the greater the inferred legitimacy the less strife. Gurr, Why Men Rebel, op. cit., p. 191.

Chapter IV

To this point the discussion has concerned the theoretical components of this study. Here the inquiry will move to a discussion of the empirical concerns of the study, the statement of hypotheses, operationalization of the concepts previously discussed, and an explication of the methods of the study.

The theoretical discussion has centered on diffuse support for the American political system in terms of perceived legitimacy of regime authority and position authority in the political system. The first empirical aim of this study is to determine what structure of beliefs exists with regard to both the legitimacy of regime authority and position authority in the American political system. A second aim is to determine the relative respondent support levels for dissent in terms of having participated in various forms of dissent, supporting the participation of others, and of willingness to engage in various forms of dissent in the future. A third aim is to determine the extent of the relationship between certain background factors and both the postulated attitudinal antecedents of support for dissent actions and the dissent actions themselves. A fourth aim is to examine the relationship between ideological and authority attitudes and supported actions of dissent. A fifth and final aim is to test multivariate models of the relationships between variables discussed above.

Acceptance of Legitimacy of Authority

One focus of the inquiry has centered on diffuse support for the American political system in terms of attitudes toward the legitimacy of regime authority and position authority. Regime, as stated above, refers to that aspect of the political system that is called its constitutional order in the very broadest sense of the term. This order includes not only the arrangement of offices and distribution of powers but also the values both explicit and implicit in the constitutional order of society and the continuing means for implementing them. For example, representative government as a principle and the way Congressmen are elected would be included. One may disagree with some practices incorporated within the regime, but to accept the legitimacy of its authority, the citizen must generally agree that it is the regime the community should have. The citizens then must generally accept it for all practical purposes as a whole for diffuse support to exist. When large segments of the community do not, stress is said to exist.

Some notion of the nature of stress in this regard is embodied in such current statements as "The system is breaking down" or "The system no longer works." These are references to the viability of the regime of the political system. The empirical task here is to measure attitudes toward the legitimacy of authority of the regime that imply this kind of situation. Low legitimacy of authority of the regime may be said to exist when individuals insist on radical change of the

regime. When an individual says those principles embodied by the regime are no longer acceptable, then the regime may be said to have lost its legitimacy of authority for that individual. The widespread existence of radical attitudes of this type constitute low legitimacy and the widespread absence of radical attitudes of this type constitute high legitimacy for the regime.

Therefore, in order to examine the accepted level of the legitimacy of authority of the regime of the American political system, I will measure attitudes calling for radical change of the regime.

The idea is commonplace that youth in general and college students in particular in America have rejected the existing political system, or in the terms specified here have denied the legitimacy of authority of the regime. By examining the relative presence of radical attitudes calling for a change of regime, I will be able to examine this commonly held idea with regard to the student sample presented here. Thus, I will first want to look at radical regime change attitudes.

The inquiry also concerns the legitimacy of position authority in the American political system. As stated above, the authorities are those members of a system in whom the primary responsibility is lodged for taking care of the daily routines of a political system. In the United States these are the elected representatives and other public officials, such as civil servants.

Rejection of the legitimacy of position authority in the political system greatly increases the costs of getting decisions accepted and leads to system stress. For the governing process to function relatively

smoothly, rejection of legitimacy of position authority must be kept to a minimum. For those authorities where rejection of legitimacy of their authority is high, costs of governing will generally be high. That is, greater outlays of resources will be required to get their decisions implemented.

The college youth of the United States seem to have been a source of higher costs incurred by various authorities of the American political system. In this inquiry we will want to examine the student attitudes toward the legitimacy of position authority as they relate to certain authorities of the American political system. We will want to examine their attitudes toward position authority.

Structure of Authority Beliefs

Another focus of the inquiry is the structure of beliefs students hold with respect to the authorities of the American political system. The various levels of government in the United States contain numerous authorities from President to city policeman. Apparently students do not respond to the legitimacy of their authority uniformly, randomly, or according to certain attitudinal criteria. As stated above, some evidence indicates that students do not just respond to university authorities as members of the university community, but also as representatives of the wider political community. To illustrate the structure of student beliefs with regard to the authorities of the American political system, I will include authorities of the national, state, city, and university sub-systems who occupy various functional

roles. I will then attempt to delineate the structure of student beliefs regarding system authorities.

In addition, the inquiry looks at the structure of beliefs with respect to the regime of the American political system. While the items included with respect to the regime are not exhaustive of all possible aspects of regime authority, it is suggestive to examine the aspects included to uncover any attitudinal patterns that may be relevant.

The delineated structures of beliefs with respect to the legitimacy of regime authority and position authority in the American political system will also be subsequently useful in determining the relationship between attitudes toward authority and support for actions of dissent.

Support for Dissent

Another focus of the inquiry is determining the levels of student support for various actions of dissent. High support for strong actions of dissent creates stress for the political system and/or its subsystems and increases costs of decision implementation to system authorities. High support for weaker actions of dissent may create less stress but still may increase costs of decision implementation. Alternatively, low support for actions of dissent implies low stress for the political system and its subsystems and low costs for authorities.

In this study, support for actions of dissent will be examined from three different standpoints--having participated in certain dissent actions (past participation), accepting others' participation in dissent actions (acceptance of participation), and willingness to possibly participate in such actions in the future (future participation). By examining these three aspects an indication of the size of the dissent group, the reference group, and the potential dissent group for various actions will be revealed. Items concerning all three aspects will be included to assess levels of support for actions of dissent.

Background Characteristics

In chapter three several background characteristics were discussed that other researchers and theorists have either found relevant or have postulated their relevance with regard to protest activities. Another focus of this inquiry will be to examine the relationship of these background characteristics with both attitudes toward authority and support for actions of dissent. These include permissiveness in childrearing, education of parents, income, grade point average, and academic major in the university. The first three refer to socialization experiences in the home and the last two refer to experiences within the university itself.

Discussion of Concerns of Inquiry

From the preceding discussion, it would be expected that those coming from permissive childrearing experiences would generally

possess more negative authority attitudes. These students should also come from higher income homes whose parents had more education. In addition, those who are generally the better students and who are majoring in the social sciences and the humanities should generally possess more negative authority attitudes. In addition, as noted in chapter three it was learned that student activists who possessed these characteristics also were more ideologically liberal. It might be expected that these background variables that lead to more negative authority attitudes would also lead to ideological liberalism. This possible relationship will be examined. It is also possible that persons sharing these characteristics will be stronger supporters of actions of dissent without regard to the intervening attitudes. Specific hypotheses will be specified below.

An additional focus discussed in Chapter three concerned three classifications of attitudes that are relevant for support of the political system. These included (1) attitudes toward particular events and/or substantive policies; (2) ideological attitudes; and; (3) attitudes toward authority. As mentioned above, the first classification deals with specific support and its impact might well be ephemeral. Here I am concerned with diffuse support. In this study no attempt is made to measure the relationship between specific issue attitudes and either authority attitudes or support for actions of dissent. Such relationships if existent are assumed to constitute some portion of the residual variance in predicting these attitudes.

However, a major focus of this inquiry concerns the latter two attitudinal classifications--ideological and authority attitudes. Based on the preceding discussion, it would be expected that feelings of low legitimacy toward the authorities and/or the regime of the political system would lead to higher support for actions of dissent in all three areas--participation, reference group membership, and willingness to participate in the future. I will examine, then, the relationship between radical regime change attitudes and also attitudes toward authorities, and support for actions of dissent. In addition as stated in Chapter three, one reason men may engage in protest is that they may feel that long-standing policies conflict with ideological positions they hold. I would expect, then, that while it is possible for those holding conservative ideological orientations to perceive such value conflicts and thus engage in protest actions, that on the college campus such conflicts will be experienced most often by the ideological left. It would be expected, then, that those with liberal attitudes would manifest higher support for actions of dissent in the three areas. I will examine, then, the relationship between ideological attitudes and support for actions of dissent.

Developmental Model

Figure 4.1 illustrates the basic form of the hypothesized relationships between the variables in the study.

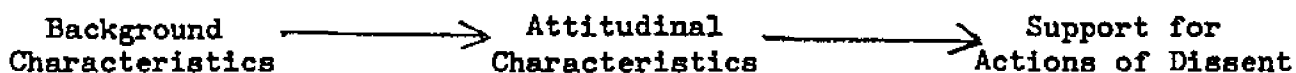


Figure 4.1: Developmental Model

The relationships are presumed to operate in a causal fashion and are developmental in nature. The model takes the form of the developmental sequence where background variables affect attitudes toward ideology and authority which influence behavioral characteristics. The background variables include permissiveness in childrearing, education of parents, income, grade-point-average, and academic major. The attitudinal variables include ideological attitudes, regime radical change attitudes, and attitudes toward authorities. The behavior includes the acceptance of participation, past participation, and future participation.

The general causal ordering of the variables seems reasonable in that the background factors would seem to be prior to the attitudinal variables which would seem to be prior to the behavioral variables. Analysis of the data indicates, though not conclusively, whether or not this model is applicable to the variables examined here. This ordering will be called the developmental model.

Another possible model is a direct causal sequence from the background variables to the behavioral variables indicating that any relationship found between the attitudinal variables and the behavioral variables is a spurious one. This model is illustrated in Figure 4.2.

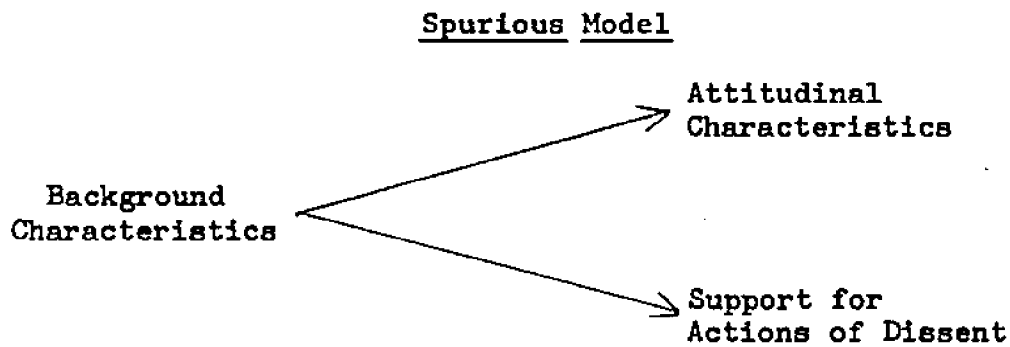


Figure 4.2: Spurious Model

This would indicate the absence of a causal connection between the attitudinal variables and the behavioral variables, rather than that they are both caused by the background variables. This model would be inconsistent with the theoretical formulations heretofore discussed and a positive test of it would result in a necessary reformulation and retesting using different attitudinal variables. This ordering will be called the spurious model.

Independence Model

Still another possible model would be a causal sequence from the attitudinal variables to the behavioral variables and from the background variables to the behavioral variables, but none from the background variables to the attitudinal. This model is illustrated in Figure 4.3.

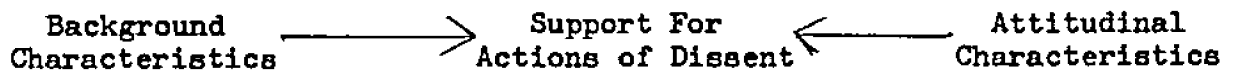


Figure 4.3: Independence Model

This model suggests that people with the postulated attitudinal characteristics are indeed likely to engage in the postulated behavior

but that these attitudes are not caused by the postulated background variables; and in addition people with the requisite background characteristics do not necessarily possess these attitudinal characteristics. This model indicates that either the attitudinal variables are caused by another set of background experiences or that people undergoing a variety of socialization experiences may arrive with these attitudinal predispositions. A variety of alternate reformulations would need to be tested. This will be called the independence model.

Hybrid Model

A final model would be where the behavioral variables are the result of two forces, both of which originate in the background variables. One is transmitted through the intervening attitudinal variables and the other appears as a direct effect of the background variables because I have ignored any additional relevant intervening attitudinal variables. This model is illustrated in Figure 4.4.

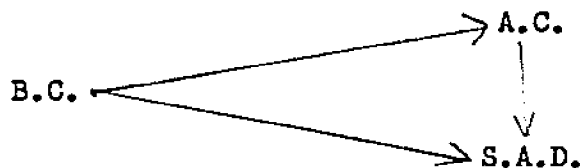


Figure 4.4: Hybrid Model

In this case I would be satisfied that I had found part of the relevant attitudinal sequence, and would look for additional attitudinal

variables that might conform to a developmental sequence. This will be called the hybrid model.

In review, the evidence and theoretical formulations that have been considered suggest four primary models which have some kind of relevance to the concerns of this study. The first is called the developmental model because it calls for a developmental sequence of the three types of variables as discussed. The second is called the spurious model because it calls for no relationship between the attitudinal and behavioral variables.

The third model is called the independence model because it calls for a connection between the attitudinal variables and the behavioral variables independent of the connection of the background characteristics to the behavioral variables.

Finally, the fourth is called the hybrid model because it calls for effects on the behavioral variables from both the attitudinal and the background variables with the attitudinal effect as part of a developmental sequence originating in the background experience. It is thus a hybrid of the first two.

Having stated the relationships and concepts that will be examined, I now turn to the actual statement of hypotheses. These are listed in Table 4.1. Operationalization of variables will follow the discussion of the hypotheses. Further discussion of the methods of the study will then follow.

HYPOTHESES

-
- A. Relationship between background variables and attitudes toward authority.
1. Permissiveness in Childrearing -- Attitudes toward Authority
 - H₁a. Those who come from homes where their parents stressed a lower degree of obedience will reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree than those who come from homes where their parents stressed a higher degree of obedience.
 - H₁b. Those who come from homes where their parents stressed a lower degree of obedience will more strongly want a radical change in regime than those who come from homes where their parents stressed a higher degree of obedience.
 2. Education of Parents -- Attitudes toward Authority
 - H₂a. Those whose parents have a higher degree of education will reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree than those whose parents have a lower degree of education.
 - H₂b. Those whose parents have a higher degree of education will more strongly want a radical change in regime than those whose parents have a lower degree of education.
 3. Income -- Attitudes toward Authority
 - H₃a. Those with higher family incomes will reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree than those with lower family incomes.
 - H₃b. Those with higher family incomes will more strongly want a radical change in regime than those with lower family incomes.
 4. Grade Point Average -- Attitudes toward Authority
 - H₄a. Those who have higher grade point averages will reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree than those who have lower grade point averages.

H₄b. Those who have higher grade point averages will more strongly want a radical change in regime than those who have lower grade point averages.

5. Academic Major -- Attitudes toward Authority

H₅a. Those majoring in the social sciences and humanities will reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree than those who have majors in business, the sciences, and education.

H₅b. Those majoring in the social sciences and humanities will more strongly want a radical change in regime than those majoring in business, the sciences, and education.

B. Relationship between background variables and ideological attitude.

6. Permissiveness in Childrearing -- Ideological Attitude

H₆ Those who come from homes where their parents stressed a lower degree of obedience will consider themselves liberal while those who come from homes where their parents stressed a higher degree of obedience will consider themselves conservative.

7. Education of Parents -- Ideological Attitude

H₇ Those whose parents have a higher degree of education will consider themselves liberal while those whose parents have a lower degree of education will consider themselves conservative.

8. Income -- Ideological Attitude

H₈ Those with higher family incomes will consider themselves liberal while those with lower family incomes will consider themselves conservative.

9. H₉ Those who have higher grade point averages will consider themselves liberal while those who have lower grade point averages will consider themselves conservative.

10. Academic Major -- Ideological Attitude

H₁₀. Those majoring in the social sciences and humanities will consider themselves liberal while those in business, the sciences, and education will consider themselves conservative.

C. Relationship between background variables and support for actions of dissent.

11. Permissiveness in Childrearing -- Support for Actions of Dissent

H₁₁. Those who come from homes where their parents stressed a lower degree of obedience will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who come from homes where their parents stressed a higher degree of obedience.

12. Education of Parents -- Support for Actions of Dissent

H₁₂. Those whose parents have a higher degree of education will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those whose parents have a lower degree of education.

13. Income -- Support for Actions of Dissent

H₁₃. Those with higher family incomes will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those with lower family incomes.

14. Grade Point Average -- Support for Actions of Dissent

H₁₄. Those who have higher grade point averages will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who have lower grade point averages.

15. Academic Major -- Support for Actions of Dissent

H₁₅. Those who have majors in the social sciences and humanities will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who have majors in business, the sciences, and education.

D. Relationship between Attitudinal variables and Support for Actions of Dissent.

16. Attitudes toward Authority -- Support for Actions of Dissent

H_{16a}. Those who reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who reject the legitimacy of authorities to a lower degree.

H₁₆^b. Those who more strongly want a radical change in regime will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who less strongly want a radical change in regime.

17. Ideological Attitude -- Support for Actions of Dissent

H₁₇. Those who consider themselves liberal will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who consider themselves conservative.

Operationalization of Variables

As stated above, to examine attitudes toward the legitimacy of authority of the regime of the American political system it is necessary to examine regime radical change attitudes or radical attitudes calling for a change of regime. This attitudinal set was tapped by utilizing eight item statements from Christie's scale of radical attitudes. They are of the Likert type with possible responses including agree strongly, agree, undecided, disagree, and disagree strongly in that order. Items 1, and 3-8 are scored in this order from 1 to 5 with agree strongly scored 1 meaning high on radical change, and disagree strongly scored 5 meaning low on radical change. Item 2 was scored during coding with disagree strongly scored 1 meaning high on radical change and agree strongly scored 5 meaning low on radical change. The items appear in Table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1: ITEMS FROM REGIME RADICAL CHANGE ATTITUDE SCALE

-
-
- + 1. "The Establishment" unfairly controls every aspect of our lives; we can never be free until we are rid of it.
 - 2. There are legitimate channels for reform which must be exhausted before attempting disruption.
 - + 3. The United States needs a complete restructuring of its basic institutions.
 - + 4. Authorities must be put into an intolerable position so they will respond with repression and thus show their illegitimacy.
 - + 5. Even though institutions have worked well in the past, they must be destroyed if they are not effective now.
 - + 6. A problem with most older people is that they have learned to accept society as it is, not as it should be.
 - + 7. The streets are a more appropriate medium for change in our society than printing presses.
 - + 8. Real participatory democracy should be the basis for a new society.

These items express a feeling for fundamental change. In the questionnaire itself these items appeared mixed with other scale items some positively worded and some negatively worded to control for response set. Reliability of the scale will be discussed along with the structure of beliefs with regard to regime radical change in the next chapter. (For presentation in the questionnaire, see appendix II.)

Those holding position authority in the American political system--authorities were defined as those members of a system in whom the primary responsibility is lodged for taking care

of the daily routines of a political system, which in the United States are the elected representatives and appointed public officials. Respondent attitudes toward the legitimacy of position authority was operationalized by means of the following procedure. Authorities from the four subsystems were included: the national subsystem, state subsystem, city subsystem and university subsystem. In addition, authorities for each subsystem were included according to six functional responsibilities. They are: chief executive, legislative, judicial, bureaucratic, prosecuting and police.

The question asked was:

"All of the following are in positions of authority in the United States in one way or another and make decisions that affect people in their respective areas. Different people think that some of them exercise legitimate authority and others do not. Some think all are legitimate, some think none are. Check those whose authority you consider not legitimate to make decisions that could or do affect you."

Asking the question in this way tests directly the perceived legitimacy of authority of each individual political authority. The authorities included appear in Table 4.2 by level of government and function. For order of presentation in the actual questionnaire refer to Appendix II.

TABLE 4.2: AUTHORITIES OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM BY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AND FUNCTION

| Function | Level of Government | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------------|
| | <u>National</u> | <u>State</u> | <u>City</u> | <u>University</u> |
| Chief Executive | President of the United States | Governor | Mayor | University President |

| Function | Level of Government | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|--|----------------------|--|
| | <u>National</u> | <u>State</u> | <u>City</u> | <u>University</u> |
| Legislative | United States Congressman | State Legislator | City Councilman | Faculty Coun- cil Member |
| Judicial | U.S. Supreme Court Judge | State Court of Appeals Judge | City Court Judge | University Conduct Hear- ing Officer |
| Bureaucratic | Director of Selective Service | Director State Alcohol Con- trol Board | City Manager | Dean of Students |
| Prosecution | U.S. Attorney General | State Attor- ney General | District Attorney | Dean of Men |
| Police | F.B.I. Agent | State Highway Patrolman | City Policeman | Campus Safety Patrolman |

There is no presumption here that this categorization is meaningful in attitudinal terms for respondents. In the next chapter the structure of beliefs with regard to these authorities will be examined empirically. This categorization was employed to avoid bias by inclusion.

Checking of an authority by a respondent means, then, a rejection of the legitimacy of authority of that specific authority for that respondent.

Ideological attitudes are examined by reference to the respondent's characterization of himself in ideological terms as either a liberal or conservative. Liberalism-Conservatism has been measured in a variety of ways and a multitude of scales have been developed to tap different facets of these attitudes. McClosky lists several possible classifications including classical conservatism--resistance to

change, veneration of the past, emphasis on tradition, order, etc.; social and economic welfare--the promotion of economic equality, protection of property, government regulation of the economy; nature of man--belief in human perfectability, the rational planning of human progress, etc. He concludes that:

While conservative (or liberal) orientations toward each of these subjects do not spring with equal force from the same motives, they do reflect underlying psychological and value dimensions and are more closely related than one might suppose...

Liberals are likely to trace human misfortune to social institutions and the vicissitudes of human existence, but conservatives are more given to blame the individual himself.²

McClosky found similar results in correlating the results of several different issue scales with isolationism, and self classification as liberal or conservative with isolationism.³ Further, Converse has found that Liberal-Conservative are meaningful terms for higher educated respondents.⁴

Liberalism-Conservatism was tapped here by asking, "Do you consider yourself to be liberal or conservative in politics?" Respondents refusing to pick either choice were classified as "neither".

As mentioned above I am interested here in three aspects of support for actions of dissent--past participation, acceptance of participation, and future participation.

The actions of dissent involved were talking to others to gain support for a position on a campus political issue, signing a petition

of protest, picketing, participating in a sit-in, engaging in civil disobedience, and engaging in acts that destroy property. Acceptance of these types of actions on the part of others was measured in a slightly different manner than was the respondent's own participation. This was done to allow for the collection of additional information relevant to this question.

Respondents were given a "hand card" on which to mark their responses. It is reproduced in Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.3: DISSENT ACTIONS SCALE

Here are actions some students on college campuses have taken to present their grievances about such things as student participation in school politics, tuition raises, R.O.T.C. and civil rights. Mark with the following signs as indicated: HAND CARD--RESPONDENT MARKS OWN ANSWERS

A double plus (++) the one action you consider most legitimate for these students to engage in. (Use (++) only once.)

A single plus (+) other actions you consider legitimate for these students to engage in.

A double minus (--) the one action you consider least legitimate for these students to engage in. (Use (--) only once.)

A single minus (-) other actions you consider not legitimate for these students to engage in.

Mark each blank:

| | | |
|----------|--|----------|
| _____ 1. | Talking to others to gain support for a position | |
| _____ 2. | Signing a petition | _____ 58 |
| _____ 3. | Picketing | |
| _____ 4. | Sitting-in | _____ 59 |
| _____ 5. | Engaging in civil disobedience such as taking a building | |
| _____ 6. | Burning record files | _____ 60 |
| | | _____ 61 |
| | | _____ 62 |

This question allows a determination of the most and least legitimate actions of dissent as perceived by the respondents as well as a region of acceptance by indicating how far down the scale the +'s extend and a region of rejection by indicating how far up the scale the -'s extend.

In order to assess the extent of respondent participation and willingness to participate in various actions of dissent, they were first asked, "Have you ever?" Each act was then read in turn by the interviewer and the response affirmative or negative recorded. Then the respondent was asked, for those same things, "Would you ever?" and again affirmative or negative responses were recorded. The actions were mixed with other forms of campus political participation. For the exact wording of the question see question 3 of Appendix II. The items of interest to us here are presented in Table 4.4 in the order of their presentation in the interview schedule.

TABLE 4.4: PARTICIPATION IN ACTIONS OF DISSENT

| | |
|-------|---|
| _____ | Talked to others to gain support for a position on a campus political issue |
| _____ | Signed a petition of protest |
| _____ | Picketed |
| _____ | Sat-in |
| _____ | Engaged in civil disobedience |
| _____ | Engaged in acts that destroy property to achieve a goal |

The background variables were operationalized as follows:

Permissiveness in childrearing was operationalized by degree of stress the parents of the respondent placed on obedience as

perceived by the respondent. The scale utilized is a modification of the one developed by Kenneth P. Langton in his study of family influence and adolescent political attitudes in the Caribbean.⁵ See Table 4.5. The addition of the no-stress option (response 5) provides for an equal balance between high and low stress on obedience with option three providing the middle response. Respondents were asked, "As you were growing up how much did your parents stress obedience?" (For exact wording, see question 4, Appendix II.)

TABLE 4.5: PERMISSIVENESS SCALE

| | |
|------|---|
| High | 1. Parents demanded obedience at all times. |
| | 2. Parents stressed obedience a great deal. |
| | 3. Parents stressed obedience but allowed lots of leeway. |
| | 4. Parents didn't stress obedience much; they allowed me to do pretty much what I wanted. |
| Low | 5. Parents didn't care about obedience; I almost always did what I wanted. |

Education of parents was operationalized by asking, "What is the highest level of formal education your mother and father completed?" Responses were recorded for both parents. (question 7, Appendix II.)

Income was operationalized by asking, "What is the approximate current income of the family in which you were raised?" Those over 25 years of age were asked for their own income. (question 12, Appendix II.)

Grade point average was operationalized by asking the respondent for his approximate grade point average and academic major by asking

him for his major. Responses were coded into appropriate categories by the interviewer. (questions 10 and 9 Appendix II.)

Methodological Notes and Representativeness of Samples

The source of data for this study is an interview schedule which was administered to random samples of students on five campuses of Indiana University during the latter portion of the spring semester of 1970. The campuses from which the samples were drawn were Bloomington, Fort Wayne, Northwest at Gary, Kokomo, and South Bend.

The total number of students drawn in the random samples and the response rates are shown in Table 4.6.

TABLE 4.6: SAMPLES AND RESPONSE RATES

| | Sample | Response | Rate |
|-------------|--------|----------|------|
| Bloomington | 556 | 172 | 30.9 |
| Fort Wayne | 498 | 336 | 67.5 |
| Northwest | 507 | 204 | 40.2 |
| South Bend | 496 | 212 | 42.8 |
| Kokomo | 436 | 177 | 40.6 |
| Total | 2493 | 1101 | 44.5 |

Although the return percentages reported in chapter four are uneven, the number of responses for each campus and the total sample is sufficiently high. In addition the representativeness of the sample as judged by distribution of class and sex is considered acceptable. Representativeness for a sample means that the responses are not peculiar to a particular set of persons within the original

sample. The following tables illustrate representativeness of the sex and class standing of the respondents.

TABLE 4.7: RETURN PERCENTAGES BY CLASS

| Campus | Freshman | | Sophomore | | Junior | | Senior | | Graduate | |
|--------|----------|------|-----------|------|--------|------|--------|------|----------|------|
| | Pop. | Sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Pop. | Sam. |
| Bloom. | 22.1 | 19.3 | 17.3 | 28.1 | 16.6 | 18.1 | 19.2 | 19.9 | 24.8 | 14.6 |
| F.W. | 30.3 | 31.0 | 19.0 | 20.2 | 14.9 | 18.2 | 13.7 | 11.9 | 22.1 | 1 .7 |
| S.B. | 33.6 | 26.1 | 20.1 | 23.6 | 15.2 | 16.7 | 13.1 | 15.8 | 18.0 | 17.7 |
| Kok. | 48.4 | 34.2 | 19.7 | 25.6 | 11.7 | 12.3 | 3.4 | 8.2 | 14.8 | 15.2 |
| Gary | 37.6 | 33.5 | 14.7 | 22.6 | 15.0 | 10.4 | 11.2 | 12.3 | 21.5 | 21.2 |
| Total | 26.5 | 30.0 | 17.6 | 23.3 | 15.9 | 15.5 | 16.6 | 13.3 | 23.2 | 17.8 |

TABLE 4.8: RETURN PERCENTAGES BY SEX

| Campus | Male | | Female | |
|-------------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Pop. | Sample | Pop. | Sample |
| Bloomington | 55.8 | 50.9 | 44.2 | 49.1 |
| Fort Wayne | 50.7 | 51.4 | 49.3 | 48.6 |
| South Bend | 52.8 | 50.8 | 47.2 | 49.2 |
| Kokomo | 48.2 | 42.4 | 51.8 | 57.6 |
| Gary | 48.0 | 44.5 | 52.0 | 55.5 |
| Total | 54.3 | 47.5 | 45.7 | 52.5 |

Of course ideally it would be desirable to obtain comparisons between population and sample data for other variables used in the study, e.g. permissiveness and grade point average. Unfortunately this data is not available for the student population.

As can be seen from the tables the difference in distribution of the sample from the population is very slight. Of course judging representativeness is difficult. To quote Herbert McClosky on survey research:

Fulfilling the requirements of representative sampling may in some political studies be hindered by the fact that the characteristics of the universe are not known, and no practical procedure may be available for ascertaining them. For example, no adequate description of the universe of persons active in politics is presently available, and an investigator who wishes to sample this universe cannot be certain that he has achieved an appropriate likeness.⁶

It is possible then that in addition to a shortage of interviewers on the Bloomington campus, some students were reluctant to discuss their political attitudes. For this reason generalizations made about the samples may be questioned.

One further point should be made regarding the sampling. According to McCloskey, requirements for sampling and for response percentages are fundamentally different depending upon the purpose of the inquiry. Discussing some basic tenets of survey research for political science, McCloskey says, "In general, a sample must more perfectly reflect the characteristics of the universe being studied if the investigator wishes to describe that universe than if his main concern is to discover or test relationships among variables."⁷ In discussing an example in which a research was attempting to find the difference between predicting the particular Democratic vote within an electoral unit and predicting the correlation between a belief in democracy and personality characteristics, McCloskey says, that in the latter

situation a research ". . . may be able to get by with a less perfect sample, for the correlation between these variables is not likely to be severely altered by the over-representation of certain groups - providing, of course, the errors are not extremely large."⁸ In view of the representativeness of the sample and the over-riding research motive of attempting to test the relationship between variables, the sample is an adequate one for a fair testing of the hypotheses.

Items from the interview schedule are included in Appendix II. The interview schedules were administered by trained interviewers from each individual campus. The interviewers were students from the individual campuses and participated in a training session concerning interviewing techniques and the interview schedule conducted by the principal investigator. Each respondent was given a respondent booklet and told that at certain times during the interview he would be asked to look at or mark his answers to questions in it as the interviewer directed. This was done to save time and prevent confusion, and in certain instances to allow respondents to consider questions as a whole.

The responses were transferred from the interview schedule and respondent booklets to mark-sense data coding sheets by trained orders and converted to data cards for processing. The interviewing was conducted from April 10 to May 30 of 1970 at a time when instances of campus demonstrations aimed at various issues were widespread throughout the United States. The campuses at Bloomington, Gary, and South

Bend had all experienced some form of student demonstrations at some point prior to the administration of the survey.

To this point the hypotheses have been stated and the main variables have been operationalized. In the chapters that follow additional methodological considerations will be discussed in conjunction with the analyses of the data. In addition certain control variables will be introduced and discussed at the appropriate junctures. The precise way in which these measurements will be made should become clear in the succeeding chapters.

Summary

In this chapter, the concerns of the study were further defined for empirical examination. The concepts were operationalized with actual interview questions specified in Appendix II. The hypotheses stating the relationships between the background characteristics (permissiveness in childrearing, education of parents, income, grade point average, and academic major); attitudinal characteristics (radical regime change attitudes, attitudes toward authorities, and ideological attitudes); and support for actions of dissent (acceptance of participation, past participation, and future participation) were specified. Further, models specifying the causal sequences involved, including the developmental, spurious, independence, and hybrid models, were specified.

The developmental model hypothesizes that the background characteristics affect attitudes toward ideology and authority which

in turn influence support for actions of dissent. The spurious model hypothesizes variance in the behavioral variables and attitudinal variables as well is a function of the background variables. The independence model specifies a causal sequence from the attitudinal variables to the behavioral variables and from the background variables to the behavioral variables, but none from the background variables to the attitudinal. The hybrid specifies two paths of influence on the behavioral variables--one from the background through the attitudinal variables and one directly.

FOOTNOTES

¹Christie, Richard, Friedman, L., and Ross, A., "The New Left and its Ideology," Unpublished Paper, Dept. of Social Psychology, Columbia University.

²McClosky, Herbert, Political Inquiry: The Nature and Uses of Survey Research, Macmillan, Toronto, Canada, 1969, pp. 100-101.

³McClosky, Ibid., p. 102.

⁴Converse, Philip, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David Apter, ed., Ideology and Discontent, Macmillan, Toronto, Canada, 1964, p. 224.

⁵In the Caribbean study the measure was one of the strictness and rigidity of parental control. Respondents in Langton's study were asked:

In your case has your family been very strict and wanted to have a lot of say about what you did, your friends and the places you went with them, never letting you have your say, or have they been pretty free with you and let you make your own decisions?" The response categories were:

1. Family has always been very strict and never let me have my say.
2. Family has been strict most of the time and hardly ever let me have my say.
3. Sometimes the family has been strict, but sometimes they would let me have my say.
4. Family has been very free with me and I pretty much made my own decisions.

⁶McCloskey, Herbert, Political Inquiry: The Nature and Uses of Survey Research, MacMillan, Toronto, Canada, 1969, p. 4.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

CHAPTER V

Here, the concern is with presenting the results of the questions asked of the respondents. In this chapter I will look at the levels of rejection of the legitimacy of the authority of the regime and authorities of the American political system for the student sample examined. In addition, student structures of beliefs with respect to both centers of authority will be delineated. Finally, the levels of support for actions of dissent on the part of the students will be specified.

Background Characteristics

Before reporting upon the attitudes of the student sample, I will present some of the background characteristics, several of which will be utilized in my further analysis. This will enable the reader to get some idea of the kinds of students involved in the sample as a whole as well as on the separate campuses. It may also give an opportunity to discover possible sources of variation among the campuses due to differences in backgrounds of student populations. Data in this chapter will then be presented for the individual campuses within which samples were drawn as well as for the total sample as a whole.

In this section we will look at four types of background variables for the sample--personal characteristics, socialization characteristics, educational characteristics, and group identification characteristics.

In table 5.1 two personal characteristics of the respondents are presented for all campuses. With respect to age, the table indicates that well over half the sample (64.4%) are under the age of twenty-four. However, the age distribution is not identical among all campuses. The student sample for the Bloomington campus is somewhat younger than the total with 90% of the respondents under the age of twenty-four. This difference is what I expected since the regional campuses have no residence halls and serve those who live at home and work in the community. The difference among campuses is significant at the .01 level.

In regard to sex, the distribution is approximately equal between males and females. While the samples from Northwest and Kokomo contain slightly more females, the differences among all campuses are not statistically significant. Differences among campuses with regard to hypothesized relationships should be independent of the influence of sex.

With respect to race, blacks make up a very small portion of the total sample (4.7%), except for the Northwest campus. Race then can be assumed to have little effect on the findings.

In summary, the respondents are similar in the personal characteristics examined across campuses with the exception of a slightly higher proportion of older students on the regional campuses.

Table 5.1: Personal Characteristics

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North- west | Kokomo | Total |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Age*</u> | | | | | | |
| 17+under | 0 (0.0) | 1 (0.3) | 2 (1.0) | 1 (0.5) | 1 (.06) | 5 (.5) |
| 18-19 | 62 (36.3) | 90 (26.9) | 43 (21.4) | 51 (24.4) | 45 (25.4) | 291 (26.6) |
| 20-21 | 64 (37.4) | 65 (19.5) | 38 (18.9) | 39 (18.7) | 33 (18.6) | 239 (21.9) |
| 22-23 | 28 (16.4) | 47 (14.1) | 30 (14.9) | 34 (16.3) | 29 (16.4) | 168 (15.4) |
| 24-26 | 9 (5.3) | 33 (9.9) | 22 (10.9) | 26 (12.4) | 20 (11.3) | 110 (10.1) |
| 27-30 | 4 (2.3) | 28 (8.4) | 23 (11.4) | 18 (8.6) | 16 (9.0) | 89 (8.2) |
| 31-40 | 4 (2.3) | 42 (12.6) | 29 (14.4) | 22 (10.5) | 23 (13.0) | 120 (11.0) |
| 41+over | 0 (0.0) | 28 (8.4) | 14 (17.0) | 18 (8.6) | 10 (5.6) | 70 (6.4) |
| | <u>171</u> (100.0) | <u>334</u> (100.0) | <u>201</u> (100.0) | <u>209</u> (100.0) | <u>177</u> (100.0) | <u>1092</u> (100.0) |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | | |
| Male | 85 (49.1) | 171 (50.7) | 102 (49.8) | 93 (43.7) | 75 (41.4) | 526 (48.4) |
| Female | 83 (48.0) | 161 (47.8) | 98 (47.8) | 116 (54.5) | 103 (56.9) | 561 (51.6) |
| | <u>168</u> (100.0) | <u>332</u> (100.0) | <u>200</u> (100.0) | <u>204</u> (100.0) | <u>178</u> (100.0) | <u>1087</u> (100.0) |
| <u>Race</u> | | | | | | |
| Black | 3 (1.8) | 7 (2.1) | 7 (3.5) | 31 (14.6) | 3 (1.7) | 51 (4.7) |

Personal Characteristics-Continued

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North-west | Kokomo | Total |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Race</u> | | | | | | |
| White | 167 (98.2) | 324 (97.9) | 198 (96.5) | 178 (85.4) | 173 (98.3) | 1036 (95.3) |
| | <u>170</u> (100.0) | <u>331</u> (100.0) | <u>205</u> (100.0) | <u>209</u> (100.0) | <u>176</u> (100.0) | <u>1087</u> (100.0) |

*Chi-square difference significant at .01 level

The next type of background variables are the socialization characteristics in connection with the respondent's family.

Table 5.2 presents the socialization characteristics of family income and parents' education. Since previous studies on student activism suggest that those who participated in campus demonstrations were more likely to have come from higher income homes where the parents had higher levels of education, this variable may be an important variable in the study. As can be seen from the table, slightly over half of the student respondents (55.7%) come from homes with family incomes of over ten thousand dollars.

With regard to differences among campuses, somewhat more of the respondents from the Bloomington campus come from homes with incomes of above fifteen thousand and that somewhat more respondents from the Northwest campus come from homes with incomes under ten thousand. The differences are statistically significant at the .05 level by chi-square test.

Table 5.2 also indicates that substantial numbers of respondent's parents did not themselves attend college. Only 38.1% of the fathers and 26.1% of the mothers of respondents had at least some college work. In addition, respondents from the Bloomington campus came from homes where the parents have somewhat higher levels of education than the average for the total sample. Sixty-three point five percent of the fathers of Bloomington respondents and 45.8% of the mothers had at least some college work versus 38.1% of the fathers and 26.1% of the mothers of the total sample. The differences among campuses displayed in the table are significant at the .01 level. A somewhat higher proportion of the respondents on the Bloomington campus come from homes with income and educational characteristics that previous researchers have postulated are more conducive to favorable activist predispositions. Whether they are related to attitudes toward authority will be examined below.

Table 5.2: Family Characteristics

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North- west | Kokomo | Total |
|--|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| <u>Income</u> (Dollars per Year) | | | | | | |
| 0-4,000 | 10 (6.5) | 16 (4.9) | 6 (3.1) | 14 (7.0) | 8 (4.7) | 54 (5.1) |
| 5,000-7,499 | 7 (4.5) | 44 (13.5) | 29 (15.1) | 22 (11.1) | 28 (16.4) | 130 (12.5) |
| 7,500-9,999 | 37 (23.9) | 73 (22.3) | 47 (24.5) | 70 (35.4) | 50 (29.2) | 277 (26.6) |

Family Characteristics-Continued

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North- west | Kokomo | Total |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | | |
| 10,000-14,999 | 41 (26.5) | 116 (35.5) | 66 (34.4) | 53 (26.8) | 52 (30.4) | 328 (31.4) |
| 15,000+above | 60 (38.7) | 78 (23.9) | 43 (22.4) | 39 (19.7) | 33 (19.3) | 253 (24.3) |
| | <u>155</u> (100.0) | <u>327</u> (100.0) | <u>191</u> (100.0) | <u>198</u> (100.0) | <u>171</u> (100.0) | <u>1042</u> (100.0) |
| <u>Father's Education*</u> | | | | | | |
| none-grade 8 | 8 (4.7) | 45 (13.6) | 28 (13.9) | 39 (18.6) | 21 (11.8) | 141 (12.9) |
| grades 9-12 | 14 (8.2) | 44 (13.3) | 41 (20.4) | 43 (20.5) | 40 (22.5) | 182 (16.7) |
| H.S. degree | 40 (23.5) | 110 (33.1) | 62 (30.8) | 73 (34.8) | 67 (37.6) | 352 (32.3) |
| Some college | 49 (28.8) | 65 (19.6) | 35 (17.4) | 28 (13.3) | 23 (12.9) | 200 (18.3) |
| College degree | 33 (19.4) | 48 (14.5) | 23 (11.4) | 17 (8.1) | 18 (10.1) | 139 (12.7) |
| Postgraduate | 26 (15.3) | 20 (6.0) | 12 (6.0) | 10 (4.8) | 9 (5.1) | 77 (7.1) |
| | <u>170</u> (100.0) | <u>332</u> (100.0) | <u>201</u> (100.0) | <u>210</u> (100.0) | <u>178</u> (100.0) | <u>1091</u> (100.0) |
| <u>Mother's Education*</u> | | | | | | |
| none-grade 8 | 9 (5.3) | 32 (9.7) | 27 (13.3) | 30 (14.2) | 14 (7.9) | 112 (10.3) |
| grade 9-12 | 15 (8.8) | 51 (15.5) | 46 (22.7) | 58 (27.5) | 44 (24.7) | 214 (19.6) |
| H.S. degree | 68 (40.0) | 156 (47.3) | 94 (46.3) | 82 (38.9) | 78 (43.8) | 478 (43.8) |

Family Characteristics-Continued

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North- west | Kokomo | Total |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Mother's Education*</u> | | | | | | |
| Some college | 31 (18.2) | 54 (16.4) | 23 (11.3) | 29 (13.7) | 25 (14.0) | 162 (14.8) |
| College degree | 33 (19.4) | 27 (8.2) | 7 (3.4) | 9 (4.3) | 17 (9.6) | 93 (8.5) |
| Postgraduate | 14 (8.2) | 10 (3.0) | 6 (3.0) | 3 (1.4) | 0 (0.0) | 33 (3.0) |
| | <u>170</u> (100.0) | <u>330</u> (100.0) | <u>203</u> (100.0) | <u>211</u> (100.0) | <u>178</u> (100.0) | <u>1092</u> (100.0) |

*Chi-square difference significant at .01 level

Another family background characteristic with which this study is concerned is what has been broadly termed "permissiveness," operationalized here as perceived stress on obedience. The distribution of the responses with regard to obedience is found in table 5.3. Very few of the respondents perceived their parents as placing little stress on obedience. Indeed, only 8% of the total sample reported that their parents did not stress obedience much or didn't care about it.

For whatever reasons, few respondents felt they come from "over-permissive" homes. On the other hand, few respondents felt they come from homes at the other extreme where obedience was demanded at all times (14.1%). Rather, the largest response was for the situation where the parents stressed obedience a great deal (45.9%) or stressed it but allowed lots of leeway (32.1%). Table 5.3 also reveals that the

Bloomington respondents reported permissive experiences somewhat more frequently, although the vast majority here too reported obedience was stressed to some extent. In terms of respondent perceptions there is little empirical support for the notion that parental permissiveness is widespread among students of the campuses examined. The possible connection between stress on obedience and attitudes toward authority will be examined in the next chapter.

Table 5.3: Permissiveness

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North-west | Kokomo | Total |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Obedience*</u> | | | | | | |
| Demanded | 17 (9.9) | 40 (12.1) | 26 (12.9) | 40 (19.0) | 30 (17.3) | 153 (14.1) |
| Stressed | 60 (34.9) | 157 (47.6) | 101 (50.2) | 100 (47.6) | 80 (46.2) | 498 (45.9) |
| Allowed Leeway | 72 (41.9) | 115 (34.8) | 53 (26.4) | 58 (27.6) | 51 (29.5) | 349 (32.1) |
| Not Stressed | 21 (12.2) | 17 (5.2) | 18 (9.0) | 12 (5.7) | 12 (6.9) | 80 (7.4) |
| None | 2 (1.2) | 1 (.3) | 3 (1.5) | 0 (0.0) | 0 (0.0) | 6 (.6) |
| | <u>172</u> (100.0) | <u>330</u> (100.0) | <u>201</u> (100.0) | <u>210</u> (100.0) | <u>173</u> (100.0) | <u>1056</u> (100.0) |

*Chi-square difference at .01 level

The next category of background variable with which this study is concerned is that of group identification. The two variables examined in this context are party identification and religious identification. Orientations in these areas begin to form at a very early age and are

subject to a variety of primary and secondary group influences. Both party identification and religious identification have been found relevant to several types of political attitudes and actions. The distribution of responses on these variables is found in table 5.4. With regard to party identification, the total sample of respondents does not diverge substantially from the population of the U.S. as a whole.¹ However, when compared to a nationwide student sample in a survey conducted by Louis Harris and Associates in June, 1970 (table 5.5), the Indiana University students as a whole were more likely to identify with one of the two major parties whereas a majority of the national student sample were not.²

Table 5.4: Group Identification

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North- west | Kokomo | Total |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Party I.D.*</u> | | | | | | |
| Republican | 30 (17.8) | 126 (38.4) | 66 (32.4) | 40 (19.0) | 70 (34.3) | 332 (30.5) |
| Democrat | 47 (27.8) | 108 (32.9) | 78 (38.2) | 114 (54.3) | 72 (40.4) | 419 (38.5) |
| Independent | 79 (46.7) | 88 (26.8) | 55 (27.0) | 45 (21.4) | 32 (18.0) | 299 (27.5) |
| Other | 13 (7.7) | 6 (1.8) | 5 (2.5) | 11 (5.3) | 4 (2.3) | 39 (3.6) |
| | <u>169</u> (100.0) | <u>328</u> (100.0) | <u>204</u> (100.0) | <u>210</u> (100.0) | <u>178</u> (100.0) | <u>1089</u> (100.0) |

Group Identification-Continued

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North-west | Kokomo | Total |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Religious I.D.*</u> | | | | | | |
| Protestant | 79 (47.0) | 221 (66.4) | 93 (46.3) | 93 (44.5) | 132 (75.0) | 618 (56.9) |
| Catholic | 34 (20.2) | 68 (20.4) | 69 (34.3) | 68 (32.5) | 19 (10.8) | 258 (23.7) |
| Jewish | 14 (8.3) | 1 (0.3) | 4 (2.0) | 2 (1.0) | 0 (0.0) | 21 (1.9) |
| Other | 14 (8.3) | 6 (1.8) | 10 (5.0) | 27 (12.9) | 7 (4.0) | 64 (5.9) |
| No Religion | 12 (7.1) | 12 (3.6) | 12 (6.0) | 10 (4.8) | 13 (7.4) | 59 (5.4) |
| No Preference | 15 (8.9) | 25 (7.5) | 13 (6.5) | 9 (4.3) | 5 (2.8) | 67 (6.2) |
| | <u>168</u> (100.0) | <u>333</u> (100.0) | <u>201</u> (100.0) | <u>209</u> (100.0) | <u>176</u> (100.0) | <u>1087</u> (100.0) |

*Chi-square difference significant at .01 level

Table 5.5: Harris Nationwide Student Sample

| | <u>Republican</u> | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Independent</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> | |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|------|
| Nationwide | 16% | 31% | 47% | 3% | 3% | 100% |
| <u>Size of College</u> | | | | | | |
| Under 3,000 | 22% | 31% | 43% | 2% | 2% | 100% |
| 3,000-9,999 | 17% | 30% | 48% | 2% | 3% | 100% |
| 10,000+Over | 11% | 31% | 50% | 5% | 3% | 100% |

Harris Nationwide Student Sample-Continued

| | <u>Republican</u> | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Independent</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> | |
|--|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|------|
| <u>Participation</u> | | | | | | |
| <u>In Protests</u> | | | | | | |
| Participated in Protests | 5% | 29% | 58% | 4% | 4% | 100% |
| Protest occurred but did not participate | 29% | 30% | 39% | 1% | 1% | 100% |

Results of surveys of college students conducted by the Gallup organization over a period of years verify the Harris findings and show a trend away from identification with the traditional parties (table 5.6).

Table 5.6: Gallup Student Samples³

| | <u>1966</u> | <u>1967</u> | <u>1970</u> |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Democrats | 35% | 30% | 30% |
| Republicans | 26% | 22% | 18% |
| Independents | <u>39%</u> | <u>48%</u> | <u>52%</u> |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Since past studies have shown that party identification serves as a major linkage between the individual and the political system, such a trend may be an indicator of lessened attachment to the political system.

Table 5.4 reveals that Bloomington respondents were almost identical to the national sample in their identifications, while the other campuses had higher degrees of identification with the two

major parties. Also from the table on the Harris study, size of college is somewhat related to party identification. This factor, in part, may explain the differences between the Bloomington and Regional campuses with respect to party identification. The Harris data also indicates a negative relationship between protest participation and identification with one of the major parties.

With respect to religious identification, table 5.4 shows that an overwhelming proportion of the total respondents (80.6%) consider themselves protestants or catholics. This condition generally holds for all campuses with protestants making up a majority or almost a majority on each campus. However, the campuses differ somewhat in their composition between the proportions of protestants with a high of 75.0% at Kokomo and a low of 44.5% at Northwest. In addition, a somewhat larger proportion of the respondents (32.6%) in the Bloomington sample had choices other than the two major religious categories.

In December of 1970 the Gallup organization conducted a nationwide poll of college students.⁴ One of the questions asked was, "Do you think violence is sometimes justified to bring about a change in American society, or not?" The responses appear in table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Gallup Student Sample

| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>Don't Know</u> | |
|------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|------|
| National | 44% | 54% | 2% | 100% |
| Religion | | | | |
| Protestant | 38% | 60% | 2% | 100% |
| Catholic | 42% | 56% | 2% | 100% |

Catholics were slightly more willing to agree that violence is sometimes justified. Because of this divergence, a control for religious identification will be made in examining the relationship between attitudes toward authority and support for actions of dissent.

With respect to group identifications, then, these student respondents were more likely to stick with the major parties on the regional campuses and more likely to diverge in Bloomington. The Democrats fared better in the South Bend, Kokomo, and Bloomington campuses while the Republicans were on top in Fort Wayne and tied in Kokomo.

The final category of background variables has to do with the educational background of the respondents. The distribution of respondents with regard to academic major and grade point average are found in table 5.8. As can be seen from the table, a higher proportion of the students on the Bloomington campus are engaged in majors in the physical and behavioral sciences and the humanities while higher proportions of students on the regional campuses are engaged in majors in education. With regard to grade point average, students from Bloomington and Fort Wayne display somewhat higher grade levels. The relationship is significant at the .05 level of significance but is slight. It will be recalled that several previous researchers found some correlation between academic major and grade point average with participation in protest activities. In this study, as hypothesized in Chapter 4, the relationship between these two variables with attitudes toward authority and support for actions of dissent will be examined.

With respect to the background characteristics, it is apparent that there are differences among the campuses in variables examined. These differences in age, parental education, family income, stress on obedience, party identification, and academic major largely occur between the Bloomington campus and the regional campuses. Thus, in testing the stated hypotheses between the attitudinal variables and the behavioral variables, controls will be made within campus samples for these background variables. In this way, differences in variables may be attributed to different characteristics of the sample populations.

Table 5.8: Educational Background

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North-west | Kokomo | Total |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Major*</u> | | | | | | |
| Business | 31 (18.2) | 79 (23.7) | 48 (24.1) | 41 (19.7) | 28 (15.9) | 227 (20.9) |
| Education/ Hper | 27 (15.9) | 119 (35.6) | 73 (36.7) | 93 (44.7) | 82 (46.6) | 394 (36.2) |
| Fine Arts | 10 (5.9) | 8 (2.4) | 20 (10.1) | 10 (4.8) | 6 (3.4) | 54 (5.0) |
| Sciences | 35 (20.6) | 48 (14.4) | 18 (9.0) | 22 (10.6) | 25 (14.2) | 148 (13.6) |
| Behavioral Sci. Humanities | 55 (32.4) | 59 (17.7) | 29 (14.6) | 32 (15.4) | 18 (10.2) | 193 (17.8) |
| Other/NA | 12 (7.1) | 21 (6.3) | 11 (5.5) | 10 (4.8) | 17 (9.6) | 71 (6.5) |
| | <u>170</u> (100.0) | <u>334</u> (100.0) | <u>199</u> (100.0) | <u>208</u> (100.0) | <u>176</u> (100.0) | <u>1087</u> (100.0) |

Educational Background-Continued

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North-west | Kokomo | Total |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Grade Point Average**</u> | | | | | | |
| 1.00-1.99 | 7 (4.1) | 30 (9.3) | 15 (7.7) | 19 (9.5) | 10 (5.9) | 81 (5.9) |
| 2.00-2.49 | 37 (21.5) | 62 (19.2) | 52 (26.7) | 68 (33.8) | 51 (30.0) | 270 (25.5) |
| 2.50-2.99 | 60 (35.3) | 108 (33.4) | 60 (30.8) | 52 (25.9) | 45 (26.5) | 325 (30.7) |
| 3.00+Above | 66 (38.8) | 123 (38.1) | 68 (34.9) | 62 (30.8) | 64 (37.6) | 383 (36.2) |
| | <u>170</u> (100.0) | <u>323</u> (100.0) | <u>195</u> (100.0) | <u>201</u> (100.0) | <u>170</u> (100.0) | <u>1059</u> (100.0) |

*Chi-square differences significant at the .01 level

**Chi-square differences significant at the .05 level

Legitimacy of Authority

Two of the major aims of this study are to assess the levels of acceptance of the legitimacy of authority of the regime and authorities of the American political system, and the structure of student beliefs with respect to both. The levels of acceptance of legitimacy of both will be examined first, and then the structure of belief will be delineated.

The eight item scale used to operationalize radical regime change is designed to measure the extent to which the regime of the American system is rejected by the individual in that he feels it must be

fundamentally altered. The total sample responses for the eight items that make up the scale are found in table 5.9. Agreement with the item constitutes a radical response, disagreement an supportive response. It should be remembered that item 2 is scored in the opposite direction from the other items. As can be seen from this table, only two items (numbers 6 and 8) elicit radical responses from a majority of students in the total sample. Two more, (numbers 3 and 5), however, received radical responses from slightly over one-quarter of the total respondents.

To present responses to the items for the individual campuses average scores for each item were calculated by assigning "1" for an "agree strongly" response, "2" for "agree" and so on. The average responses on each item for the individual campuses appear in table 5.10. On three of the items (numbers 1, 2, and 7) there is no difference among the campuses. On the other five items, (numbers 3, 6, and 8) there is a slight difference, with the Bloomington students responding slightly more in the radical direction. However, in only two instances is the average response more toward the radical and (numbers 6 and 8) for all campuses. On item 3 the average for Bloomington students is barely over the midpoint toward the radical end supporting a basic restructuring of U.S. institutions.

| | Agree Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Disagree Strongly | |
|---|-------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1) "The Establishment" unfairly controls every aspect of our lives; we can never be free until we are rid of it. | 30 (2.7) | 92 (8.4) | 167 (15.2) | 553 (50.2) | 259 (23.5) | 1101 (100.0) |
| 2) There are legitimate channels for reform which must be exhausted before attempting disruption. | 320 (29.1) | 555 (50.4) | 132 (12.0) | 67 (6.1) | 27 (2.5) | 1101 (100.0) |
| 3) The United States needs a complete restructuring of its basic institutions | 64 (5.8) | 252 (22.9) | 247 (22.4) | 442 (40.1) | 97 (8.8) | 1102 (100.0) |
| 4) Authorities must be put into an intolerable position so they will be forced to respond with repression and thus show their illegitimacy. | 12 (1.1) | 86 (7.8) | 238 (21.6) | 512 (46.4) | 255 (23.1) | 1103 (100.0) |
| 5) Even though institutions have worked well in the past, they must be destroyed if they are not effective now. | 36 (3.3) | 273 (24.8) | 162 (14.7) | 418 (38.0) | 211 (19.2) | 1100 (100.0) |
| 6. A problem with most older people is that they have learned to accept society as it is, not as it should be. | 117 (10.6) | 514 (46.6) | 141 (12.8) | 263 (23.9) | 67 (6.1) | 1102 (100.0) |
| 7) The streets are a more appropriate medium for change in our society than the printing press. | 17 (1.5) | 152 (13.9) | 208 (19.0) | 555 (50.6) | 165 (15.0) | 1097 (100.0) |
| 8) Real participatory democracy should be the basis for a new society. | 112 (10.2) | 517 (47.0) | 307 (27.9) | 147 (13.4) | 18 (1.6) | 1101 (100.0) |

Table 5.10: Average Radical Regime Change Responses

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North-west | Kokomo | Total |
|---|-------------|------------|------------|------------|--------|-------|
| 1) "The Establishment" unfairly controls every aspect of our lives; we can never be free until we are rid of it. | 3.64 | 3.86 | 4.01 | 3.79 | 3.80 | 3.83 |
| 2) There are legitimate channels for reform which must be exhausted before attempting disruption. | 1.98 | 1.91 | 2.01 | 2.10 | 2.20 | 2.02 |
| 3) The United States needs a complete restructuring of its basic institutions.* | 2.96 | 3.36 | 3.30 | 3.09 | 3.34 | 3.23 |
| 4) Authorities must be put into an intolerable position so they will be forced to respond with repression and thus show their illegitimacy.** | 3.69 | 3.93 | 3.96 | 3.66 | 3.82 | 3.83 |
| 5) Even though institutions have worked well in the past, they must be destroyed if they are not effective now.* | 3.13 | 3.61 | 3.52 | 3.42 | 3.38 | 3.45 |
| 6) A problem with most older people is that they have learned to accept society as it is, not as it should be.** | 2.33 | 2.68 | 2.88 | 2.70 | 2.73 | 2.68 |
| 7) The streets are a more appropriate medium for change in our society than printing press. | 3.55 | 3.71 | 3.68 | 3.60 | 3.55 | 3.64 |
| 8) Real participatory democracy should be the basis for a new society.* | 2.34 | 2.43 | 2.68 | 2.42 | 2.61 | 2.49 |

*Chi-square difference in original table significant at .01

**Chi-square difference in original table significant at .05

Now, the discussion will turn to scores on the scale as a whole. First, the reliability of the scale must be assessed. Standard item-analysis techniques for the evaluation of Likert scales were used. First, the ability of each scale item to differentiate between groups with the highest and lowest total scale scores was observed. The assumption that is made here is that the highest and lowest scoring respondents provide criterion groups against which the individual items can be evaluated.⁵ In the current study, the criterion groups used were the 25 percent of the respondents with the highest scores on the radical regime change scale and the 25 percent with the lowest scores. T-ratios were used to measure the ability of each item to differentiate between the two groups. In addition, item-to-scale correlation coefficients (Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient r) were also computed. This procedure was used on the basis that the total scale score is a valid index of the attitude being measured, and that a high correlation of the item with the total shows that what the item measures is closely related to what the scale measures. The t-ratios and item-to-scale correlation coefficients for each item are found in table 5.11.

Table 5.11: Discriminatory Power and Item-Scale Correlations

| | T-Ratio ^a | Correlation Coefficient ^b |
|--|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| "The Establishment" unfairly controls every aspect of our lives; we can never be free until we are rid of it. | 23.35 | .683 |
| There are legitimate channels for reform which must be exhausted before attempting disruption. | 9.69 | .323 |
| The United States needs a complete restructuring of its basic institutions. | 24.83 | .654 |
| Authorities must be put into an intolerable position so they will be forced to respond with repression and thus show their illegitimacy. | 25.00 | .668 |
| Even though institutions have worked well in the past, they must be destroyed if they are not effective now. | 21.64 | .617 |
| A problem with most older people is that they have learned to accept society as it is, not as it should be. | 25.20 | .664 |
| The streets are a more appropriate medium for change in our society than printing presses. | 16.80 | .509 |
| Real participatory democracy should be the basis for a new society. | 12.29 | .427 |

^aAll ratios are statistically significant at the .01 level or higher

^bAll coefficients are statistically significant at the .01 level or higher

The highest t-ratio is 25.20 ($r=.66$) and the lowest is 9.69 ($r=.32$). All measures for all items are statistically significant at the .01 level or higher. Item-to-scale correlation coefficients for each item in this scale were compared to the item-to-scale correlation coefficients Christie calculated for these same items with his total 62 item scale. In no case was the difference between the correlations larger than .11. The ability of even the weakest item to differentiate between high and low scoring groups is such that the odds against it occurring by chance are less than one in one hundred. These findings suggest that the scale is internally consistent and homogeneous. The reliability of the scale is confirmed.

Total scores for each respondent were calculated by assigning "1" for an "agree strongly", "2" for "agree" and so on, for items 1 and 3 through 8; and "1" for "disagree strongly" etc., for item 2. A perfect radical regime change score would thus be 8 and a complete absence of radical regime change disposition would be 40. The results appear in table 5.12. From this distribution the dominant tendency is one of support for the regime, although there is some support for radical regime change. What support for radical change that exists seems to be neither widespread nor intense for the total sample. There is slightly stronger support for radical change by the Bloomington respondents than by the regional campus respondents, but the difference is slight. The notions of widespread rejection of the regime or total acceptance receive no empirical support from these data. Instead, the legitimacy of authority of the regime seems to be somewhat questioned,

but still somewhat more on the side of acceptance by the respondents examined here.

Table 5.12: Radical Regime Change Score Totals

| | Bloomington | Fort Wayne | South Bend | North-west | Kokomo | Total |
|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 8-16 | 6 (3.5) | 4 (1.2) | 1 (.5) | 7 (3.3) | 4 (2.2) | 22 (2.0) |
| 17-22 | 33 (19.1) | 41 (12.2) | 21 (10.2) | 34 (16.0) | 24 (13.3) | 153 (13.8) |
| 23-28 | 88 (50.9) | 160 (47.6) | 88 (42.9) | 102 (47.9) | 84 (46.7) | 522 (47.2) |
| 29-34 | 42 (24.3) | 111 (33.0) | 84 (41.0) | 59 (27.7) | 60 (33.3) | 356 (32.2) |
| 35-40 | 4 (2.3) | 20 (6.0) | 11 (5.4) | 11 (5.2) | 8 (4.4) | 54 (4.9) |
| | <u>173</u> (100.0) | <u>336</u> (100.0) | <u>205</u> (100.0) | <u>213</u> (100.0) | <u>180</u> (100.0) | <u>1107</u> (100.0) |

From these data, I conclude that there is generally a fairly high level of diffuse support among the student respondents for the regime of the American political system. There is not widespread support found here for a radical departure from the regime as it has been manifested in the United States. Given the fact of a fairly high level of diffuse support, I would expect that if such attitudes are typical the political system could be subjected to fairly high stress levels and its persistence would still not be in doubt. This general belief in the legitimacy of the regime among the student sample is somewhat understandable in light of the long period of legitimacy the American

regime has enjoyed among its people since the Civil War. It would be expected then that during turbulent times the challenge to the regime would be fairly minimized among such a population as examined here and that the level of activity itself might not be as vociferous. Indeed, during the period of the protest of the Cambodia invasion, involvement of Indiana University students was generally confined to a march, according to the Indiana Daily Student of May 7, 1970, of 7,500 students who paraded peacefully. The impact on the regime would thus be considered minimal.

Attitude Toward Authorities

At this point I will examine the level of acceptance of the legitimacy of authority of the various authorities of the American political system specified in Chapter IV. Respondents were asked to designate those formal offices from several functional categories of the political system whose legitimacy to make decisions about them they reject. The results appear in table 5.13. Offices do not appear as they were presented in the respondent booklet, but are arranged from most to least legitimacy according to total sample responses.

First, the table reveals a diversity of acceptance of the legitimacy of position authority in the American political system by these college students. For the total sample of respondents, rejection of legitimacy ranges from a low of 8.1% to a high of 48.8%. This diversity of range is consistent among the campuses. The President of the United States undergoes the smallest rate of rejection for the total sample and deviation among campuses is very slight.

Table 5.13: Rejection of Legitimacy of Authorities

| | U. S. President | U. S. Congressman** | Governor* | State Legislator** | U. S. Supreme Court** | University President** | State Court of Appeals** | U. S. Attorney General | Dean of Students* | City Court Judge** | District Attorney | Mayor |
|-------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Bloomington | 22 12.9 | 21 12.9 | 25 14.7 | 22 12.9 | 25 14.7 | 29 17.0 | 30 17.9 | 27 15.8 | 35 21.1 | 39 22.7 | 32 18.6 | 36 21.1 |
| Fort Wayne | 29 8.8 | 29 9.1 | 35 10.7 | 35 10.6 | 36 11.1 | 41 12.3 | 39 11.9 | 42 12.8 | 41 12.8 | 43 13.0 | 44 13.3 | 59 18.0 |
| Kokomo | 9 5.1 | 6 3.4 | 7 3.9 | 7 3.9 | 9 5.1 | 14 7.8 | 11 6.1 | 14 7.9 | 14 8.0 | 23 12.8 | 19 10.6 | 23 12.8 |
| Northwest | 14 6.7 | 23 11.2 | 16 7.6 | 23 11.0 | 26 12.3 | 16 7.7 | 22 10.4 | 22 10.4 | 34 16.2 | 26 12.3 | 34 16.2 | 27 12.8 |
| South Bend | 14 7.0 | 16 8.0 | 17 8.4 | 16 7.9 | 15 7.5 | 17 8.5 | 24 11.9 | 27 13.4 | 20 10.0 | 23 11.4 | 34 16.8 | 25 12.4 |
| Total | 88 8.1 | 95 8.9 | 100 9.2 | 103 9.4 | 111 10.2 | 117 10.7 | 126 11.6 | 132 12.1 | 144 13.4 | 859 14.1 | 163 14.9 | 170 15.6 |

*Chi-square differences significant at the .01 level

**Chi-square differences significant at the .05 level

This finding may attest to the preeminent position of the Presidency in the American system. In addition, this finding is interesting in light of several socialization studies which have found that in childhood the individual's first awareness of the political system is through personal attachment to the President. This attachment carries with it a tremendous positive affective attitude toward the President. Other offices are seen less clearly and have less positive affect. These socialization studies have found that as the individual gets older, the positive affective personal orientation declines as institutions come more clearly into focus. However, the singular position of the President in the minds of individuals may never quite decline.⁶ One explanation possible here is that the position of the Presidency reinforces the original singular orientation of the individual and continues to solidify the legitimacy of his authority. Representatives of the two other branches of the national government, U. S. Congressmen and Supreme Court Judge, also placed high on legitimacy of authority and are second and fifth respectively overall with slight deviations among campuses. Two top state offices, governor and state legislator are third and fourth respectively. The highest authority of the university subsystem, the President, does very well also and is sixth overall. These top authorities are very close in the percentage of acceptance of their legitimacy. The decline in legitimacy across the table is gradual rather than precipitous. At the low end, from lowest to next to lowest we find Director of the Selective Service,

F.B.I. Agent, and Director of the State Alcohol board with 48.8%, 44.3%, and 40.9% rejection respectively.

There is some slight difference among the campuses with regard to percentage rejecting the legitimacy of a certain authority. There is a significant difference by chi-square test at the .01 level for seven of the twenty-four authorities. The maximum percentage deviation from lowest to highest among campuses is 24.5 and the minimum deviation is 10.8. The authorities for which this is true are Governor, Dean of Students, State Attorney General, State Highway Patrolmen, Campus Safety Patrolmen, University Conduct Officer, and F.B.I. Agent. Six more are significant at the .05 level with a maximum percentage deviation from highest to lowest of 11.3 and a minimum deviation of 9.0. They are U. S. Congressmen, State Legislator, U. S. Supreme Court Judge, University President, State Court of Appeals Judge, and City Court Judge. There is no significant difference for the remaining eleven authorities among campuses.

Generally, a slightly higher percentage of Bloomington respondents, and a slightly lower percentage of Kokomo respondents reject the legitimacy of the authorities presented here. On the whole, the similarities seem greater than the differences. The differences are ones of degree not in overall orientation. With but two exceptions on the Bloomington campus, the legitimacy of all authorities is accepted by a majority of students. The picture presented here is not one of high acceptance of legitimacy on one campus and high

rejection on another, but one of difference in degree of acceptance. The implication of the table is that there is a diversity of legitimacy among authorities on the part of the respondents, ranging from overwhelming acceptance for some authorities to substantial rejection for others. Thus the cost of decision implementation and resource allocation may be lower for the former and higher for the latter.

For example, several authorities of the university subsystem have sizeable groups of students who reject the legitimacy of their authority. Those that group toward the low and include campus safety patrolmen, university conduct hearing officer, faculty council member and Dean of Men. I would expect then that several university authorities would incur significant "costs of decision" during times of stress. And as is generally known decisions of university administrators during periods of protest have often resulted in significant costs to them.

Structure of Beliefs

As mentioned previously, this study focuses on the structure of student beliefs regarding the regime and system authorities. With regard to both centers of authority, the examination is looking for attitudinal patterns that suggest how students respond to authority. To identify these attitudinal patterns the data will be reduced to fewer indices that have theoretical import. The items for both the authorities and the regime of the American political system will be employed to develop indices of authority.

A technique for data reduction and index construction that will allow the determination of the dimensions of authority involved here is factor analysis. Factor analysis is a useful technique for empirically classifying variables on the basis of interdependency among the variables. However, the approach used in evaluating the results of the factor analysis is to attempt to relate it to the theoretical rationale used in the selection of variables. If no theoretical framework is used to guide the selection of variables to be empirically classified, the resulting factor analysis would be meaningless.⁷ Since my interest is to develop indices of the legitimacy of authorities and one of radical change of regime, only variables that fit the theory have been selected. For authorities only positions representing major subsystem and functional referents have been chosen, and for radical regime change only statements calling for deviations from system norms have been included. The factor analysis results are more easily interpretable because the theoretical framework defines the boundaries within which the interpretation can take place.

Principal components factor analysis with varimax orthogonal rotation was chosen to examine data for both centers of authority.⁸

The factor analysis for the authorities of the American political system will be presented first. I will be looking to see which authorities group together and to see if the previous criteria for selection are relevant and to what degree. Application of the factor analysis to the twenty-four items yielded five dimensions of authority for system authorities. The factor loadings for the five factors are found in table 5.14.

Table 5.14: Rotated Loadings of Authorities Variables on Five Principal Factors

| Variable Name | General Authority | Bureaucratic Authority | University Authority | Police Authority | City Authority |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Mayor | .441 | -.072 | .159 | .124 | <u>.588</u> |
| State Legislator | <u>.677</u> | -.101 | .341 | .024 | .160 |
| FBI Agent | .063 | .385 | -.029 | <u>.518</u> | .217 |
| City Court Judge | <u>.489</u> | .162 | .033 | .309 | .305 |
| Director State Alcohol Control Board | .074 | <u>.586</u> | .002 | .283 | .263 |
| U. S. Congressman | <u>.724</u> | -.096 | .258 | .005 | .130 |
| Dean of Students | .299 | .190 | <u>.671</u> | .047 | .013 |
| State Attorney General | <u>.672</u> | .286 | -.064 | .154 | .115 |
| U. S. Supreme Court | <u>.721</u> | .110 | .073 | .098 | .034 |
| Faculty Council Member | -.081 | .176 | <u>.604</u> | .113 | .321 |
| Director of Selective Service | .069 | <u>.588</u> | .145 | .110 | .076 |
| Governor | <u>.647</u> | -.107 | .365 | .054 | .180 |
| City Manager | .095 | .258 | .065 | .121 | <u>.746</u> |

Rotated Loadings of Authorities Variables on Five Principal Factors-Continued

| Variable Name | General Authority | Bureaucratic Authority | University Authority | Police Authority | City Authority |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Univ. Conduct Hearing Officer | .102 | .450 | <u>.467</u> | .276 | -.006 |
| U.S. Attorney General | <u>.734</u> | .267 | -.005 | .150 | .073 |
| Univ. President | .429 | .124 | <u>.559</u> | .100 | .079 |
| City Councilman | .238 | .065 | .141 | .090 | <u>.741</u> |
| State Highway Patrolman | .266 | .087 | .043 | <u>.791</u> | .059 |
| Dean of Men | .126 | <u>.648</u> | .285 | -.165 | -.019 |
| President of U.S. | <u>.687</u> | -.059 | .279 | .109 | .112 |
| State Court of Appeals Judge | <u>.644</u> | .253 | -.013 | .264 | .082 |
| Campus Safety Patrolman | .012 | .086 | .470 | <u>.648</u> | .072 |
| District Attorney | <u>.526</u> | .284 | -.065 | .299 | .186 |
| City Policeman | .295 | -.010 | .153 | <u>.755</u> | .118 |
| Percentage Variance Explained | .211 | .084 | .090 | .103 | .081 |

The first factor and the one that is most important in terms of the total variance explained in the labeled General Authority factor. It is so labeled because general authorities for all system levels and functional classifications load highly on this factor. Those authorities having their highest loadings on the general authority factor include state legislator, city court judge, U. S. Congressman, State Attorney General, President of the United States, State Court of Appeals Judge, and District Attorney. Two others have relatively high loadings--Mayor and University President. All load positively. High factor scores based on this factor indicate rejection of the legitimacy of these general authorities of the American political system.

The second factor is termed the Bureaucratic Authority Factor because the three authorities that have their highest loadings of this factor are all administrative department heads from three different subsystems. They are Director of the State Alcohol Control Board, Director of the Selective Service, and Dean of Men. University Conduct Hearing Officer also has a relatively high loading on the Bureaucratic Authority factor. High factor scores based on this factor for a respondent indicate a rejection of the legitimacy of bureaucratic authority in the political system.

The third factor is labeled the University Authority factor because all four system authorities who have their highest loading on this factor are officials of the university subsystem. They include Dean of Students, Faculty Council member, University Conduct Hearing Officer,

and University President. Campus safety patrolman also loads relatively high on this factor. Notice however that four of the five university authorities load highly on three factors other than university authority. University Conduct Hearing Officer loads highly on Bureaucratic authority; University President highly on General Authority; Campus Safety Patrolman loads highest on Police Authority; and, Dean of Men loads highest on Bureaucratic Authority. This indicates that students responded to universities as representatives of the university subsystem as well as in terms of their other orientations toward authority. A high student factor score on the university authority factor indicates a rejection of the legitimacy of the authority of university authorities.

The fourth factor is the Police Authority Factor because those authorities engaged in the police function from all four system levels load highest on this factor. They are F.B.I. Agent, State Highway Patrolman, City Policeman, and Campus Safety Patrolman. All load positively. High factor scores on this factor indicate a rejection of the legitimacy of police authority of the American political system.

The final factor is that of City Authority. It is so named because all three authorities loading highly on this factor are officials of the urban subsystem of the political system. They include the Mayor, City Manager, and City Councilman, which all have positive loadings. High factor scores on the city authority factor indicates a rejection of the legitimacy of authority of city authorities.

Students in the sample did not respond to the authority of officials of the political system in a random manner. Neither did they respond to them purely along subsystem or functional lines. Rather they seem to respond to a general authority dimension including authorities from all subsystems and functions and then to functions and subsystems that may be relevant to specific interests or perceptions. Two of the factors involved functional authority and two involved subsystem authority.

Factor scores were computed for each respondent for all five dimensions. Normally, because factor scores are standardized, taking the mean of a set of factor scores will yield a mean of zero and a standard deviation of 1.0. However, in this case, because the factor analysis was applied to the total sample, the opportunity to compare subsample means for each of the five factors is presented. The mean factor scores and standard deviations for each campus for the five factors on authorities appears in table 5.15.

As indicated earlier high factor scores denote rejection of the legitimacy of authority. This table confirms the earlier supposition of only slight differences among the campuses. Bloomington students had higher factor scores on four of the five dimensions, but the standard deviations for all the factors are so large that the differences between means are of little significance.

The overall picture that emerges with respect to student perception of the legitimacy of authority of the authorities of the American political system is a mixed one. On the other hand legitimacy is not

Table 5.15: Mean Factor Scores and Standard Deviation
for Five Authority Dimensions

| | General Authority | | Bureaucratic Authority | | University Authority | | Police Authority | | City Authority | |
|-------------|-------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|------------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| | \bar{X} | s | \bar{X} | s | \bar{X} | s | \bar{X} | s | \bar{X} | s |
| Bloomington | .157 | 1.287 | .115 | .995 | .186 | 1.069 | .157 | 1.071 | .049 | 1.066 |
| Fort Wayne | -.001 | 1.003 | -.040 | .994 | .014 | 1.077 | .037 | 1.041 | .061 | .999 |
| South Bend | .000 | .943 | -.014 | 1.013 | -.148 | .923 | .052 | .904 | -.083 | .864 |
| Northwest | -.010 | .986 | .031 | .934 | .062 | .947 | -.063 | 1.016 | -.035 | .951 |
| Kokomo | -.136 | .704 | -.057 | 1.074 | -.111 | .896 | -.205 | .906 | -.027 | 1.129 |

universally accepted, but on the other hand it is not universally rejected either. The general situation seems to be one of a diversity of acceptance and rejection among students leaving some system authorities in an uncertain, if not challenged situation, while others are in a fairly secure position. The level of support thus varies a great deal for these system authorities.

Legitimacy of the Authority of the Regime

As stated above, the structure of student beliefs with regard to the regime of the American political system is also of interest. The objective here is to see if there is more than one dimension of student response to the legitimacy of authority of the regime. Application of the factor analysis procedure to the eight items of the radical regime change scale yielded two dimensions of radical regime change. The factor loadings for the two factors are found in table 5.16.

The factor that is most important in terms of the total variance explained is the institutional regime authority factor. It is so labeled because the items that load highest on this factor seem to pertain to orientations toward institutionalized conditions of the political system. Items one, three, four, five, six and eight load highly on this factor. Low factor scores based on this factor indicate rejection of the institutional authority of the regime of the political system.

The second factor is the Process Regime Authority Factor. It is so labeled because the items that have their highest loadings on this

Table 5.16: Rotated Factor Loadings of Items

| | Institutional Regime Authority | Process Regime Authority |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. "The Establishment" unfairly controls every aspect of our lives; we can never be free until we are rid of it. | <u>.560</u> | .464 |
| 2. There are legitimate channels for reform which must be exhausted before attempting disruption. | -.158 | <u>.799</u> |
| 3. The United States needs a complete restructuring of its basic institutions. | <u>.695</u> | .181 |
| 4. Authorities must be put into an intolerable position so they will be forced to respond with repression and thus show their illegitimacy. | <u>.502</u> | <u>.549</u> |
| 5. Even though institutions have worked well in the past, they must be destroyed if they are not effective now. | <u>.597</u> | .227 |
| 6. A problem with most older people is that they have learned to accept society as it is, not as it should be. | <u>.711</u> | .120 |
| 7. The streets are a more appropriate medium for change in our society than printing presses. | .233 | <u>.557</u> |
| 8. Real participatory democracy should be the basis for a new society. | <u>.648</u> | -.268 |
| Percentage Variance Explained | .301 | .204 |

factor pertain to orientations toward the process by which change is brought about within the political system. Items two, four, and seven load highly on this factor. As on the other, low factor scores on this factor constitute rejection of the process authority of the regime of the political system. One item, number four, loads highly on both factors, probably because it refers to process and institutional condition.

The factor analysis suggests that the students respond to the legitimacy of authority of the regime in terms of orientations to its institutions and processes for change. In subsequent analysis the relationship of both to support for actions of dissent will be examined.

Factor scores were computed for each respondent for each of the two dimensions. Again because the factor analysis was applied to the total sample, I had the opportunity to compare means of the factor scores for each campus on each of the two factors. These appear in table 5.17.

Table 5.17: Mean Factor Scores and Standard Deviation
for Two Dimensions of Radical Regime Change

| | <u>Institutional Regime Authority</u> | | <u>Process Regime Authority</u> | |
|-------------|---|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| | \bar{X} | S | \bar{X} | S |
| Bloomington | -.338 | 1.007 | .014 | .962 |
| Fort Wayne | .042 | .945 | .126 | .996 |
| South Bend | .213 | 1.022 | .056 | .946 |
| Northwest | -.067 | 1.015 | -.089 | 1.054 |
| Kokomo | .083 | .971 | -.207 | 1.005 |

As indicated above, low factor scores here denote rejection of the legitimacy of regime authority. With regard to institutional regime authority, Bloomington seems to have the highest rejection rate, while with regard to process regime authority, Kokomo seems to have the highest. However, the standard deviations are again large in relationship to the means of the factor scores indicating little real difference among the campuses.

As with perception of authorities, the perception of the legitimacy of the regime is diverse among respondents if not among campuses. Some respondents show considerable rejection of the regime, but on the whole there is considerable support for the regime of the American political system. These findings are similar to those of a 1970 nationwide survey among college students conducted by Louis Harris and Associates. When asked, "What kinds of changes in the system do you feel may be necessary to improve the quality of life in America?", 23 percent responded change in government or change in government structure. The largest response was 39 percent for change in people's attitudes.⁹ Change in regime while being suggested by a good-sized minority, is by no means the conclusion of the students as a whole. Such being the case, I would expect that the regime should be able to stand considerable stress brought on by specific events.

Ideology

Another focus of inquiry in this study is the distribution of ideological attitudes in terms of liberalism-conservatism. The distribution of ideological attitudes is found in table 5.18.

Table 5.18: Distribution of Ideological Attitudes

| | Liberal | Conservative | Neither | |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Bloomington | 99 (59.3) | 34 (20.4) | 34 (20.4) | 167 (100.0) |
| Fort Wayne | 182 (54.8) | 117 (35.2) | 33 (9.9) | 332 (100.0) |
| Kokomo | 89 (50.0) | 79 (44.4) | 10 (5.6) | 178 (100.0) |
| Northwest | 106 (50.5) | 73 (34.8) | 31 (14.8) | 210 (100.0) |
| South Bend | 101 (50.2) | 81 (40.3) | 19 (9.5) | 201 (100.0) |
| TOTAL | 577 (53.0) | 384 (35.3) | 127 (11.7) | 1088 (100.0) |

As might have been expected students as a whole more readily classified themselves as liberals than conservatives. As previously stated many issue areas may be covered in such a classification. The differences among the campuses are significant at the .01 level by chi-square test. Students from the Bloomington campus were more likely to typify themselves as liberals than as conservatives. In addition, they were more likely to classify themselves as neither conservative nor liberal than were respondents on the other campuses. Students on the Kokomo campus have the highest percentage designating themselves conservatives with 44.4% and South Bend is second with 40.3%.

The Harris nationwide poll has asked the following question: "On most issues, do you consider yourself far right, conservative, middle-of the road, liberal, or far left." For sake of comparison with my

data the grouped responses were far left and liberal 52%; far right and conservative 17%; and middle-of-the-road 27%; versus 53.0%, 35.3%, and 11.7% respectively for the total sample here. The sample under study here is slightly more conservative. The Bloomington sample is very close, allowing for the difference in question wording, with 59.3%, 20.4%, and 20.4% respectively.

Support for Actions of Dissent

The level of student support for actions of dissent will be outlined here. As mentioned above, three aspects of support are being examined--having participated in certain dissent actions, accepting the participation of others in certain dissent actions, and willingness to possible participation in such actions in the future. The relative sizes of the dissent groups, reference group, and the potential dissent group for various dissent activities will be compared.

In assessing attitudes of acceptance of others' participation in certain dissent actions, the approach in measuring attitudes suggested by Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall was adopted.¹⁰ They suggest that an individual's stand toward an issue be assessed by procedures that yield the limits of the positions he accepts (latitude of acceptance) and the limits of the positions he rejects (latitude of rejection), relative to the bounds of available alternatives defined by the extreme positions on the issue. The procedure they outline is to present the individual with alternatives with respect to an issue, ranging from

positive extreme to negative extreme. The individual is then asked to indicate the one alternative he most rejects and the one he most accepts, other alternatives he accepts and other alternatives he rejects. Four decisions are then obtained:

- (1) Most accepted alternative
- (2) Most rejected alternative
- (3) Latitude or region of accepted alternatives
- (4) Latitudes or region of rejected alternatives

The operationalization of the decisions of acceptance and rejection of dissent actions was presented in Chapter IV. The responses for most accepted and most rejected actions of dissent appear in table 5.19.

From the top part of the table it can be seen that talking to others on a position is the most accepted action by respondents on all campuses. Approximately three-quarters of all respondents endorsed this action. Another twenty percent generally chose signing a petition as the most acceptable action with a sprinkling of respondents choosing the other alternatives. There were no significant differences among the campuses. Clearly, the mildest form of protest is endorsed by the vast majority.

On the other hand, from the bottom part of the table it is clear that burning record files is the most rejected with generally eight percent choosing this action. Civil disobedience, however, is chosen by about one in five as the most rejected action. Apparently outright denial of law is more objectionable to some than is destruction of property.

Table 5.19: Most Accepted and Most Rejected Actions of Dissent

| | Talk to Others | Sign Petitions | Picket | Sit-In | Civil Disobedience | Burn Files | Number of Respondents | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------|--------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------------|---------|
| <u>Accepted</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Bloomington | 74.7 | 15.2 | 5.1 | 2.5 | 1.9 | .6 | 158 | (100.0) |
| Fort Wayne | 71.5 | 23.2 | 1.0 | 3.0 | 1.3 | 0 | 298 | (100.0) |
| South Bend | 75.1 | 17.7 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 1.3 | 0 | 181 | (100.0) |
| Northwest | 69.2 | 23.1 | 4.9 | 1.1 | 1.6 | 0 | 182 | (100.0) |
| Kokomo | 76.5 | 15.7 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 1.8 | .6 | 166 | (100.0) |
| Total | 73.1 | 19.6 | 3.0 | 2.6 | 1.4 | .7 | 985 | |

$\chi^2=23.53$ Not significant at .05

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----|----|----|-----|------|------|-----|---------|
| <u>Rejected</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Bloomington | 0 | .7 | 0 | 0 | 12.8 | 86.5 | 141 | (100.0) |
| Fort Wayne | 0 | .3 | .3 | 1.3 | 15.7 | 82.4 | 312 | (100.0) |
| South Bend | 0 | 0 | .5 | .5 | 19.1 | 79.8 | 183 | (100.0) |
| Northwest | .5 | 0 | 0 | .5 | 19.9 | 79.0 | 186 | (100.0) |
| Kokomo | .6 | .6 | 0 | .6 | 17.9 | 80.4 | 168 | (100.0) |
| Total | .2 | .3 | .2 | .7 | 17.1 | 81.5 | 990 | (100.0) |

$\chi^2=14.84$ Not significant at .05

The responses on both counts cluster at the ends of the distribution. Though all respondents are not unanimous, there is widespread agreement. This presents quite a different situation from one where people could differ considerably on what the most acceptable means of protest would be or where they endorsed the more vociferous means as the most acceptable. Under such circumstances, stress in the political system could bring instant crisis.

Now I turn to the regions of acceptance and rejection of actions of dissent, the former being the obverse of the latter. For all campuses they appear in table 5.20. For the acceptance table, the percentage for each item indicates that that percentage of respondents accepted that item and those below it. For the rejection table the percentage for each item indicates that that percentage of respondents rejected that item and those above it. They do not correspond exactly because of some dropoff in responding to one or the other directions.

From the total sample we see that the largest single group, about 40%, were willing to accept sitting-in and thus picketing, signing a petition, and talking to others to gain support for a position, but were not willing to accept engaging in civil disobedience such as taking a building or the burning of record files. Approximately 23 percent stopped with those actions generally recognized under law in the United States, namely, picketing, signing a petition, and talking, while about 24 percent were not willing to go this far but only accept petition signing and talking as legitimate dissent activities. Two percent would stop with talking with one percent of the total rejecting

Table 5.20: Regions of Acceptance and Rejection of Actions of Dissent

| | Talk to Others | Sign Petitions | Picket | Sit-In | Civil Disobedience | Burn Files | Number of Respondents | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------|--------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------------|---------|
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Bloomington | 0.0 | 11.4 | 20.3 | 46.8 | 16.5 | 5.1 | 158 | (100.0) |
| Fort Wayne | 1.2 | 25.7 | 24.5 | 41.0 | 6.7 | 0.9 | 321 | (100.0) |
| South Bend | 4.1 | 27.7 | 24.1 | 37.9 | 4.1 | 2.1 | 195 | (100.0) |
| Northwest | 2.4 | 22.4 | 24.9 | 42.4 | 6.8 | 1.0 | 205 | (100.0) |
| Kokomo | 2.3 | 30.6 | 23.1 | 35.3 | 8.1 | 0.6 | 173 | (100.0) |
| Total | 2.0 | 24.1 | 23.6 | 40.6 | 7.9 | 1.7 | 1058 | (100.0) |
| <u>Rejection</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Bloomington | 0.0 | 0.7 | 15.1 | 20.4 | 46.7 | 17.1 | 158 | (100.0) |
| Fort Wayne | .3 | 1.5 | 26.2 | 24.9 | 40.9 | 6.2 | 321 | (100.0) |
| South Bend | 1.1 | 2.6 | 19.6 | 16.9 | 47.6 | 12.2 | 195 | (100.0) |
| Northwest | 2.5 | 2.5 | 22.9 | 23.9 | 42.3 | 6.0 | 205 | (100.0) |
| Kokomo | 1.8 | 3.6 | 32.5 | 21.3 | 33.1 | 7.7 | 173 | (100.0) |
| Total | 1.1 | 2.1 | 23.7 | 22.0 | 42.0 | 9.1 | 1058 | (100.0) |

even this action. On the other end, about 8 percent were willing to accept civil disobedience such as building takeovers, with another 1.7 percent willing to also accept burning record files.

Acceptance or rejection of actions of protest is apparently not linked to prescriptions of law for large numbers of the student respondents. This is true for both sides of the line with a relatively large group going beyond that which is generally considered lawful, and another relatively large group stopping short of acts considered lawful in their endorsement. With such a span of disagreement among college students, it is a small wonder that protests of all types have generally sparked controversy in this country. In addition, policy-makers must take this diversity of orientation into consideration in their decision-making.

There are some differences among campuses. Consistent with previously presented data, more Bloomington respondents are willing to go further with acceptance of dissent actions than were those from the regional campuses. Sixteen point five percent of the Bloomington respondents--twice as many as the next highest campus--were willing to endorse the legitimacy of civil disobedience, while about 5% of the Bloomington respondents were willing to accept the burning of record files by those protesting their grievances. Kokomo respondents, on the other hand, are the most limiting of the campus respondents with 32.5% rejecting everything except petition signing and talking versus 23.7% for the sample as a whole.

With between approximately 44 to 68 percent on each campus willing to accept the legitimacy of actions of dissent that go beyond those supported by law; i.e., talking, petitioning, protesting, we see that a substantial reference group for relatively strong actions of dissent exists. Widespread support for talking on positions, signing petitions, picketing, and sitting-in can be found on any of the campuses under examination. Relatively small, but still significant support was found for civil disobedience, such as taking a building, while burning record files was largely rejected. With such a distribution of support, potential protest groups are able to select from a variety of measures of dissent action, some quite strong, and assured of considerable acceptance among their fellow students.

Thus, while there is considerable agreement on those measures most acceptable, there is a diversity of opinion with regard to how far students will be willing to let their cohorts go in protest. Under such circumstances in particular cases, protestors may find vigorous supporters as well as vigorous opponents and neutrals of varying descriptions among the student body. Diversity will thus characterize most stress situations.

Next, the number of those indicating actual participation in each of the actions of dissent under examination will be presented. Respondents were asked if they had ever done any of the actions. The results appear in table 5.21. The items are arranged from least to most frequent.

Table 5.21: Percentages of Respondents Having Participated in Actions of Dissent

| | Destroyed Property | | Sat-in * | | Picketed * | | Civil Disobedience * | | Talked on Position * | | Signed Petition * | |
|-------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|
| | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no |
| Bloomington | 7 (4.2) | 161 (95.8) | 17 (10.3) | 148 (89.7) | 30 (18.3) | 134 (81.7) | 32 (19.0) | 136 (81.0) | 96 (58.5) | 68 (41.5) | 120 (73.2) | 44 (26.8) |
| Fort Wayne | 4 (1.2) | 328 (98.8) | 12 (3.6) | 318 (96.4) | 24 (7.3) | 305 (92.7) | 16 (4.8) | 317 (95.2) | 112 (33.8) | 219 (66.2) | 225 (68.4) | 104 (31.6) |
| Kokomo | 7 (3.9) | 172 (96.1) | 7 (3.9) | 172 (96.1) | 8 (4.5) | 171 (95.5) | 19 (10.6) | 160 (89.4) | 52 (29.1) | 127 (70.9) | 99 (55.3) | 80 (44.7) |
| Northwest | 3 (1.4) | 209 (98.6) | 4 (1.9) | 208 (98.1) | 10 (4.8) | 199 (95.2) | 11 (5.2) | 201 (94.8) | 62 (29.7) | 147 (70.3) | 122 (58.9) | 85 (41.1) |
| South Bend | 3 (1.5) | 199 (98.8) | 15 (6.9) | 188 (93.1) | 19 (8.9) | 184 (91.1) | 17 (8.5) | 184 (91.5) | 41 (20.3) | 161 (79.7) | 94 (46.8) | 107 (53.2) |
| TOTAL | 24 (2.2) | 1069 (97.8) | 54 (5.0) | 1038 (95.0) | 91 (8.3) | 993 (91.7) | 95 (8.7) | 998 (91.3) | 363 (33.5) | 722 (66.5) | 660 (61.1) | 420 (38.9) |

*Chi-square difference significant at .01 level

The table reveals only a small percentage of the total respondents have ever engaged in activities that go beyond the relatively mild actions of talking and petition signing. Less than ten percent of all respondents had ever engaged in civil disobedience, picketed, sat-in, or destroyed property. About one-third of the total respondents had ever talked on a position on a campus issue, and only on one action-signing a petition of protest were those who had participated in the majority.

With respect to the different campuses, there were significant differences at the .01 level of significance for five of the six actions by chi-square test. Only with respect to having destroyed property was there no significant difference among respondents for the different campuses. On the five actions where significant differences were found, the most striking pattern is that the Bloomington respondents were more active on all five than were the regional campus respondents. For example, the proportion of Bloomington respondents who had picketed, was twice as large as any proportion for a regional campus. As might be expected then, Bloomington respondents were more active throughout.

In terms of actual participation in actions of dissent overall participation in the more active forms was not large for any of the campuses examined. Even on the Bloomington campus, only nineteen percent had ever committed an act they considered to be in the realm of civil disobedience. The milder forms of dissent, talking and petition signing, account for the bulk of the activity. These items form a Guttman scale in the order presented with a coefficient of

reproducibility of .94 and a coefficient of scalability of .64. Both measures are above those levels considered acceptable.¹¹

In comparing these results with the Harris National sample, the Indiana respondents were slightly less active than the nationwide student sample. For the national sample, participation for three acts was 87% having signed a petition; 29% having picketed; and 18% having engaged in civil disobedience; versus 61.1%, 8.3%, and 8.7% respectively for the total sample here.¹² Bloomington is close to the national with 73.2%, 18.3% and 19.0% respectively. In chapter six, the six items examined above will be used as a scale to test the hypotheses stated earlier.

Also of interest are the numbers of respondents who indicated they would participate in the protest activities. They were asked if they would ever participate in the same actions presented above. The results appear in table 5.22. Again, the items are arranged from least to most frequent. The increase for most of the items over the participation item is substantial. Whereas, 8.3% of the total respondents reported that they had engaged in picketing, 46.3% indicated they would be willing to do so, and whereas 5.0% of the total respondents reported they had participated in a sit-in, 38.6% indicated a willingness to do so. Undoubtedly, these responses to the question "Would you ever" represent a willingness to engage in the indicated action if provoked enough. The only action not registering a sizable gain over the percentage have actually done the act was destroying property. Bloomington respondents registered a gain from

Table 5.22: Percentages of Respondents Willing to Participate in Actions of Dissent

| | Destroy Property | | Civil Disobedience | | Sit-in | | Picket | | Talk on Position | | Sign Petition | |
|-------------|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| | * | | * | | * | | * | | * | | * * | |
| | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no | yes | no |
| Bloomington | 37 (19.5) | 136 (80.5) | 65 (38.5) | 104 (61.5) | 88 (51.8) | 82 (48.2) | 102 (60.7) | 66 (39.3) | 147 (91.3) | 14 (8.7) | 149 (90.3) | 16 (9.7) |
| Fort Wayne | 16 (4.8) | 318 (95.2) | 64 (19.2) | 269 (80.8) | 125 (37.5) | 208 (62.5) | 157 (47.9) | 177 (53.0) | 269 (83.5) | 53 (16.5) | 311 (93.4) | 22 (6.6) |
| Kokomo | 12 (6.7) | 167 (93.3) | 32 (17.9) | 147 (82.1) | 63 (35.6) | 114 (64.4) | 66 (36.9) | 113 (63.1) | 140 (78.2) | 39 (21.8) | 150 (83.8) | 29 (16.2) |
| Northwest | 9 (4.2) | 202 (95.3) | 39 (18.2) | 172 (81.5) | 71 (33.6) | 140 (66.4) | 97 (45.8) | 115 (54.2) | 170 (81.3) | 39 (18.7) | 184 (86.8) | 28 (13.2) |
| South Bend | 9 (4.5) | 190 (95.5) | 36 (17.9) | 165 (82.1) | 75 (37.1) | 127 (62.9) | 84 (42.0) | 116 (58.0) | 162 (80.2) | 40 (19.8) | 167 (83.5) | 33 (16.5) |
| TOTAL | 79 (7.2) | 1013 (92.7) | 236 (21.6) | 857 (78.4) | 422 (38.6) | 671 (61.4) | 506 (46.3) | 587 (53.7) | 888 (82.8) | 185 (17.2) | 961 (88.2) | 129 (11.8) |

*Chi-square difference significant at .01 level

**Chi-square difference significant at .05 level

4.2 to 19.5 percent, but regional campus increases were on the order of 3%. Apparently, there are deep-seated attitudinal prohibitions against the destruction of property for purposes of protest. This contrast with the percentages willing to sign petitions of 88.2 percent and talking on positions of 82.8%. Whereas the actual participants for most actions were but a small minority, the potential participant group for four of the six actions is either a large minority or a substantial majority. The range even here is quite striking from what the individuals considered strong to milder forms of protest. Whereas 88.2% would sign a petition, less than half this proportion 38.6% would ever be willing to participate in a sit-in. Willingness to participate drops off as the form of protest becomes stronger.

With respect to differences among the campuses, significant differences for five of the six actions were found at the .01 level of significance by chi-square test with a significant difference at the .05 level found for the remaining action. For five of the six actions, the Bloomington respondents reported in greater percentages that they would be willing to participate. Of the respondents on the Bloomington campus, 19.5% would be willing to destroy property, 38.5% engage in civil disobedience, 51.8% sit-in, 60.7% picket, 91.3% talk on a position, and 90.3% sign a petition. This distribution makes for a sizable potential participant groups even for the stronger forms of protest given sufficient provocation.

In terms of potential participation for actions of dissent, even the stronger forms receive considerable willingness to participate.

The items form a Guttman scale in the order presented with a coefficient of reproducibility of .94 and a coefficient of scalability of .77. Both measures are above those levels considered acceptable. In chapter six, the above six items will also be used as a scale to test the hypotheses.

Again making the comparison with the Harris National sample, the total sample here shows somewhat less willingness to participate. For the Harris sample, participation in the three acts was sign a petition 96%, picket 60%, and engage in civil disobedience 40%; versus 88.2%, 46.3%, and 21.6% respectively for the total sample here. Bloomington respondents again are close to the national picture with 90.3%, 60.7%, and 38.5% respectively for the three acts.

Summing up, that support for actions of dissent is varied according to level of personal involvement. Respondents were more willing to accept the legitimacy of others participating in the various actions, than were they to either participate themselves or own up to having participated, in such activities in the past. They were also more inclined to express their willingness to participate at some future point than to have already participated. On all three measures, the percentage of respondents supporting actions declined as the form of the protest increased in strength.

System authorities can expect that protest groups engaging in the milder forms of protest may be quite large, while those engaging in the stronger forms may be substantially smaller. This finding coincides with previous occurrences.

In examining the three measures of support for actions of dissent, two patterns emerge. The first is that as the forms of protest get stronger support falls off. Second, as incidence of endorsement for all actions of dissent increases (though not at the same rate), the respondents personal involvement in the act lessens. In short, protest groups are much more likely to obtain endorsement from other students than getting them to join in their actions.

System authorities may expect that as the ferocity of the protest acts increase, the participant, potential participant, and reference groups will decrease in size. Such a condition aids political system maintenance during periods of stress.

Summary

In this chapter, the frequency of responses for the variables specified earlier were examined. With regard to background characteristics, the Bloomington respondents differ somewhat from the regional campus respondents. For the total sample over half of the respondents are under the age of twenty-four, and the distribution of males and females is about equal. Slightly over half of the respondents come from homes with family incomes over ten thousand dollars, and substantial numbers of the respondents' parents did not attend college themselves. Neither extreme permissiveness nor extreme strictness in perception of childhood background were found. Rather, responses lean one way or the other. Party identification of respondents is similar to the distribution found for the total U. S. population. With regard to

religious identification, an overwhelming majority consider themselves Protestants or Catholics. Somewhat more of the Bloomington respondents were majoring in the physical and behavioral sciences and the humanities than the regional campus respondents.

The characters and distribution of the attitudinal variables were also discussed. With regard to radical regime change attitudes, the dominant tendency was one of support for the regime of the political system although there was a diversity of responses with a sizable minority displaying rejection. With regard to attitudes toward authorities of the political system, the distribution of the sample ranges from overwhelming acceptance of legitimacy for some authorities, such as the President of the U. S., to substantial rejection for other, such as an FBI agent. There is also a diversity of response among students in regard to the number of authorities of whose legitimacy to authority they reject.

To examine the structure of belief with regard to authority, factor analysis was utilized. For radical regime change, two attitudinal dimensions institutional regime change and process regime change were derived. For authorities of the political system, the beliefs are not structured purely along functional or along subsystem lines but are rather mixed. Dimensions of authority delineated were general authority, bureaucratic authority, university authority, police authority, and city authority.

With respect to support for actions of dissent, the three measures of acceptance of others' participation in various protest actions,

having themselves participated, and willingness to participate revealed two patterns. First, support for actions of dissent varied according to level of personal involvement for most actions. Respondents were more willing to accept the legitimacy of others participating than they were willing to participate themselves, were more inclined to express willingness than to have actually participated. Second, an inverse relationship is revealed for all three measures of support with respect to strength of the action and level of support found in the sample. Far more are willing to endorse signing a petition than engaging in civil disobedience. Thus, as the ferocity of the protest acts increase, the level of support for dissent decreases, and as involvement increases support decreases.

FOOTNOTES

¹"Party Identification of College Students"--Gallup National Study, 1970.

²Louis Harris and Associates, 1970.

³"Party Identification of College Students--Gallup National Study, 1970.

⁴Ibid.

⁵For a presentation of the techniques and its assumptions see Edwards, Alan L., Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1957), p. 152-155.

⁶See Hess and Torney, The Development, op. cit., and Greenstein, Children, op. cit.

⁷See Armstrong, J. Scott, "Deviation of Theory by Means of Factor Analysis, or Tom Swift and his Electric Factor Analysis Machine," The American Statistician, Vol. 21, Rec. 1967, p. 17-21.

⁸In the factor analysis communalities are estimated from the squared multiple correlation coefficients. The minimum eigenvalue for which a factor was rotated was 1.0. The computer program used to perform the factor analysis and compute the factor scores is in the U.C.L.A. Biomedical (BMD) series--BMDO3M.

⁹The Harris Survey Yearbook of Public Opinion, 1970; Louis Harris and Associates Inc., New York, New York, 1971.

¹⁰Sherif, Carolyn W., Sherif, Muzafer, and Nebergall, Roger, Attitude and Attitude Change: The Social Judgement--Involvement Approach. W. B. Saunders Company, 1965, London, p. 19-26.

¹¹Nie, Norman, Bent, Dale, and Hull, Hadlai C., SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, McGraw Hill, New York, 1970, p. 201.

¹²Harris, The Harris Survey, op. cit., p. 319.

CHAPTER VI

In this chapter the actual testing of the hypotheses and models specified in Chapter IV will be presented. In the previous chapter I found attitudes supporting radical regime change were neither intense nor widespread among the respondents as a whole, indicating what insistent support there is for fundamental change must come from a minority of students. In addition, a diversity of opinion was found with respect to acceptance of the legitimacy of position authority. Opinion ranges from very high acceptance, such as the 8.1% overall rejection rate for President of the United States, to relatively high rejection such as the 48.8% overall rejection rate for the Director of the Selective Service. No single factor of authority emerges as the most accepted or rejected across all campuses.

With regard to both radical regime change attitudes and attitudes toward authorities, respondents on the Bloomington campus rejected the legitimacy of authority at higher levels than did students from the other campuses. With respect to ideological attitudes, a majority of the students from the total sample as well as a majority on each campus characterized themselves as liberals. A somewhat larger proportion of the Bloomington respondents characterized themselves as liberals.

Two basic questions will be addressed in this chapter. What are the antecedents of these attitudes and what are the consequences

stemming from the holding of these attitudes? With regard to antecedents I am looking at basically two types of socialization experiences, family socialization and educational socialization. The specific items chosen in these categories represent background characteristics often cited elsewhere as being correlated with protest activity. The question being asked here is: do the characteristics examined lead to specific authority and ideological attitudes? In the previous chapter, I found that slightly over half of the respondents come from homes with family incomes of over ten thousand dollars. In addition, about thirty-eight percent of the fathers and twenty-six percent of the mothers had at least some college education. With respect to permissiveness, a relatively small proportion of the total sample come from homes where obedience was either demanded at all times, or not cared about at all. The bulk of the students fell into the two categories of obedience being stressed a great deal or being stressed with lots of leeway allowed. In this chapter I will want to see if these family socialization characteristics are correlated with attitudes toward authority and ideological attitudes.

With respect to educational experiences, the largest proportion of students on the regional campuses were engaged in majors in education, while Bloomington students concentrated more in the behavioral sciences and humanities. Bloomington and Fort Wayne students had slightly higher grade point averages than did students from the other campuses, with over seventy percent having a g.p.a. above 2.5

on a 4.0 scale. I will want to see if these educational characteristics also lead to particular attitudes.

In terms of the possible consequences of the attitudes under examination, I will be looking at three forms of support for actions of dissent including acceptance of participation in various protest activities by others, having participated in various protest activities, and willingness to participate at some point in various protest activities. As was presented in the preceding chapter, there is considerable acceptance of the legitimacy of actions of dissent that go beyond those acceptable under law such as talking, petitioning, and picketing. There is considerable difference in opinion "among the campuses" on where the line should be drawn with petitioning, picketing, and sitting-in drawing sizable groups and civil disobedience and property destruction receiving smaller responses. I will want to see if the attitudinal variables under examination lead to a particular choice here. In terms of actual involvement only small percentages had ever engaged in activities that go beyond the comparatively mild actions of petition signing and talking. Respondents on the Bloomington campus were somewhat more active than the average. However, when asked if they would ever be willing to do these same things, responses increased sizably for talking and picketing; and somewhat less sizably for sitting-in and civil disobedience. I will want to see how the antecedent variables affect these actions.

Methodology

The basic hypotheses and models to be tested were presented in Chapter IV. Here, the hypotheses will be tested first, and the models second. Before reporting upon my analysis, I will outline the procedures followed to operationalize the variables for the purpose of inclusion in the testing procedure.

First, the background characteristics--permissiveness, father's education, mother's education, income, and grade point average--are all treated as previously operationalized. Major in college is dichotomized with behavioral sciences, humanities, and fine arts in one category; and business, education, sciences, and all other in the second category.

Secondly, in regard to attitudinal characteristics, ideology is dichotomized into liberal and conservative categories. For use here, for each individual respondent a standardized factor score on each of the five factors of attitudes toward authorities and the two factors of radical regime change were computed. These scores will be used to operationalize the authority variables. It will be recalled that a principal-component factor analysis was performed on the 24 items for the system authorities and the eight items for radical regime change. Five factors were derived for the system authorities including general authority, bureaucratic authority, university authority, police authority, and city authority. Two factors were derived for radical regime change including institutional regime

authority and process regime authority. The factors scores represent the individual respondent's score on each of the factors derived and hence represent the degree of his acceptance of the legitimacy of authority for each type of authority. These scores can then be correlated with other variables for purposes of hypothesis and model testing. In other words, instead of using the 24 individual items for measuring the legitimacy of authority of authorities, the factor scores for the general, bureaucratic, university, police, and city authority dimensions are used for each individual. Likewise, instead of using the eight items measuring radical regime change, the factor scores on the institutional regime authority and process regime authority dimensions are used.

As mentioned previously, the three dissent support variables utilized are acceptance of others participation, having participated, and willingness to participate in various actions of dissent. Acceptance is measured by the individual scores according to his region of acceptance covering the six actions--talking on a position, signing a petition, picketing, sitting-in, engaging in civil disobedience, and burning record files. For example, an individual accepting talking, petitioning, and picketing, but rejecting sitting-in, engaging in civil disobedience and burning record files would have a score of three. Possible scores then range from zero to six. Figure 6.0 illustrates the rejection regions and possible scores.

Figure 6.0: Rejection Regions of Acceptance of Dissent Actions

| Burning Files | Civil Disobedience | Sit-in | Picket | Petition | Talking | Score |
|------------------|-----------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-------|
| <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | 6 |
| | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | 5 |
| | | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | 4 |
| | | | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | 3 |
| | | | | <u>X</u> | <u>X</u> | 2 |
| | | | | | <u>X</u> | 1 |
| | | | | | | 0 |

Several items thought to be indicators of a student's participation or willingness to participate in various actions of dissent were tested for scalability. The frequencies for the items were presented in Chapter V. The items for past participation which form the scale are as follows: (1) having signed a petition of protest (2) having talked to another to gain support for a petition (3) having engaged in civil disobedience (4) having engaged in picketing (5) having participated in a sit-in (6) having destroyed property to achieve a goal. As reported, these items form an acceptable Guttman scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .94 and a coefficient of scalability of .64.

Coefficients of reproducibility above .90 and coefficients of scalability above .60 are considered to indicate a valid Guttman scale.¹ The Guttman scale scores for each respondent will be used to operationalize past participation.

The items for willingness to participate in protest actions are: (1) would sign a petition of protest (2) would talk to another to gain support for a position (3) would picket (4) would sit-in (5) would engage in civil disobedience (6) would destroy property to achieve a goal. As reported these items form an acceptable Guttman scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .94 and a coefficient of scalability of .77. The Guttman scale scores for each respondent will be used to operationalize future participation.

The three scales referring to the three types of support for actions of dissent will be termed acceptance, have participated, and would participate. In both the correlation and regression analyses that follow the statistical package for the social sciences was utilized with pairwise deletion of missing data. Under pairwise deletion, a case is omitted from the computation of a given simple coefficient if the value of either of the two variables is missing. A case is included in the computation of all simple coefficients for which it has complete data.²

Relationship Between Background and Attitudinal Characteristics

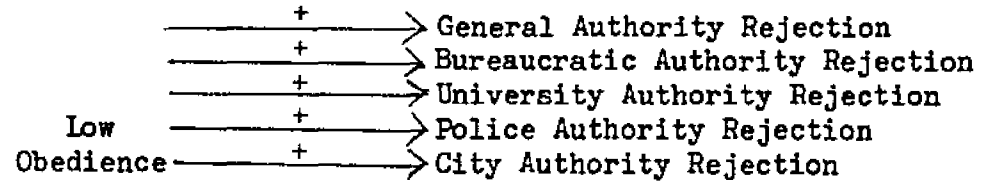
The first two sets of hypotheses stated formally in Chapter IV specified relationship between specified background characteristics

and the attitudinal components under examination in this study. The underlying supposition is that certain family and educational socialization experiences lead to certain attitudes dealing with authority and ideology.

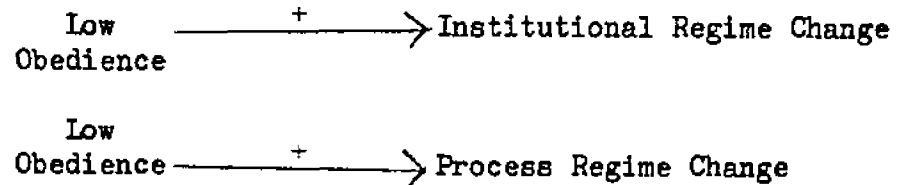
Table 4.1 listed several hypotheses to test the relationship between family and educational socialization characteristics, and attitudes toward authorities, radical regime change attitudes, and ideology. These hypotheses are repeated in Figure 6.1 together with the expected relationship between operationalized variables.

Figure 6.1: Socialization ————— Attitudinal Hypotheses

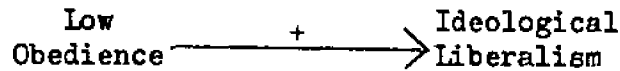
H_{1a}. Those who come from homes where their parents stressed a lower degree of obedience will reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree than those who come from homes where their parents stressed a higher degree of obedience.



H_{1b}. Those who come from homes where their parents stressed a lower degree of obedience will more strongly want a radical change in regime than those who come from homes where their parents stressed a higher degree of obedience.



H₆. Those who come from homes where their parents stressed a lower degree of obedience will consider themselves liberal while those who come from homes where their parents stressed a higher degree of obedience will consider themselves conservative.



H_{2a}. Those whose parents have a higher degree of education will reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree than those whose parents have a lower degree of education.

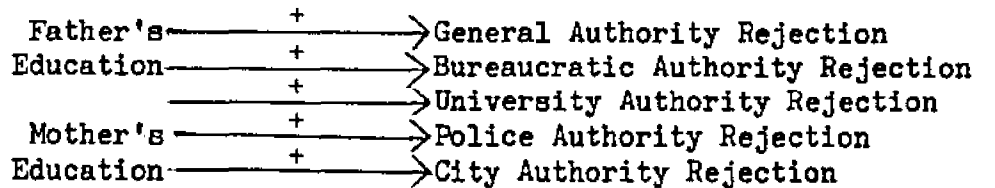


Figure 6.1:Continued

| | | | |
|---|--------------------|--|---|
| H ₂ b. Those whose parents have a higher degree of education will more strongly want a radical change in regime than those whose parents have a lower degree of education. | Father's Education | —————+—————> | Institutional Regime Change |
| | Mother's Education | —————+—————> | Process Regime Change |
| H ₇ Those whose parents have a higher degree of education will consider themselves liberal while those whose parents have a lower degree of education will consider themselves conservative. | Father's Ed. | —————+—————> | Ideological Liberalism |
| | Mother's Ed. | | |
| H ₃ a. Those with higher family incomes will reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree than those with lower family incomes. | Income | —————+—————> —————+—————> —————+—————> —————+—————> —————+—————> | General Authority Rejection Bureaucratic Authority Rejection University Authority Rejection Police Authority Rejection City Authority Rejection |
| H ₃ b. Those with higher family incomes will more strongly want a radical change in regime than those with lower family incomes. | Income | —————+—————> —————+—————> | Institutional Regime Change Process Regime Change |
| H ₈ Those with higher family incomes will consider themselves liberal while those with lower family incomes will consider themselves conservative. | Income | —————+—————> | Ideological Liberalism |
| H ₄ a. Those who have higher grade point averages will reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree than those who have lower grade point averages. | G.P.A. | —————+—————> —————+—————> —————+—————> —————+—————> —————+—————> | General Authority Support Bureaucratic Authority Support University Authority Support Police Authority Support City Authority Support |

Figure 6.1:Continued

| | | | |
|--|--------|--|---|
| H ₄ b. Those who have higher grade point averages will more strongly want a radical change in regime than those who have lower grade point averages. | G.P.A. | | Institutional Regime Change Process Regime Change |
| H ₉ Those who have higher grade point averages will consider themselves liberal while those who have lower grade point averages will consider themselves conservative. | G.P.A. | | Ideological Liberalism |
| H ₅ a. Those majoring in the social sciences and humanities will reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree than those who have majors in business, the sciences, and education. | Major | | General Authority Bureaucratic Authority University Authority Police Authority City Authority |
| H ₅ b. Those majoring in the social sciences and humanities will more strongly want a radical change in regime than those majoring in business, the sciences, and education. | Major | | Institutional Regime Authority Process Regime Change |
| H ₁₀ . Those majoring in the social sciences and humanities will consider themselves liberal while those in business, the sciences, and education will consider themselves conservative. | Major | | Ideological Liberalism |

Table 6.1: Simple Correlations of Background Characteristics with Attitudinal Characteristics - Total Sample

| | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> |
|------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|
| Attitudinal Characteristics | | | | | | |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | |
| General | .025 | -.004 | .017 | -.041 | .038 | -.037 |
| Bureaucratic | .051* | .013 | -.028 | .014 | .051* | -.031 |
| University | .091** | .044 | -.015 | .051 | .034 | .016 |
| Police | .052* | .046 | .008 | .010 | .027 | -.066* |
| City | .009 | -.063* | -.003 | -.015 | .001 | -.055* |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | |
| Institutional | .087** | .057* | .048 | -.017 | .079** | -.112** |
| Process | -.048 | -.032 | -.002 | -.049 | .075** | -.166** |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | |
| Conservatism-Liberalism | .111** | -.016 | .043 | -.015 | .069* | -.032 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Table 6.2: Simple Correlations of Background Characteristics
with Attitudinal Characteristics-Bloomington Sample

| | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> |
|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|
| Attitudinal Characteristics | | | | | | |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | |
| General | -.065 | .004 | -.056 | .012 | .004 | -.014 |
| Bureaucratic | .074 | -.053 | -.047 | -.038 | -.005 | -.010 |
| University | .048 | .081 | -.167* | .168* | -.009 | .072 |
| Police | .035 | .029 | .012 | -.058 | .125 | -.119 |
| City | .027 | -.010 | .035 | -.075 | .054 | -.177* |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | |
| Institutional | -.066 | -.002 | -.096 | -.031 | .069 | -.012 |
| Process | .035 | -.062 | -.077 | -.070* | .158* | -.097 |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | |
| Conservatism- Liberalism | .065 | .012 | -.032 | -.037 | .084 | .002 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Table 6.3: Simple Correlations of Background Characteristics
with Attitudinal Characteristics-Ft. Wayne Sample

| Attitudinal Characteristics | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> |
|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | |
| General | .020 | -.046 | -.044 | -.015 | .051 | -.018 |
| Bureaucratic | .098* | .024 | .009 | .046 | .103* | -.002 |
| University | .117* | .087 | .052 | -.012 | .033 | .024 |
| Police | .100* | .018 | .028 | .003 | .021 | -.104* |
| City | .076 | -.082 | -.022 | -.025 | .038 | -.042 |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | |
| Institutional | .225** | .111* | .063 | .027 | .118* | -.131** |
| Process | -.107* | .014 | .067 | -.028 | .071 | -.165** |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | |
| Conservatism- Liberalism | .120* | .072 | .097* | -.060 | .030 | -.148** |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Table 6.4: Simple Correlations of Background Characteristics
with Attitudinal Characteristics-South Bend Sample

| | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> |
|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|
| Attitudinal Characteristics | | | | | | |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | |
| General | .115 | -.037 | .113 | -.158* | .081 | -.030 |
| Bureaucratic | .026 | .098 | -.097 | .042 | .072 | -.063 |
| University | .058 | -.024 | -.118* | .098 | .117* | -.003 |
| Police | -.023 | .020 | -.055 | -.127* | -.032 | -.145* |
| City | -.044 | -.052 | -.055 | .077 | -.012 | -.066 |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | |
| Institutional | .019 | -.086 | -.060 | -.056 | .045 | -.108 |
| Process | .083 | .085 | .037 | -.017 | .017 | -.117 |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | |
| Conservatism- Liberalism | .212** | -.116 | -.082 | -.002 | .108 | .055 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Table 6.5: Simple Correlations of Background Characteristics
with Attitudinal Characteristics-Northwest Sample

| | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> |
|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|
| Attitudinal Characteristics | | | | | | |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | |
| General | -.050 | -.114* | -.068 | -.056 | -.024 | -.094 |
| Bureaucratic | .039 | -.039 | .045 | -.010 | .020 | -.059 |
| University | .044 | -.030 | -.023 | .029 | .078 | -.018 |
| Police | .006 | .016 | -.049 | .073 | -.051 | .017 |
| City | -.053 | -.105 | -.057 | -.022 | .014 | -.018 |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | |
| Institutional | .001 | -.041 | -.001 | -.022 | .044 | -.234** |
| Process | -.074 | -.117* | -.054 | -.144* | .141* | -.247** |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | |
| Conservatism- Liberalism | -.056 | -.088 | -.006 | -.090 | .012 | -.041 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

**Table 6.6: Simple Correlations of Background Characteristics
with Attitudinal Characteristics-Kokomo Sample**

| | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> |
|---|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|
| Attitudinal Characteristics | | | | | | |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | |
| General | .096 | .160* | .186** | -.098 | .061 | -.076 |
| Bureaucratic | -.035 | -.040 | -.136* | -.020 | .000 | -.046 |
| University | .148* | -.040 | .027 | -.016 | -.094 | -.037 |
| Police | .037 | .083 | -.000 | .070 | .028 | .008 |
| City | -.018 | -.024 | -.091 | -.033 | -.123 | -.025 |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | |
| Institutional | .125 | .152* | .174** | -.103 | .046 | -.064 |
| Process | -.106 | -.064 | .018 | .146* | .012 | -.167* |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | |
| Conservatism- Liberalism | .104 | .038 | .050 | .088 | .101 | .025 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Table 6.7: Multiple & Partial Correlations of Background Characteristics with Attitudinal Characteristics--
Total Sample

| | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> | <u>R²</u> |
|------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|----------------------|
| Attitudinal Characteristics | | | | | | | |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | | |
| General | .024 | -.008 | .024 | -.040 | .033 | -.030 | .005 |
| Bureaucratic | .051* | .030 | -.046 | .016 | .045 | -.030 | .008 |
| University | .090** | .055* | -.056* | .040 | .028 | .006 | .015 |
| Police | .054* | .049 | -.022 | .005 | .015 | -.068* | .010 |
| City | .012 | -.061* | .015 | .007 | -.002 | -.055* | .007 |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | | |
| Institutional | .087** | .042 | .019 | -.026 | .060* | -.109** | .029 |
| Process | -.046 | -.035 | .028 | -.023 | .064* | -.153** | .035 |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | | |
| Conservatism-Liberalism | .106** | -.005 | .037 | -.022 | .059* | -.030 | .019 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Table 6.8: Multiple and Partial Correlations of Background Characteristics with Attitudinal Characteristics--
Bloomington Sample

| | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> | <u>R²</u> |
|------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|----------------------|
| Attitudinal Characteristics | | | | | | | |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | | |
| General | -.061 | .031 | -.065 | .018 | .006 | -.008 | .009 |
| Bureaucratic | .077 | -.029 | -.026 | -.017 | -.004 | -.011 | .010 |
| University | .060 | .142* | -.263** | .176* | .002 | .055 | .100 |
| Police | .040 | .044 | .001 | -.059 | .112 | -.108 | .033 |
| City | .038 | -.116 | .104 | -.037 | .038 | -.169* | .054 |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | | |
| Institutional | -.064 | .054 | -.106 | -.021 | .075 | .006 | .021 |
| Process | .039 | .009 | -.044 | -.145* | .155* | .066 | .061 |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | | |
| Conservatism- Liberalism | .064 | .038 | -.046 | -.037 | .083 | .008 | .015 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Table 6.9: Multiple and Partial Correlations of Background Characteristics with Attitudinal Characteristics-- Fort Wayne Sample

| Attitudinal Characteristics | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> | <u>R²</u> |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|----------------------|
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | | |
| General | .018 | .027 | -.031 | .003 | .046 | -.013 | .006 |
| Bureaucratic | .082 | .016 | -.017 | .043 | .095* | .009 | .020 |
| University | .108* | .081 | .007 | -.045 | .023 | .036 | .023 |
| Police | .098* | -.002 | .014 | .005 | -.008 | -.104* | .021 |
| City | .077 | -.081 | .010 | .002 | .016 | -.044 | .016 |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | | |
| Institutional | .208** | .086 | -.002 | .004 | .078 | -.117* | .081 |
| Process | -.123* | -.014 | .076 | -.015 | .061 | -.156** | .050 |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | | |
| Conservatism-Liberalism | .115* | .040 | .074 | -.079 | -.013 | -.140** | .050 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Table 6.10: Multiple and Partial Correlations of Background Characteristics with Attitudinal Characteristics-- South Bend Sample

| | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> | <u>R²</u> |
|------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|----------------------|
| Attitudinal Characteristics | | | | | | | |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | | |
| General | .099 | .085 | .169* | -.163 | .084 | .006 | .071 |
| Bureaucratic | .060 | .193** | -.196** | .035 | .055 | -.055 | .058 |
| University | .061 | .050 | -.131* | .110 | .109 | .003 | .045 |
| Police | -.008 | .075 | .084 | -.110 | -.061 | -.137* | .043 |
| City | -.057 | -.052 | -.029 | .104 | -.022 | -.087 | .022 |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | | |
| Institutional | .003 | -.061 | -.009 | -.023 | .024 | -.104 | .021 |
| Process | .098 | .095 | -.028 | -.024 | .001 | -.105 | .030 |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | | |
| Conservatism-Liberalism | .200** | -.043 | -.034 | .008 | .104 | .071 | .067 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Table 6.11: Multiple and Partial Correlations of Background Characteristics with Attitudinal Characteristics-- Northwest Sample

| | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> | <u>R²</u> |
|------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|----------------------|
| Attitudinal Characteristics | | | | | | | |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | | |
| General | -.045 | -.077 | -.017 | -.021 | -.031 | -.085 | .024 |
| Bureaucratic | .056 | -.079 | .088 | .001 | .024 | -.058 | .014 |
| University | .044 | -.038 | .006 | .032 | .078 | -.012 | .010 |
| Police | -.010 | .046 | -.075 | .073 | -.062 | -.001 | .014 |
| City | -.052 | -.084 | -.006 | -.001 | .019 | -.006 | .014 |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | | |
| Institutional | .021 | -.045 | .033 | .016 | .016 | -.229** | .057 |
| Process | -.052 | -.094 | .020 | -.100 | .125* | -.208** | .098 |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | | |
| Conservatism-Liberalism | -.042 | -.086 | .044 | -.070 | .020 | -.021 | .019 |

*Significant at .05 level
 **Significant at .01 level

Table 6.12: Multiple and Partial Correlations of Background Characteristics with Attitudinal Characteristics--
Kokomo Sample

| | <u>Obedience</u> | <u>Father's Education</u> | <u>Mother's Education</u> | <u>Income</u> | <u>Major</u> | <u>GPA</u> | <u>R²</u> |
|------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|----------------------|
| Attitudinal Characteristics | | | | | | | |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITIES | | | | | | | |
| General | .094 | .084 | .119 | -.156* | .037 | -.092 | .079 |
| Bureaucratic | -.003 | .055 | -.139* | .016 | .000 | -.045 | .024 |
| University | .141* | -.022 | .030 | -.010 | -.086 | -.048 | .034 |
| Police | .060 | .106 | -.086 | .068 | .002 | -.012 | .019 |
| City | .005 | .070 | -.102 | -.006 | -.127 | -.024 | .026 |
| RADICAL REGIME CHANGE | | | | | | | |
| Institutional | .124 | .092 | .104 | -.157* | .022 | -.082 | .079 |
| Process | -.110 | -.118 | .066 | .166* | .031 | -.164* | .075 |
| IDEOLOGY | | | | | | | |
| Conservatism-Liberalism | .102 | .001 | .004 | .076 | .094 | .005 | .028 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Tables 6.1 through 6.12 present the intercorrelations of these socialization background characteristics with the attitudes toward authorities, radical regime change attitudes, and ideology in simple and partial form for the total sample and for each campus sample.

As can be seen from Tables 6.1 and 6.7, the background socialization characteristics show generally little impact on attitudes toward authorities. For the total sample, these six socialization variables together account for from .5% to 1.5% of the variance on the five dimensions of attitudes toward authorities. For all five campuses 20 of the 25 total possible multiple correlations show under 5% of the variance explained. Thus, even though there are some statistically significant confirmations of hypotheses tested, these socialization variables are not very helpful in explaining much of the variance in student attitudes toward authorities.

Hypothesis 1a predicts that those who underwent childhoods in which obedience was heavily stressed will tend not to reject the legitimacy of position authority. For the total sample the direction of the hypothesis is confirmed at the .05 level for bureaucratic and police authority and at the .01 level for university authority for both simple and partial correlations. However, for the individual campuses it is confirmed only for university authority at Fort Wayne and Kokomo at the .05 level for both simple and partial correlations, and only for police authority at Fort Wayne at the .05 level for both simple and partial correlations. The simple correlation for

bureaucratic authority at the Fort Wayne campus was significant at the .05 level, but dropped for the partial. However, in no case does the obedience variable account for more than 2 percent of the variance for all of the dimensions examined.

Hypothesis 2a predicts higher education of parents will lead to higher rejection rates of position authority. However, for the total sample only one simple correlation, that between father's education and city authority is even significant at the .05 level and it is of the sign opposite to that predicted. Three partials for mother's and father's education are significant at the .05 level, but two of the signs--father's education on city authority and mother's education on university are in the wrong direction. Within campuses, three simple correlations for mother's education are significant, but the sign is opposite to that predicted, and of the six significant partial correlations, for mother's or father's education, four are of the sign opposite to that predicted. From this it would be concluded parents' education has little systematic effect on off-springs' attitudes toward political authorities.

Hypothesis 3a predicts that high income will be correlated with rejection of authorities, but none of the simple or partial correlations for the total sample are significant, and within campuses one of the two significant simple correlations and one of the two significant partial correlations is of the sign opposite to that predicted. Family income would seem to have no effect on attitudes toward authorities.

I must conclude then that family socialization background characteristics show little connection with respondent acceptance or rejection of the legitimacy of political system authorities.

With respect to educational socialization hypotheses 4a and 5a predict that those with behavioral science and humanities majors and with higher grade point averages would tend to reject the legitimacy of position authority. For major only the simple and partial correlations on bureaucratic authority at Fort Wayne and the simple for university authority at South Bend are significant. In regard to grade point average, small correlations in the total sample for police and city authority are significant at the .05 level but in the direction opposite of that predicted (i.e., those with lower grade point averages tend to reject these types of authority more, but the relationship is extremely slight). Within campuses the simple and partial correlations for police authority are significant at .05 but generally account for less than two percent of the variance and for city authority only at Bloomington are the correlations significant at .05. Generally then, college educational experience has little effect on attitudes toward political system authorities.

Hypotheses 1b, 2b, 3b, 4b, and 5b, deal with the relationship between these six socialization characteristics and attitudes toward radical change of regime, both institutional and process. These six background variables account for only 2.9% of the variance in institutional regime change attitudes and 3.5% for process regime change attitudes for the total sample.

Obedience seems to affect radical regime change somewhat only at Fort Wayne with simple and partial correlations at the .01 level of significance for institutional change and at the .05 level for process change. The correlations for the institutional change at this one campus are enough to push the total sample to significance with respect to this variable. Fathers' education and mothers' education, likewise, show almost no effect on radical change of regime. Income is not significant for the sample as a whole, but both the simple and partial correlations in Bloomington and Kokomo are significant at the .05 level for process change, but only the simple correlation at Northwest is significant at .05 for process change. Family socialization background seems also to have little effect on propensity toward radical regime change attitudes.

Academic major is significant for institutional change attitudes at the .01 level for the total sample, but only the simple correlation at Fort Wayne is significant for within campus correlations. For process change, small significant correlations were found for the total, Bloomington, and Northwest samples. The relationships between grade point average and both institutional and process change for the Fort Wayne and Northwest campuses are significant for both simple and partial correlations at the .01 level but in the opposite direction from that predicted. Process alone was significant at .05 in Kokomo. All correlations are slight and explain little of the variance.

In sum, with a few slight scattered exceptions, the overall conclusion reached is that these family and educational socialization

variables help very little in predicting attitude toward radical change of regime.

Hypotheses 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 predict the relationships between the six socialization characteristics and ideology. All six variables account for only 1.9% of the variance in the total sample. Obedience is significant in Fort Wayne at .05 and South Bend at .05 and thus for the total sample at .01. Parents' education and income have no significant effect on the ideology of the respondents. The simple and partial correlations for major are significant at .05 for the total sample due to the large sample size but fail to reach significance for a single campus. Grade point average has significant correlations--both simple and partial--at Fort Wayne only, but in the direction opposite to that predicted. I must conclude, then, that these socialization characteristics seem to have almost no effect on ideological attitude of the respondents examined.

In summary, neither the family socialization characteristics--stress on obedience, parent's education, income nor educational socialization characteristics--academic major, grade point average have a significant effect on the attitudinal variables under consideration. The hypotheses predicting relationships between these background socialization variables, and authority and ideological attitudes are not confirmed.

These findings suggest that those explanations for challenge to the political system that rest solely or primarily on emphasizing the direct role of the American middle or upper-middle class family

need to be substantially modified. Apparently, other crucial factors need to be taken into consideration. In the final chapter the discussion will suggest some of these.

Secondly, explanations that rest on academic characteristics of students for their political behavior also require modifications. Alternative approaches in this respect will be discussed in the final chapter.

Relationship Between Background Characteristics and Support
For Actions of Dissent

The third set of hypotheses stated formally in Chapter IV suggested possible relationships between the background characteristics and support for actions of dissent as specified above. Some researchers cited above postulated that these socialization characteristics were found more often among campus activists. These researchers were dealing with groups participating in particular protest events. In the current study the hypotheses will be tested upon a broad sample of students. These socialization experiences may possibly have a direct effect on the propensity to support actions of dissent independent of authority or ideological attitudes.

Earlier I listed several hypotheses to test the relationship between family and educational socialization characteristics and support for actions of dissent (see table 4.1). These hypotheses are repeated in Figure 6.2 together with the expected relationships between the operationalized variables.

Figure 6.2: Socialization Behavioral Hypotheses

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|--------------------|---|------------|-------------------|
| H ₁₁ . | Those who come from homes where their parents stressed a lower degree of obedience will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who come from homes where their parents stressed a higher degree of obedience. | + | → | Acceptance | |
| | | Low Obedience | + | → | Have Participated |
| | | | + | → | Would Participate |
| H ₁₂ . | Those whose parents have a higher degree of education will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those whose parents have a lower degree of education. | Father's Education | + | → | Acceptance |
| | | | + | → | Have Participated |
| | | Mother's Education | + | → | Would Participate |
| H ₁₃ . | Those with higher family incomes will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those with lower family incomes. | | + | → | Acceptance |
| | | Income | + | → | Have Participated |
| | | | + | → | Would Participate |
| H ₁₄ . | Those who have higher grade point averages will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who have lower grade point averages. | | + | → | Acceptance |
| | | G.P.A. | + | → | Have Participated |
| | | | + | → | Would Participate |
| H ₁₅ . | Those who have majors in the social sciences and humanities will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who have majors in business, the sciences, and education. | | + | → | Acceptance |
| | | Major | + | → | Have Participated |
| | | | + | → | Would Participate |

From tables 6.13 and 6.14 the relationship between the background socialization variables and support for actions of dissent is not much stronger than was the relationship between these background socialization variables and the attitudinal variables. In general, they do not account for a large amount of the variance in the behavioral dependent variables. (For the total sample these six socialization variables explain 2.8 percent of the variance in the respondents' acceptance of others' participation in various protest acts, 3.3 percent of the variance in having themselves participated, and 4.1 percent of the variance in willingness to participate in such actions. For a given individual campus the maximum amount of variance explained was 2.7 percent for acceptance, 8.8 percent for having participated, and 7.6 percent for willingness to participate--all at South Bend.)

Therefore, although some of the simple and partial correlation coefficients for relationships between the background and dissent variables are statistically significant, these six socialization characteristics are generally not very helpful in explaining much of the variance in support for actions of dissent.

Turning to the individual hypotheses, hypothesis 11 predicts that those coming from homes where obedience was not given a great deal of stress will support the more vociferous forms of dissent, i.e., they will tend to think that it is legitimate for college protestors to engage in stronger acts of protest, will be more

Table 6.13: Simple Correlations of Background Characteristics With Support for Actions of Dissent

| <u>Support for Actions of Dissent</u> | Obedience | Father's Education | Mother's Education | Income | Major | GPA |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|--------------------|--------------------|--------|--------|-------|
| <u>Total Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .110** | .095** | .078** | .002 | .089** | -.006 |
| Have Participated | .116** | .126** | .111** | .074** | .028 | .034 |
| Would Participate | .154** | .110** | .092** | .068* | .072** | .029 |
| <u>Bloomington Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .064 | -.051 | -.065 | -.087 | .099 | .076 |
| Have Participated | -.012 | .068 | -.085 | .038 | .100 | .043 |
| Would Participate | .068 | .042 | -.018 | -.032 | .016 | .089 |
| <u>Fort Wayne Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .199** | .108* | .030 | .098* | .036 | .020 |
| Have Participated | .088 | .077 | .099* | .043 | -.038 | -.025 |
| Would Participate | .160** | .115* | .055 | .065 | .063 | -.008 |
| <u>South Bend Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .026 | .064 | .035 | -.127* | .022 | -.009 |
| Have Participated | .237** | .118* | .131* | -.005 | -.008 | .037 |
| Would Participate | .246** | .015 | -.012 | -.010 | .029 | .077 |
| <u>Northwest Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .036 | -.007 | .090 | -.123* | .116 | -.085 |
| Have Participated | .024 | .099 | .118* | .091 | .028 | .004 |
| Would Participate | .078 | .044 | .103 | .048 | .063 | -.060 |
| <u>Kokomo Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .054 | .071 | .052 | .040 | .159* | -.087 |
| Have Participated | .090 | .014 | .009 | .113 | .001 | .063 |
| Would Participate | .103 | .160* | .176** | .180** | .143* | .028 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Table 6.14: Multiple and Partial Correlations of Background Characteristics
with Support for Actions of Dissent

| <u>Support for Actions of Dissent</u> | Obedience | Father's Education | Mother's Education | Income | Major | G.P.A. | R ² |
|---|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|----------------|
| <u>Total Sample</u> | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .104** | .066* | .027 | -.029 | .078** | -.003 | .028 |
| Have Participated | .108** | .072* | .041 | .033 | .018 | .022 | .033 |
| Would Participate | .145** | .066* | .026 | .031 | .061* | .022 | .041 |
| <u>Bloomington Sample</u> | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .056 | -.010 | -.048 | -.076 | .110 | .095 | .033 |
| Have Participated | -.013 | .111 | -.144* | .028 | .108 | .052 | .037 |
| Would Participate | .061 | .065 | -.046 | -.052 | .022 | .089 | .018 |
| <u>Fort Wayne Sample</u> | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .189** | .086 | -.038 | .065 | .023 | .023 | .055 |
| Have Participated | .087 | .023 | .072 | .016 | -.056 | -.032 | .021 |
| Would Participate | .145** | .091 | -.011 | .031 | .049 | .002 | .040 |
| <u>South Bend Sample</u> | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .044 | .083 | -.003 | -.146* | .020 | .019 | .027 |
| Have Participated | .258** | .111 | .049 | -.054 | -.002 | .061 | .088 |
| Would Participate | .261** | .087 | -.054 | -.038 | .028 | .098 | .076 |
| <u>Northwest Sample</u> | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .068 | -.065 | .135* | .029 | .126* | -.055 | .052 |
| Have Participated | .032 | .026 | .084 | .114 | .027 | -.011 | .023 |
| Would Participate | .096 | -.032 | .114 | .135* | .062 | -.066 | .030 |
| <u>Kokomo Sample</u> | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .069 | .034 | .000 | .029 | .148* | -.105 | .041 |
| Have Participated | .091 | .016 | -.037 | .114 | -.008 | .044 | .024 |
| Would Participate | .100 | .049 | .062 | .135* | .114 | -.007 | .075 |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

likely to have engaged in such acts themselves, and will express greater willingness to participate in such acts. Researchers previously mentioned found that those participating in college protests were more likely to rate their parents as lenient than non-participants were.³

For the total sample, tables 6.13 and 6.14 indicate that both simple and partial correlations are significant at the .01 level for all three measures of support for actions of dissent, lending some credence to previous research findings. However, obedience explains only about two percent of the variance in any of the three given measures of protest support. Further, when the individual campus samples are examined, significant simple and partial correlations at the .01 level are found for acceptance and willingness to participate for the Fort Wayne campus, and for having participated and willingness to participate for the South Bend campus, but not for the other three campuses. The hypothesis therefore is only partially confirmed.

These data do not seem to provide strong support for the "parental permissiveness" explanation for campus unrest. While those previous researchers may have found that those in their samples, which were confined to activists, were likely to report that their parents were "lenient" with them, the data presented here based on more broad-based samples do not fully support their findings, although there is some confirmation. Perceived parental permissiveness in childrearing does not provide a consistent explanation as to why some students choose to support protest while others do not.

Hypothesis 12 predicts that students coming from homes where their parents are more educated will tend to support stronger forms of protest and Hypothesis 13 predicts that students coming from higher income homes will tend to support stronger forms of protest. The previous studies of studies of activists reviewed above found that they tended to have been born to high social advantages from homes with above average incomes and parents with college or post-graduate degrees. The focus of interest here is to see if these characteristics are correlated with stronger forms of protest in all three areas examined.

Tables 6.13 and 6.14 reveal that for the total sample while the simple correlations between father's education and also mother's education with the three measures of support for actions of dissent are significant at the .01 level, the partials drop to the .05 level for father's education and below statistical significance for mother's education. Further, within the campus samples, the four instances of significance for father's education drop for the partial correlation, and the four significant instances for mother's education also drop. Two partial correlations with respect to mother's education are significant within campuses but one is of the opposite sign than that predicted.

With respect to income, two simple correlations are significant, one at .01 and the other at the .05 level, but they drop for the partials. Within campuses, two of the four significant simple correlations drop below significance when partialled.

Summing up, little support exists for the socio-economic position of the family having a paramount impact on student support for actions of dissent.

In regard to educational socialization, hypothesis 12 predicts that those with majors in the humanities, behavioral sciences, and fine arts will tend to support stronger forms of protest action than will those majoring in business, education or the sciences. Hypothesis 13 predicts more support for protest actions will come from those with higher grade point averages. The previous studies of activist background reviewed in Chapter III revealed that the activists interviewed were drawn disproportionately from the humanities and social sciences. Further Keniston argued they tend to be the more intelligent students.

The data from tables 6.13 and 6.14 indicate that for the total sample there are two significant simple correlations at the .01 level for academic major those with acceptance and willingness to participate. The correlation for willingness to participate drops to the .05 level when partialled. In both instances the relationship is very slight. However, within the samples only the simple correlations for these two actions at Kokomo are significant, and one partial for Kokomo and one at Northwest are significant at .05. For grade point average, none of the correlation coefficients--either simple or partial--are statistically significant, either for the total sample or for a campus sample.

I must conclude that little support is found in these data for a relationship between educational socialization experience and support for actions of dissent.

In general, neither the family socialization characteristics--stress on obedience, parents' education, income, nor the educational socialization characteristics--academic major, grade point average have a substantial effect in determining support for actions of dissent.⁴ This was true for all three forms of support--acceptance of other students participating in stronger forms of protest actions, participating themselves, or saying that they would participate. For the most part, then, the hypotheses predicting relationships between these background socialization variables and support for actions of dissent are not confirmed.

Previous research that has heavily stressed the permissiveness of the family and parental and family socioeconomic characteristics in explaining campus activism would seem to find little support from these data. Perhaps, the earlier studies in concentrating on those participating in demonstrations alone attributed more importance to these characteristics than they deserve. More broad-based samples indicate other students with similar backgrounds do not choose to participate in activist methods. Socioeconomic class by itself then does not seem to provide much of an explanation for campus activism.

Relationship Between Attitudinal Characteristics and Support
for Actions of Dissent

The final set of hypotheses stated formally in Chapter IV have to do with the relationship between three types of attitudinal variables and support for various actions of dissent. The attitudinal variables include (1) the dimensions of attitudes toward authorities, (2) the dimensions of attitudes toward radical regime change, and (3) ideological attitudes. The first two attitudinal components are concerned with the individual's attachment to the political system through his acceptance of the legitimacy of authority of the regime and its authorities. The third attitudinal component is concerned with the individual's long term evaluation and approaches to system politics and issues. The underlying supposition here is that if the individual possesses certain attitudinal characteristics in these areas it is likely that they will carry over into behavioral areas concerned with protest. Chapter IV listed the relevant hypotheses to test the relationships between the attitudinal components and support for actions of dissent. They are repeated below in Figure 6.3 together with the expected relationships between operationalized variables.

Tables 6.15 and 6.16 present the simple and partial inter-correlations of the attitudinal variables of dimensions of attitudes toward authorities, radical regime change attitudes, and ideological attitudes with the three support for actions of dissent variables for the total sample and for each campus sample.

Figure 6.3: Attitudinal Behavioral Hypotheses

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| H ₁₆ ^a . | Those who reject the legitimacy of authorities to a higher degree will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who reject the legitimacy of authorities to a lower degree. | Rejection of: General Authority —+→ Acceptance Bureaucratic Authority —+→ Have Participated University Authority —+→ Have Participated Police Authority —+→ Have Participated City Authority —+→ Would Participate |
| H ₁₆ ^b . | Those who more strongly want a radical change in regime will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who less strongly want a radical change in regime. | Institutional Regime Change —+→ Acceptance Process Regime Change —+→ Have Participated Process Regime Change —+→ Would Participate |
| H ₁₇ . | Those who consider themselves liberal will display support for a higher level of activist methods of dissent than those who consider themselves conservative. | Ideological Liberalism —+→ Acceptance Ideological Liberalism —+→ Have Participated Ideological Liberalism —+→ Would Participate |

Table 6.15: Simple Correlations of Attitudinal Characteristics with Support
for Actions of Dissent

| <u>Support for Actions of Dissent</u> | General Authority | Bureau- cratic Authority | University Authority | Police Authority | City Authority | Institu- tional Regime | Process Regime | Conserva- tism Liberalism |
|---|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>Total Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .045 | .071* | .143** | .086** | .019 | .384** | .066* | .373** |
| Have Participated | .077** | .078** | .217** | .082** | .044 | .290** | .044 | .317** |
| Would Participate | .080** | .079** | .176** | .127** | .011 | .379** | .065* | .411** |
| <u>Bloomington Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .125 | .149* | .332** | .176* | -.031 | .477** | .171* | .478** |
| Have Participated | .224** | .114 | .342** | .158* | .034 | .435** | .095 | .397** |
| Would Participate | .200** | .080 | .299** | .172* | .031 | .406** | .081 | .428** |
| <u>Fort Wayne Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .035 | .132** | .052 | .060 | .006 | .385** | .032 | .334** |
| Have Participated | .049 | .134** | .165** | .076 | .056 | .259** | .090 | .330** |
| Would Participate | .052 | .140** | .156** | .126* | .065 | .418** | .122* | .390** |
| <u>South Bend Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | -.091 | .010 | .222** | .135* | .043 | .304** | -.036 | .294** |
| Have Participated | .138* | .026 | .196** | .088 | .036 | .252** | .060 | .350** |
| Would Participate | .043 | .081 | .156* | .162* | -.022 | .374** | -.008 | .454** |
| <u>Northwest Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .031 | .044 | -.004 | .048 | .072 | .282** | .043* | .346** |
| Have Participated | -.009 | -.021 | .146* | .030 | .035 | .112 | .016 | .104** |
| Would Participate | -.046 | .046 | .095 | .126* | -.061 | .292** | .041 | .338** |
| <u>Kokomo Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .092 | -.058 | .104 | -.035 | -.019 | .390** | .109 | .412** |
| Have Participated | .017 | .048 | .175** | -.032 | .008 | .265** | .038 | .317** |
| Would Participate | .094 | -.024 | .107 | -.034 | -.026 | .304** | .097 | .409** |

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

Table 6.16: Multiple and Partial Correlations of Attitudinal Characteristics
with Support for Actions of Dissent

| <u>Support for Actions of Dissent</u> | General Authority | Bureau- cratic Authority | University Authority | Police Authority | City Authority | Institu- tional Regime | Process Regime | Conserva- tism Liberalism | R ² |
|---|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Total Sample</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .006 | -.013 | .092** | .044 | .001 | .264** | .050 | .262** | .218 |
| Have Participated | .057* | .019 | .188** | .056* | .036 | .156** | .013 | .231** | .171 |
| Would Participate | .050 | -.004 | .134** | .095** | -.007 | .235** | .038 | .309** | .251 |
| <u>Bloomington Sample</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .030 | -.068 | .239** | .179* | -.098 | .243** | .181* | .428** | .425 |
| Have Participated | .194* | -.070 | .257** | .144 | .017 | .187* | .019 | .348** | .351 |
| Would Participate | .172* | -.111 | .230** | .181* | .011 | .149 | .007 | .400** | .347 |
| <u>Fort Wayne Sample</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .023 | .041 | .003 | -.030 | -.010 | .272** | .041 | .195** | .187 |
| Have Participated | -.063 | .066 | .136* | .063 | .054 | .123* | .065 | .234** | .160 |
| Would Participate | .041 | .037 | .115* | .109* | .049 | .292** | .124* | .241** | .268 |
| <u>South Bend Sample</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | -.112 | -.040 | .201** | .035 | .030 | .235** | -.006 | .208** | .191 |
| Have Participated | .139* | -.056 | .184** | -.024 | .031 | .165* | .048 | .287** | .196 |
| Would Participate | .022 | -.004 | .143* | .013 | -.027 | .264** | -.009 | .366** | .283 |
| <u>Northwest Sample</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | -.029 | -.002 | -.038 | -.006 | .045 | .159* | .114 | .276** | .162 |
| Have Participated | -.021 | -.047 | .139* | .008 | .019 | .065 | .005 | .073 | .038 |
| Would Participate | -.086 | -.012 | .071 | .088 | -.105 | .190** | .026 | .258** | .173 |
| <u>Kokomo Sample</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .031 | -.082 | .059 | .003 | -.019 | .286** | .042 | .321** | .255 |
| Have Participated | -.234 | .082 | .184* | -.001 | .012 | .176* | -.098 | .257** | .168 |
| Would Participate | .049 | -.026 | .081 | -.005 | -.015 | .178* | .043 | .339** | .270 |

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

It can be seen from Table 6.16 that taken together the attitudinal variables have a fairly strong impact on support for actions of dissent. For the total sample the eight attitudinal variables explain 21.8 percent of the variance with respect to acceptance of participation in various actions of dissent, and 25.1 percent of the variance in expressed willingness to engage in various methods of dissent. For the Bloomington campus alone, the percentages of explained variance is even higher than for the total sample with 42.5 percent for acceptance, 35.1 percent for having participated, and 34.7 percent for willingness to participate in various actions of dissent. For the individual campuses only for the having participated in protest actions variable is less than sixteen percent of the variance explained by the eight attitudinal variables. The attitudinal variables collectively help explain variation in support for various protest actions.

Turning to the individual simple correlations in table 6.15 for the total sample, every attitudinal variable with the exception of the city authority factor is significantly correlated with at least two of the measures of support for actions of dissent. Of the seven remaining attitudinal measures only the correlations of general authority with acceptance and process regime change attitude with having participated in dissent are not significantly correlated. Sixteen of the nineteen significant correlations attain significance at the .01 level. However when partialled several of the correlations drop below significance.

With respect to attitudes toward authority, partialing eliminates significance for bureaucratic authority, reduces one of the two correlations below significance for general authority and the other to the .05 level, and eliminates one and reduces another to .05 for police authority. Only university authority retains significant correlation at the .01 level with all three measures of support for actions of dissent, for the total sample. The university subsystem is the closest one to the individual students. This fact seems to have relevance for the relationship of student attitudes toward authority and dissent.⁵ University authority may provide the link between the authority structure and dissent behavior.

For individual campuses the pattern is consistent, with correlations for all but university authority generally reduced under partialing. University authority, however, has significant partial correlations for all campuses with at least one measure of support for actions of dissent. The relationship is strongest at the Bloomington campus. Hypothesis 16a is then partially confirmed.

In regard to regime change attitudes for the total sample, the two significant correlations for process regime change disappear when partialled while the three correlations for institutional regime change remain significant at the .01 level. Within the campus samples, process regime change is largely not significant, while for institutional regime change only the correlation with willingness to participate at Bloomington disappears under partialing although a reduction in the

magnitude of the correlations is observed for all campuses. Hypothesis 16b is then confirmed for institutional regime change.⁶

Looking at ideological attitude, conservatism-liberalism correlates at the .01 level for both simple and partial correlations for all measures for the total sample and fourteen of the fifteen possible measures for the individual campuses. The partial correlations for the Bloomington campus are particularly strong explaining approximately sixteen, ten, and sixteen percent of the variance for acceptance, having participated, and willingness to participate respectively. Hypothesis 17 is then confirmed.

In reference to the types of attitudes examined with relevance to support for actions of dissent, ideology specific attitudes would seem to be particularly strong while authority specific attitudes would be somewhat weaker but still significant. Issues and other factors undoubtedly played a large part in decision to support protest action.

A further hypothesis is that a combination of the three types of attitudes is necessary for support for actions of dissent as discussed above. The presence or absence of any one of the critical attitudes may help explain the occurrence or non-occurrence of activism for a particular university or perhaps for universities nationally at any given time.

Relative Proportion of Variance Explained by Independent Variables

The discussion now examines how the variables selected have done in predicting support for actions of dissent. Of course in behavioral research the expectation is that a set of variables will explain a portion of the variance in a dependent variable not necessarily all or most of it. If this expectation is met, theoretical significance may be attached to the variables thus examined. Therefore, the discussion will examine the effect of the variables previously delineated.

Table 6.17 shows the relative proportions of variance explained by the various combinations of variables. It can be seen from Column A that the background and attitudinal variables taken together do fairly well in explaining a significant proportion of the variance in support for actions of dissent. For the total sample these variables account for 23.0 percent of the variance in accepting others' participation in various acts of protest, 19.2 percent in having participated in various protest acts oneself, and 27.3 percent in willingness to participate in acts of protest in the future. The individual campus results are similar to the total sample with the exception of the Bloomington campus, for which the 14 variables do even better explaining 44.9 percent in acceptance, 36.0 percent in having participated and 36.7 percent in willingness to participate.

Table 6.17: Proportion of Variance in Support for Actions of Dissent
Explained by Background and Attitudinal Characteristics

| <u>Support for Actions of Dissent</u> | A. Explained by all 14 variables R^2 | B. Explained by 6 background characteristics Only R^2 | C. Explained by 8 Attitudinal characteristics Only R^2 | D. Explained by 3 Attitudinal characteristics Only R^2 |
|---|---|---|--|--|
| <u>Total Sample</u> | | | | |
| Acceptance | .230 | .028 | .218 | .214 |
| Have Participated | .192 | .033 | .171 | .164 |
| Would Participate | .273 | .041 | .251 | .240 |
| <u>Bloomington Sample</u> | | | | |
| Acceptance | .449 | .033 | .425 | .368 |
| Have Participated | .360 | .037 | .351 | .298 |
| Would Participate | .367 | .018 | .347 | .287 |
| <u>Fort Wayne Sample</u> | | | | |
| Acceptance | .222 | .055 | .187 | .183 |
| Have Participated | .172 | .021 | .160 | .142 |
| Would Participate | .288 | .040 | .268 | .240 |
| <u>South Bend Sample</u> | | | | |
| Acceptance | .240 | .027 | .191 | .177 |
| Have Participated | .274 | .088 | .196 | .175 |
| Would Participate | .333 | .076 | .283 | .282 |
| <u>Northwest Sample</u> | | | | |
| Acceptance | .198 | .052 | .162 | .149 |
| Have Participated | .065 | .023 | .038 | .035 |
| Would Participate | .198 | .030 | .173 | .151 |
| <u>Kokomo Sample</u> | | | | |
| Acceptance | .279 | .041 | .255 | .248 |
| Have Participated | .193 | .024 | .168 | .153 |
| Would Participate | .255 | .075 | .210 | .206 |

To determine the relative explanatory value of the background versus the attitudinal variables, Column B shows the proportion of variance explained by the six background variables alone and Column C shows the proportion explained by the eight attitudinal variables alone. By themselves the background variables explain relatively small proportions of the variance in measures of support for actions of dissent, while the attitudinal variables by themselves do considerably better. For the total sample the background variables explain 2.8, 3.3 and 4.1 percent of the variance, while the attitudinal variables explain 21.8, 17.1, and 25.1 percent of the variance in acceptance, having participated, and willingness to participate respectively. Within the campus samples the results are similar. The eight attitudinal variables do almost as well as the fourteen variables together. At Bloomington, for example, the difference in variance explained by the eight attitudinal variables by themselves and the full 14 variables is less than three percent for each of the three measures of protest support.

Taking the analysis a step further, I examine the three attitudinal variables that were most significant in predicting support for actions of dissent. These were attitudes toward university authority, institutional regime change attitude, and ideological attitude. The proportion of the variance explained in the dependent variables by these three variables is found in Column D. These three variables do relatively as well in predicting support for actions of dissent as do the eight attitudinal variables combined. Generally, only

very slight reductions in variance explained are involved. For the total sample the reductions are on the order of one percent or less. In sum, these three attitudinal variables do about as well as all eight attitudinal variables and all 14 variables combined in predicting support for actions of dissent. For this reason, these three variables will be utilized as the attitudinal variables in the testing of the theoretical models.

Model Testing

In Chapter IV, four possible models were proposed to account for the relationships discussed. These included the developmental model hypothesizing a relationship from background characteristics to the attitudinal characteristics to the support for actions of dissent; the spurious model hypothesizing no direct relationship between the attitudinal variables and support for actions of dissent but both being explained by the background characteristics; the independence model hypothesizing a relationship between the background characteristics and the measure of support for dissent, and also a relationship between the attitudinal characteristics and measures of support for dissent, but no relationship between the attitudinal and background characteristics; and the hybrid model hypothesizing a direct relationship of the background characteristics to support for actions of dissent and a developmental sequence through the attitudinal variables to support for actions of dissent.

In addition, previous research was discussed in chapter four which led this author to hypothesize that the developmental model would be most helpful in explaining the behavior under examination.

The next step is obviously to empirically test these theoretical models to arrive at the most supportable explanation. However, in selecting a methodology that would allow me to do this I ran into a difficulty utilizing conventional methods.

Following the argument delineated by Charles Cnudde and Donald McCrone, who previously addressed this problem, normally in a test of a developmental sequence such as the developmental model $B \rightarrow A \rightarrow S$ discussed above, a control for the hypothesized intervening variable (A) would be made to determine whether the original relationship between the independent (B) and dependent (S) variable still remains.⁷ In making the test, an attempt is made to choose between the developmental sequence model and another model in which the test variable does not intervene and effects from the independent variable remain. However, when testing for spuriousness by using a control such as the spurious model $B \begin{matrix} \nearrow A \\ \searrow S \end{matrix}$ discussed above, normally a partial for the independent variable (B) would be made which supposedly accounts for any relationship between (A) and (S) in this model. If the correlation between the two hypothesized variables does not disappear, presumably this model is incorrect.

In both of the above described tests, an attempt is made to choose between the hypothesized model and a second model. However, in the present case I am attempting to choose between models associated

with the two tests: developmental sequence and spuriousness models. The conventional testing procedures are inadequate. For a full explanation of the problem, see Appendix I.

The procedure followed here is to control using unstandardized regression coefficients rather than partial correlation. The partial regression coefficients are utilized with controls for both spuriousness and developmental sequences, to determine if the spurious, developmental, hybrid, or independence models is the most appropriate.

If a test of spuriousness on significant zero-order regression coefficients does not yield a reduction in the regression of acceptance of protest methods on university authority, for example, I may safely infer the most appropriate model is the developmental one. However, if the test does produce a reduction in the regression coefficient, I still am faced with the problem of choosing between the spuriousness and hybrid models, for both predict a reduction. The problem is resolved by also testing for a developmental sequence by controlling for the attitudinal variable. Both the hybrid and developmental models predict a reduction in the regression coefficient of the background variable on the measures of support for dissent, while the spurious model predicts no reduction. Only when a reduction in the regression coefficients is observed under both tests should the hybrid model be inferred.

Confidence limits are utilized to test reduction of coefficients. Within the confidence limits the magnitudes of the coefficients could vary on a chance basis. The process is not just whether the controls

reduce the magnitude of the regression coefficients, but whether they reduce them by an amount greater than they could have by chance given a significance level of .05. If the partial regression coefficient is smaller than the corresponding lower confidence limit we conclude there has been a significant reduction. If it is not smaller than the limit, we conclude the relationship is unaffected by the control variable. Table 6.18 shows the possible results of the tests and the inference to be made.

Table 6.18: Behavior of Regression Coefficients Under Tests for Spuriousness and Developmental Sequence and Model to be Inferred

| <u>Inference</u> | <u>Test for Spuriousness</u> | <u>Test for Developmental Sequence</u> |
|------------------|------------------------------|--|
| Spuriousness | Reduction | No Reduction |
| Developmental | No Reduction | Reduction |
| Hybrid | Reduction | Reduction |
| Independence | No Reduction | No Reduction |

In testing the models the background characteristics will consist of the six previously delineated variables obedience, father's education, mother's education, income, major, and G.P.A. A second test will be made utilizing the additional background characteristics of age, sex, religious identification and party identification. Even though few zero-order correlations with the other variables in the first group proved to be significant, it may be instructive to observe

those that were significant as well as the direction of change of those that were not. The additional background characteristics will give a broader basis for inference. The attitudinal variables will include the three most significant in predicting support for protest, namely, attitude toward university authority, radical regime change attitude, and ideological attitude. The behavioral variables will include the three measures of support for actions of dissent, acceptance of others' participation, having participated oneself, and willingness to participate in the future.

The test for spuriousness between the three attitudinal variables and each of the three measures of support for actions of dissent controlling for the six original background factors appear in Tables 6.19, 6.20, and 6.21. For the lower confidence limits the figures in parentheses indicate that the regression coefficient must be reduced to zero by the control variables. Those confidence limits labeled NS indicate the standard error of the regression coefficient was larger than the regression coefficient itself, thus including zero. The coefficient may not be considered reliable.

Table 6.19 shows the relationship between attitudes toward university authority and support for actions of dissent controlling for the six background characteristics. For each of the measures of support for actions of dissent, none of the six background characteristics significantly reduces the regression coefficient between attitude toward university authority and the measures. Instead, the reductions are either very slight or nonexistent. This is true for both the

Table 6.19: Regression Coefficients between Attitudes toward University Authorities and Support for Actions of Dissent with Controls for 6 Background Factors

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Simple b | Lower Confidence Limit | Obedience | Father's Education | Mother's Education | Income | Major | G.P.A. |
| <u>Total Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .149 | .072 | .140 | .145 | .150 | .149 | .146 | .149 |
| Have Participated | .244 | .163 | .234 | .239 | .246 | .241 | .244 | .244 |
| Would Participate | .280 | .163 | .260 | .273 | .283 | .276 | .277 | .280 |
| <u>Bloomington Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .312 | .100 | .309 | .317 | .312 | .335 | .312 | .308 |
| Have Participated | .416 | .142 | .417 | .412 | .410 | .419 | .416 | .414 |
| Would Participate | .484 | .114 | .480 | .482 | .493 | .507 | .484 | .476 |
| <u>Fort Wayne Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .048 | NS | .026 | .039 | .046 | .049 | .046 | .047 |
| Have Participated | .160 | .034 | .152 | .154 | .155 | .160 | .161 | .160 |
| Would Participate | .216 | .036 | .193 | .204 | .212 | .217 | .213 | .216 |
| <u>South Bend Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .257 | .064 | .256 | .259 | .265 | .274 | .257 | .257 |
| Have Participated | .237 | .034 | .221 | .240 | .259 | .239 | .241 | .237 |
| Would Participate | .269 | (-.022) | .245 | .269 | .269 | .273 | .267 | .269 |
| <u>Northwest Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | -.004 | NS | -.006 | -.004 | -.002 | -.001 | -.014 | -.005 |
| Have Participated | .144 | (-.021) | .144 | .147 | .147 | .142 | .143 | .144 |
| Would Participate | .153 | (-.119) | .148 | .155 | .156 | .151 | .146 | .151 |
| <u>Kokomo Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .124 | (-.079) | .117 | .127 | .122 | .124 | .143 | .120 |
| Have Participated | .222 | .009 | .210 | .223 | .222 | .224 | .224 | .225 |
| Would Participate | .193 | (-.113) | .169 | .205 | .185 | .199 | .220 | .195 |

Table 6.20: Regression Coefficients between Attitudes toward Radical Regime Change and Support for Actions of Dissent with Controls for 6 Background Factors

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Simple b | Lower Confidence Limit | Obedience | Father's Education | Mother's Education | Income | Major | G.P.A. |
| <u>Total Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .402 | .330 | .394 | .397 | .399 | .402 | .397 | .406 |
| Have Participated | .326 | .246 | .317 | .319 | .321 | .328 | .326 | .335 |
| Would Participate | .605 | .495 | .588 | .597 | .600 | .607 | .600 | .618 |
| <u>Bloomington Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .475 | .266 | .481 | .475 | .473 | .473 | .471 | .476 |
| Have Participated | .562 | .283 | .562 | .562 | .556 | .563 | .555 | .562 |
| Would Participate | .697 | .321 | .707 | .697 | .700 | .696 | .698 | .698 |
| <u>Fort Wayne Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .404 | .276 | .376 | .396 | .404 | .401 | .405 | .414 |
| Have Participated | .285 | .145 | .277 | .279 | .279 | .284 | .294 | .286 |
| Would Participate | .661 | .472 | .636 | .649 | .658 | .658 | .658 | .670 |
| <u>South Bend Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .318 | .148 | .318 | .326 | .321 | .312 | .318 | .321 |
| Have Participated | .275 | .095 | .270 | .288 | .284 | .275 | .276 | .283 |
| Would Participate | .584 | .337 | .576 | .590 | .584 | .584 | .583 | .603 |
| <u>Northwest Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .280 | .118 | .280 | .280 | .280 | .277 | .275 | .275 |
| Have Participated | .102 | (-.053) | .102 | .106 | .102 | .104 | .101 | .109 |
| Would Participate | .438 | .195 | .438 | .442 | .438 | .440 | .435 | .441 |
| <u>Kokomo Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .432 | .258 | .432 | .430 | .435 | .441 | .425 | .427 |
| Have Participated | .310 | .118 | .302 | .315 | .318 | .327 | .311 | .316 |
| Would Participate | .508 | .237 | .494 | .478 | .471 | .545 | .498 | .513 |

Table 6.21: Regression Coefficients between Attitudes toward Conservatism-Liberalism and Support for Actions of Dissent with Controls for 6 Background Factors

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Simple b | Lower Confidence Limit | Partial | | | | | |
| | | | Obedience | Father's Education | Mother's Education | Income | Major | G.P.A. |
| <u>Total Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .797 | .649 | .780 | .794 | .791 | .797 | .787 | .797 |
| Have Participated | .730 | .567 | .709 | .725 | .720 | .732 | .729 | .733 |
| Would Participate | 1.338 | 1.117 | 1.299 | 1.338 | 1.328 | 1.342 | 1.329 | 1.342 |
| <u>Bloomington Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | 1.094 | .613 | 1.089 | 1.095 | 1.090 | 1.088 | 1.083 | 1.094 |
| Have Participated | 1.179 | .527 | 1.186 | 1.177 | 1.172 | 1.185 | 1.162 | 1.179 |
| Would Participate | 1.690 | .835 | 1.680 | 1.688 | 1.690 | 1.687 | 1.696 | 1.689 |
| <u>Fort Wayne Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .678 | .426 | .638 | .665 | .678 | .691 | .676 | .698 |
| Have Participated | .703 | .438 | .690 | .694 | .689 | .710 | .705 | .710 |
| Would Participate | 1.191 | .821 | 1.149 | 1.172 | 1.186 | 1.207 | 1.186 | 1.214 |
| <u>South Bend Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .631 | .281 | .649 | .656 | .642 | .631 | .634 | .634 |
| Have Participated | .785 | .427 | .704 | .827 | .815 | .785 | .796 | .783 |
| Would Participate | 1.452 | .966 | 1.346 | 1.478 | 1.459 | 1.452 | 1.459 | 1.443 |
| <u>Northwest Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .706 | .381 | .712 | .710 | .707 | .689 | .703 | .700 |
| Have Participated | .197 | (-.124) | .199 | .214 | .198 | .213 | .196 | .197 |
| Would Participate | 1.045 | .550 | 1.061 | 1.064 | 1.046 | 1.066 | 1.042 | 1.039 |
| <u>Kokomo Sample</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .884 | .550 | .881 | .879 | .880 | .884 | .858 | .888 |
| Have Participated | .719 | .352 | .706 | .719 | .719 | .702 | .726 | .716 |
| Would Participate | 1.324 | .820 | 1.303 | 1.306 | 1.299 | 1.283 | 1.290 | 1.322 |

total sample and the individual campus samples. The result is the same for the relationship between radical regime change attitude and support for actions of dissent as shown in table 6.20. For both total and campus samples the reductions are slight or nonexistent. Finally, in examining the relationship between liberalism-conservatism and measures of support for dissent actions controlling for the background characteristics as shown in table 6.21, again no significant reductions take place. This is generally what would be expected since there were few instances of significant correlation between the background characteristics and support for dissent. However, even in those instances where there were significant correlations no significant reduction takes place here between the attitudinal variables and support for actions of dissent. Therefore, the conclusion is the relationship between the attitudinal variables and support for actions of dissent is unaffected by the control variables.

As mentioned previously, the second set of background characteristics that will be utilized in these tests include age, sex, religious identification, and party identification. In the test for spuriousness, the hypothesis is that one or more of these variables are the real cause of the relationship and when they are controlled, the relationship between the attitudinal variables and support for actions of dissent is reduced. Thus, it might be anticipated that those who are younger, are male, are Catholics, or are Democrats would support actions of dissent regardless of attitudinal orientation toward authority or ideology.

The test for spuriousness between the three attitudinal variables and each of the three measures of support for actions of dissent controlling for the second set of background factors appear in tables 6.22, 6.23, and 6.24. Table 6.22 shows the relationship for attitudes toward university authorities. Although some reductions in the regression coefficients occur when the control variables are introduced, none of the reductions are statistically significant at the .05 level. This is true for both the total and individual campus samples. For the total sample and for most cases within the campus samples, religious identification results in the largest reductions, but these are not even close to what is needed for significance. The relationship between attitude toward university authority and support for measures of dissent is unaffected by these background variables.

Table 6.23 shows the relationship for radical regime change attitudes. Again, while there are some reductions shown in the coefficients, none reach statistical significance. In this instance, religion and age seem to result in the most substantial reductions, although none are significant at the .05 level.

Finally, the relationship for Liberalism-Conservatism is shown in table 6.24. As with the other two attitudinal variables, the relationship between Liberalism-Conservatism and measures of support for actions of dissent is not significantly affected by these control variables. There are reductions for both the total and campus samples, but again none are statistically significant. For ideological attitudes, religion, age and party provide some reductions in one case or another, but do not approach statistical significance.

Table 6.22: Regression Coefficients between Attitudes toward University Authorities and Support for Actions of Dissent, with Controls for 4 Background Factors

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Simple b | Lower Confidence Limit | Age | Sex | Religion | Party |
| <u>Total Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .149 | .072 | .144 | .144 | .128 | .146 |
| Have Participated | .244 | .163 | .239 | .236 | .220 | .242 |
| Would Participate | .280 | .163 | .273 | .266 | .244 | .274 |
| <u>Bloomington Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .312 | .100 | .311 | .311 | .302 | .318 |
| Have Participated | .416 | .142 | .416 | .417 | .400 | .404 |
| Would Participate | .484 | .114 | .484 | .486 | .460 | .461 |
| <u>Fort Wayne Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .047 | NS | .045 | .039 | .026 | .047 |
| Have Participated | .160 | .034 | .157 | .147 | .141 | .160 |
| Would Participate | .216 | .036 | .211 | .191 | .179 | .216 |
| <u>South Bend Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .257 | .064 | .249 | .269 | .248 | .264 |
| Have Participated | .238 | .034 | .231 | .231 | .223 | .244 |
| Would Participate | .269 | (-.022) | .261 | .269 | .252 | .283 |
| <u>Northwest Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | -.004 | NS | .001 | -.020 | -.046 | -.005 |
| Have Participated | .144 | (-.021) | .149 | .138 | .124 | .145 |
| Would Participate | .153 | (-.119) | .161 | .137 | .108 | .152 |
| <u>Kokomo Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .124 | (-.079) | .121 | .118 | .120 | .109 |
| Have Participated | .222 | .009 | .219 | .207 | .216 | .218 |
| Would Participate | .193 | (-.113) | .118 | .175 | .185 | .176 |

Table 6.23: Regression Coefficients between Attitudes toward Radical Regime Change and Support for Actions of Dissent with Controls for 4 Background Factors

| | Simple b | Lower Confidence Limit | Regression Coefficients | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|------|----------|-------|
| | | | Age | Sex | Religion | Party |
| <u>Total Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .402 | .330 | .368 | .399 | .369 | .382 |
| Have Participated | .326 | .246 | .280 | .321 | .282 | .318 |
| Would Participate | .605 | .495 | .552 | .598 | .543 | .559 |
| <u>Bloomington Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .475 | .266 | .475 | .475 | .452 | .494 |
| Have Participated | .562 | .283 | .562 | .560 | .518 | .547 |
| Would Participate | .697 | .321 | .697 | .696 | .623 | .663 |
| <u>Fort Wayne Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .404 | .276 | .373 | .401 | .379 | .380 |
| Have Participated | .285 | .145 | .213 | .280 | .259 | .257 |
| Would Participate | .666 | .472 | .576 | .652 | .614 | .593 |
| <u>South Bend Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .318 | .148 | .265 | .320 | .274 | .291 |
| Have Participated | .275 | .095 | .238 | .274 | .194 | .248 |
| Would Participate | .584 | .337 | .545 | .583 | .507 | .523 |
| <u>Northwest Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .280 | .118 | .264 | .254 | .249 | .266 |
| Have Participated | .102 | (-.053) | .075 | .090 | .079 | .129 |
| Would Participate | .438 | .195 | .412 | .415 | .406 | .438 |
| <u>Kokomo Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .432 | .258 | .403 | .433 | .400 | .412 |
| Have Participated | .310 | .118 | .275 | .312 | .252 | .305 |
| Would Participate | .508 | .237 | .437 | .510 | .436 | .485 |

Table 6.24: Regression Coefficients between Conservatism-Liberalism and Support for Actions of Dissent with Controls for 4 Background Factors

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Simple b | Lower Confidence Limit | Age | Sex | Religion | Party |
| <u>Total Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .797 | .649 | .735 | .794 | .730 | .780 |
| Have Participated | .730 | .567 | .654 | .725 | .643 | .760 |
| Would Participate | 1.338 | 1.117 | 1.246 | 1.331 | 1.219 | 1.268 |
| <u>Bloomington Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | 1.094 | .613 | 1.099 | 1.097 | 1.047 | 1.231 |
| Have Participated | 1.179 | .527 | 1.183 | 1.190 | 1.094 | 1.159 |
| Would Participate | 1.690 | .835 | 1.701 | 1.703 | 1.557 | 1.614 |
| <u>Fort Wayne Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .678 | .426 | .611 | .672 | .621 | .621 |
| Have Participated | .703 | .438 | .590 | .694 | .651 | .682 |
| Would Participate | 1.191 | .821 | 1.032 | 1.174 | 1.085 | 1.049 |
| <u>South Bend Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .631 | .281 | .534 | .629 | .547 | .485 |
| Have Participated | .785 | .427 | .727 | .790 | .649 | .694 |
| Would Participate | 1.452 | .966 | 1.389 | 1.456 | 1.321 | 1.168 |
| <u>Northwest Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .706 | .381 | .695 | .690 | .678 | .720 |
| Have Participated | .197 | (-.124) | .184 | .189 | .178 | .299 |
| Would Participate | 1.045 | .550 | 1.025 | 1.028 | 1.012 | 1.118 |
| <u>Kokomo Sample</u> | | | | | | |
| Acceptance | .884 | .550 | .828 | .879 | .801 | .819 |
| Have Participated | .719 | .352 | .651 | .701 | .524 | .761 |
| Would Participate | 1.324 | .820 | 1.193 | 1.304 | 1.114 | 1.293 |

I must conclude, then, that the relationship between the three attitudinal variables and the measures of support for actions of dissent are generally not affected by the background characteristics tested.

At this point the tests for a developmental sequence will be taken up. Here the attitudinal variables will be controlled for in testing the relationship between the background characteristics and the measures of support for actions of dissent.

Tables 6.25 to 6.30 show the tests for a developmental sequence for the first six background characteristics. There are reductions, in both the total sample coefficients and the within campus coefficients for those instances where the zero-order coefficients were significant but none are sufficient to reach significance at the .05 level. This should not be too surprising in that little relationship was found between the two sets of variables during the formal testing of hypotheses. However, even for those coefficients that were significant, no statistically significant reduction takes place as a result of the introduction of the attitudinal controls.

Since previously the background variables caused no reduction in the coefficients of the relationship between the attitudinal variables and the measures of support for actions of dissent, the independence model would be the appropriate explanatory model.

**Table 6.25: Regression Coefficients Between Six Background Factors and Support
for Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Attitudinal Factors--
Total Sample**

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Simple <u>b</u> | Lower Confidence Limit | Rad. Reg. Chg. <u>Partial b</u> | Univ. Auth. <u>Partial b</u> | Con-lib <u>Partial b</u> |
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .139 | .046 | .098 | .123 | .088 |
| Father's Ed. | .070 | .015 | .054 | .066 | .066 |
| Mother's Ed. | .070 | .003 | .053 | .072 | .055 |
| Income | .002 | NS | .008 | -.005 | .006 |
| Major | .068 | .012 | .045 | .064 | .048 |
| G.P.A. | -.006 | NS | .040 | -.008 | .006 |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .157 | .057 | .124 | .131 | .110 |
| Father's Ed. | .101 | .042 | .088 | .094 | .097 |
| Mother's Ed. | .107 | .036 | .094 | .110 | .094 |
| Income | .070 | .000 | .075 | .060 | .074 |
| Major | .023 | NS | .004 | .016 | .005 |
| G.P.A. | .039 | NS | .077 | .036 | .051 |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .296 | .155 | .235 | .267 | .211 |
| Father's Ed. | .126 | .042 | .101 | .117 | .118 |
| Mother's Ed. | .125 | .024 | .101 | .129 | .101 |
| Income | .091 | (-.008) | .099 | .079 | .099 |
| Major | .083 | (-.057) | .048 | .076 | .050 |
| G.P.A. | .048 | NS | .119 | .045 | .070 |

Table 6.26: Regression Coefficients Between Six Background Factors and Support for
Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Attitudinal Factors
Bloomington Sample

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Simple <u>b</u> | Lower Confidence Limit | Rad. Reg. Chg. <u>Partial b</u> | Univ. Auth. <u>Partial b</u> | Con-lib <u>Partial b</u> |
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .074 | NS | .110 | .055 | .038 |
| Father's Ed. | -.038 | NS | -.037 | -.058 | -.042 |
| Mother's Ed. | -.051 | NS | -.015 | -.008 | -.039 |
| Income | -.070 | NS | -.058 | -.118 | -.056 |
| Major | .065 | NS | .044 | .067 | .039 |
| G.P.A. | .087 | NS | .093 | .060 | .086 |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | -.017 | NS | .026 | -.042 | -.056 |
| Father's Ed. | .066 | NS | .066 | .039 | .061 |
| Mother's Ed. | -.087 | NS | -.044 | -.029 | -.074 |
| Income | .040 | (-.035) | .054 | -.020 | .055 |
| Major | .086 | NS | .060 | .088 | .058 |
| G.P.A. | .064 | NS | .072 | .028 | .063 |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .136 | NS | .190 | .108 | .081 |
| Father's Ed. | .054 | NS | .055 | .023 | .047 |
| Mother's Ed. | -.024 | NS | .029 | .045 | -.005 |
| Income | -.045 | NS | -.028 | -.118 | -.023 |
| Major | .019 | NS | -.013 | .022 | -.022 |
| G.P.A. | .176 | NS | .186 | .134 | .175 |

Table 6.27: Regression Coefficients between Six Background Factors and Support for
Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Attitudinal Factors--
Fort Wayne Sample

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | <u>Simple b</u> | <u>Lower Confidence Limit</u> | <u>Rad. Reg. Chg. Partial b</u> | <u>Univ. Auth. Partial b</u> | <u>Con-lib Partial b</u> |
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .257 | .090 | .153 | .252 | .209 |
| Father's Ed. | .078 | (-.016) | .048 | .075 | .061 |
| Mother's Ed. | .026 | NS | .005 | .024 | -.002 |
| Income | .083 | (-.028) | .074 | .083 | .100 |
| Major | .026 | NS | -.006 | .025 | .019 |
| G.P.A. | .020 | NS | .073 | .019 | .072 |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .120 | (-.057) | .043 | .095 | .067 |
| Father's Ed. | .058 | (-.041) | .036 | .047 | .040 |
| Mother's Ed. | .090 | (-.029) | .076 | .083 | .062 |
| Income | .038 | NS | .032 | .039 | .055 |
| Major | -.029 | NS | -.052 | -.032 | -.036 |
| G.P.A. | -.027 | NS | .009 | -.031 | .026 |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .311 | .059 | .135 | .280 | .224 |
| Father's Ed. | .124 | (-.016) | .075 | .110 | .094 |
| Mother's Ed. | .072 | NS | .038 | .062 | .023 |
| Income | .083 | NS | .068 | .085 | .113 |
| Major | .068 | NS | .015 | .063 | .056 |
| G.P.A. | -.013 | NS | .073 | -.018 | .078 |

Table 6.28: Regression Coefficients Between Six Background Factors and Support for
 Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Attitudinal Factors--
 South Bend Sample

Regression Coefficients

| | <u>Simple b</u> | <u>Lower Confidence Limit</u> | <u>Rad. Reg. Chg. Partial b</u> | <u>Univ. Auth. Partial b</u> | <u>Con-lib Partial b</u> |
|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .031 | NS | .024 | .015 | -.047 |
| Father's Ed. | .049 | NS | .068 | .052 | .075 |
| Mother's Ed. | .034 | NS | .051 | .059 | .057 |
| Income | -.122 | (.040) | -.106 | -.144 | -.121 |
| Major | .017 | NS | .006 | -.003 | -.008 |
| G.P.A. | -.009 | NS | .025 | -.009 | -.026 |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .303 | .091 | .297 | .290 | .218 |
| Father's Ed. | .093 | (-.041) | .111 | .096 | .126 |
| Mother's Ed. | .132 | (-.038) | .147 | .157 | .162 |
| Income | -.005 | NS | .009 | -.024 | -.004 |
| Major | .006 | NS | .015 | -.025 | -.037 |
| G.P.A. | .040 | NS | .070 | .040 | .019 |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .451 | .148 | .437 | .436 | .287 |
| Father's Ed. | .016 | NS | .053 | .020 | .077 |
| Mother's Ed. | -.017 | NS | .015 | .009 | .037 |
| Income | -.013 | NS | .016 | -.035 | -.013 |
| Major | .033 | NS | .014 | .012 | -.024 |
| G.P.A. | .120 | NS | .185 | .119 | .081 |

Table 6.29: Regression Coefficients Between Six Background Factors and Support for Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Additudinal Factors-- Northwest Sample

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Simple <u>b</u> | Lower Confidence <u>Limit</u> | Rad. Reg. Chg. <u>Partial b</u> | Univ. Auth. <u>Partial b</u> | Con-lib <u>Partial b</u> |
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .044 | NS | .044 | .044 | .068 |
| Father's Ed. | -.005 | NS | .003 | -.005 | .017 |
| Mother's Ed. | .082 | (-.073) | .082 | .082 | .084 |
| Income | -.102 | (.038) | -.097 | -.102 | -.077 |
| Major | .090 | (-.040) | .080 | .090 | .087 |
| G.P.A. | -.086 | NS | -.020 | -.086 | -.072 |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .028 | NS | .028 | .020 | .034 |
| Father's Ed. | .068 | (-.048) | .071 | .071 | .075 |
| Mother's Ed. | .100 | (-.043) | .100 | .103 | .101 |
| Income | .070 | (-.060) | .067 | .072 | .078 |
| Major | .020 | NS | .016 | .012 | .019 |
| G.P.A. | .003 | NS | .029 | .005 | .007 |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .146 | NS | .146 | .139 | .182 |
| Father's Ed. | .049 | NS | .063 | .052 | .083 |
| Mother's Ed. | .143 | (-.092) | .143 | .146 | .145 |
| Income | .060 | NS | .068 | .056 | .098 |
| Major | .074 | NS | .059 | .065 | .069 |
| G.P.A. | -.092 | NS | .014 | -.089 | -.070 |

Table 6.30: Regression Coefficients Between Six Background Factors and Support for
 Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Attitudinal Factors--
 Kokomo Sample

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Simple <u>b</u> | Lower Confidence <u>Limit</u> | Rad. Reg. Chg. <u>Partial b</u> | Univ. Auth. <u>Partial b</u> | Con-lib <u>Partial b</u> |
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .070 | NS | .007 | .051 | .015 |
| Father's Ed. | .058 | NS | .009 | .061 | .045 |
| Mother's Ed. | .054 | NS | -.017 | .051 | .033 |
| Income | .036 | NS | .071 | .037 | .004 |
| Major | .128 | (-.007) | .114 | .136 | .095 |
| G.P.A. | -.098 | (.092) | -.070 | -.094 | -.109 |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .122 | (-.108) | .078 | .089 | .078 |
| Father's Ed. | .012 | NS | -.023 | .018 | .001 |
| Mother's Ed. | .010 | NS | -.042 | .005 | -.007 |
| Income | .105 | (.052) | .132 | .108 | .080 |
| Major | .001 | NS | -.009 | .015 | -.027 |
| G.P.A. | .075 | NS | .095 | .082 | .065 |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Obedience | .199 | (-.128) | .128 | .173 | .118 |
| Father's Ed. | .200 | (-.010) | .145 | .205 | .180 |
| Mother's Ed. | .274 | .013 | .198 | .270 | .244 |
| Income | .238 | .016 | .283 | .241 | .192 |
| Major | .173 | -.031 | .157 | .187 | .124 |
| G.P.A. | .047 | NS | .081 | .054 | .030 |

Tables 6.31 to 6.36 show the tests for a developmental sequence for the second set of background characteristics. For the total sample, statistically significant reductions are observed for the introduction of radical regime change with age, religion, and party on acceptance, and on age and party on willingness. In addition, significant reductions are observed for the introduction of liberalism-conservatism with party on acceptance, having participated, and willingness to participate. For the campus samples, at Fort Wayne radical regime change with party on acceptance and willingness, and liberalism-conservatism with party on having participated and willingness to participate were significant. At South Bend only liberalism-conservatism with party on willingness to participate was significant.

Previously no reductions were found between the attitudinal characteristics and the behavioral variables controlling for these background characteristics. In these few instances then a developmental sequence could be said to exist. However, when taken within the context of the lack of significant reductions for the majority of cases, the independence model would again seem to be the appropriate explanatory model.

Interpretation of Results

The unrest on various college and university campuses has been attributed by various theorists and researchers as well as by the media to a variety of causes. Explanations ranging from the "generation

Table 6.31: Regression Coefficients between Four Background Factors and Support for
 Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Attitudinal Factors--
 Total Sample

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Simple <u>b</u> | Lower Confidence <u>Limit</u> | Rad. Reg. Chg. <u>Partial b</u> | Univ. Auth. <u>Partial b</u> | Con-lib. <u>Partial b</u> |
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.115 | -.076 | -.067* | -.114 | -.078 |
| Sex | -.146 | (.009) | -.111 | -.123 | -.130 |
| Religion | .154 | .105 | .105* | .146 | .107 |
| Party | .315 | .174 | .157* | .309 | .039* |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.129 | -.087 | -.092 | -.126 | -.096 |
| Sex | -.250 | -.084 | -.222 | -.212 | -.235 |
| Religion | .180 | .127 | .142 | .167 | .139 |
| Party | .198 | .045 | .067 | .189 | -.070* |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.179 | -.120 | -.106* | -.176 | -.117* |
| Sex | -.380 | -.144 | -.327 | -.336 | -.352 |
| Religion | .271 | .195 | .197 | .256 | .192* |
| Party | .608 | .395 | .338* | .598 | .160* |

**Table 6.32: Regression Coefficients Between Four Background Factors and Support for
Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Attitudinal Factors--
Bloomington Sample**

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Simple <u>b</u> | Lower Confidence Limit | Rad. Reg. Chg. <u>Partial b</u> | Univ. Auth. <u>Partial b</u> | Con-lib. <u>Partial b</u> |
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Age | .057 | NS | .058 | .057 | .068 |
| Sex | -.013 | NS | -.013 | -.027 | -.055 |
| Religion | .117 | (-.017) | .062 | .106 | .076 |
| Party | -.084 | NS | -.212 | -.137 | -.348 |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Age | .038 | NS | .039 | .038 | .050 |
| Sex | -.172 | NS | -.158 | -.191 | -.217 |
| Religion | .180 | .008 | .118 | .167 | .138 |
| Party | .301 | (-.219) | .159 | .234 | .052 |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Age | .134 | NS | .135 | .134 | .152 |
| Sex | -.199 | NS | -.181 | -.220 | -.263 |
| Religion | .276 | .050 | .201 | .261 | .217 |
| Party | .541 | (-.145) | .369 | .465 | .195 |

Table 6.33: Regression Coefficients between Four Background Factors and Support for
 Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Attitudinal Factors--
 Fort Wayne Sample

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| | <u>Simple</u> <u>b</u> | <u>Lower</u> <u>Confidence</u> <u>Limit</u> | <u>Rad. Reg. Chg.</u> <u>Partial b</u> | <u>Univ. Auth.</u> <u>Partial b</u> | <u>Con-lib.</u> <u>Partial b</u> |
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.100 | -.037 | -.046 | -.099 | -.061 |
| Sex | -.173 | (.085) | -.149 | -.166 | -.154 |
| Religion | .136 | .050 | .097 | .133 | .096 |
| Party | .345 | .115 | .111* | .345 | .122 |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.140 | -.075 | -.109 | -.138 | -.102 |
| Sex | -.298 | -.027 | -.279 | -.264 | -.276 |
| Religion | .129 | .039 | .103 | .118 | .088 |
| Party | .289 | .046 | .131 | .289 | .044* |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.210 | -.118 | -.128 | -.209 | -.145 |
| Sex | -.550 | -.165 | -.508 | -.507 | -.514 |
| Religion | .248 | .065 | .185 | .233 | .179 |
| Party | .683 | .341 | .317* | .683 | .306* |

Table 6.34: Regression Coefficients between Four Background Factors and Support for
 Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Attitudinal Factors--
 South Bend Sample

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | <u>Simple b</u> | <u>Lower Confidence Limit</u> | <u>Rad. Reg. Chg. Partial b</u> | <u>Univ. Auth. Partial b</u> | <u>Con-lib. Partial b</u> |
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.144 | -.056 | -.111 | -.141 | -.116 |
| Sex | .106 | NS | .124 | .170 | .087 |
| Religion | .163 | .046 | .115 | .158 | .122 |
| Party | .519 | .175 | .449 | .530 | .289 |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.108 | -.014 | -.078 | -.105 | -.070 |
| Sex | -.138 | NS | -.123 | -.083 | -.163 |
| Religion | .246 | .128 | .212 | .223 | .198 |
| Party | .509 | .149 | .449 | .519 | .179 |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.149 | -.015 | -.080 | -.146 | -.076 |
| Sex | -.076 | NS | -.042 | -.012 | -.121 |
| Religion | .289 | .116 | .200 | .284 | .190 |
| Party | 1.116 | .623 | .989 | 1.128 | .561* |

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Table 6.35: Regression Coefficients between Four Background Factors and Support for
 Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Attitudinal Factors--
 Northwest Sample

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Simple <u>b</u> | Lower Confidence Limit | Rad. Reg. Chg. <u>Partial b</u> | Univ. Auth. <u>Partial b</u> | Con-lib. <u>Partial b</u> |
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.066 | (.019) | -.031 | -.066 | -.057 |
| Sex | -.425 | -.090 | -.349 | -.428 | -.399 |
| Religion | .138 | .023 | .101 | .144 | .120 |
| Party | .246 | (-.096) | .104 | .246 | -.034 |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.065 | (.013) | -.055 | -.067 | -.063 |
| Sex | -.202 | (.115) | -.175 | -.183 | -.194 |
| Religion | .086 | (-.022) | .074 | .071 | .081 |
| Party | -.142 | NS | -.211 | -.145 | -.258 |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.108 | (.021) | -.054 | -.110 | -.095 |
| Sex | -.447 | (.067) | -.323 | -.429 | -.408 |
| Religion | .168 | (-.009) | .106 | .154 | .140 |
| Party | .250 | NS | .018 | .247 | -.185 |

Table 6.36: Regression Coefficients between Four Background Factors and Support for
 Actions of Dissent with Controls for Three Attitudinal Factors--
 Kokomo Sample

| | Regression Coefficients | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | <u>Simple b</u> | <u>Lower Confidence Limit</u> | <u>Rad. Reg. Chg. Partial b</u> | <u>Univ. Auth. Partial b</u> | <u>Con-lib. Partial b</u> |
| <u>Acceptance</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.114 | -.022 | -.076 | -.113 | -.071 |
| Sex | -.132 | NS | -.142 | -.112 | -.074 |
| Religion | .185 | .057 | .142 | .184 | .098 |
| Party | .448 | .110 | .373 | .437 | .170 |
| <u>Have Participated</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.120 | -.023 | -.094 | -.119 | -.086 |
| Sex | -.336 | (.051) | -.344 | -.302 | -.291 |
| Religion | .289 | .158 | .262 | .287 | .232 |
| Party | .149 | NS | .093 | .127 | -.109 |
| <u>Would Participate</u> | | | | | |
| Age | -.227 | -.091 | -.186 | -.226 | -.165 |
| Sex | -.394 | (.161) | -.406 | -.365 | -.309 |
| Religion | .371 | .182 | .324 | .369 | .249 |
| Party | .520 | .005 | .432 | .503 | .082 |

gap" to a rise in permissiveness in the society have been mounted by the media to explain attitudes of an alienated youth portrayed as rising up in revolt. On the other hand, one line of research which was reviewed above tended to center on family socialization experiences and university educational experiences to explain alienated attitudes and protest actions. Researchers supporting these explanations tended to interview groups of activists rather than random samples of students.

The results presented here do not tend to confirm the results of these activist based studies. Permissiveness on the part of parents as perceived by the student did not prove to influence much either the student's willingness to reject the legitimacy of authorities of the political system whether on the national, state, city, or university levels or support for the political system itself. Nor did permissiveness tend to influence much the student's support for stronger methods of dissent such as protesting, sitting-in, or civil disobedience. Likewise the other components of the student's family socialization experience, whether the education of his parents or his family income, also showed little influence on either attitudes toward authority or support for actions of dissent.

In addition, these results do not confirm some reported previous findings that the protest group constitutes an educational elite. Neither major in college nor grade point average produce a significant effect on the acceptance of the legitimacy of the authority of authorities of the political system on support for the regime of the political system, nor do they influence actual protest activity.

However, the positive results found for attitudes toward the legitimacy of university authorities, toward the regime, and toward ideology correlated with support for protest actions independent of family or educational background indicate that the crucial variables in explaining protest activity are attitudinal ones to be found in the minds of students and not one of social class or educational background. Attitudinal variables concerned with political objects rather than social variables were more relevant for behavior.

In short, it is how the student feels about those who govern in the university, how he feels about the legitimacy of the political system as a whole, and how he feels in ideological terms that is crucial in his decision to engage in a student protest, not social background variables removed from the political arena.

It must be stated that the attitudinal variables examined both authority specific and ideology specific do not account for all the variance in protest behavior. The largest proportion of the variance is still unexplained--a not uncommon phenomenon in empirical research. This indicates that there is still considerable room for attitudes on specific issues and events to have an effect. Indeed, issue specific attitudes may be the best indicator of activity. However, it is my feeling that such attitudes interact with those attitudes that are authority specific and ideology specific.

Summary

In this chapter, the results of the testing of the specified hypotheses and models was presented. With regard to the hypotheses specifying relationships between background characteristics and attitudinal characteristics neither the family socialization characteristics--stress on obedience, parent's education, and income, or educational socialization characteristics--academic major, grade point average--have more than a slight effect on the attitudinal variables--attitudes toward authorities, radical regime change attitudes, or ideological attitude. Likewise, for these same background characteristics, few significant correlations were found with support for actions of dissent including acceptance of others' participation in various protest actions, having participated, or willingness to participate.

For the hypotheses specifying relationships between the attitudinal characteristics and support for actions of dissent significant correlations were found for university authority, institutional radical regime change, and liberalism-conservatism. These three attitudinal variables were then used for the testing of the models.

Four models were specified--the developmental, spurious, hybrid, and independence--for testing. They were tested by controlling first for background characteristics, in the relationship between the three attitudinal variables and the three measures of support for actions of dissent, and then controlling for the attitudinal variables in the

relationship between the background characteristics and the three measures of support for actions of dissent. This procedure revealed some slight confirmation for a developmental sequence from background characteristics to authority and ideological attitudes to support for actions of dissent. However, overall the results confirm the independence model stating the slight relationships of the background characteristics to support for actions of dissent are independent of the significant relationships of the authority and ideological attitudes to support for actions of dissent.

Thus, attitudes toward university authority, attitudes toward radical regime change, and ideological attitudes do explain considerable variance of support for actions of dissent. However, the discovery of the causes of these attitudes await further research.

FOOTNOTES

¹Norman Nie, Dale H. Bent; C. Hadlai Hull, SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970), p. 201.

²Norman H. Nie, Dale H. Bent, C. Hadlai Hull, SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970), p. 167.

³Keniston, Young Radicals, op. cit., Flacks, "The Liberated Generation," op. cit., and Block, Haan, and Smith, "Activism and Apathy in Contemporary Adolescents," op. cit.

⁴Similar findings were reported for income, major, and grade point average with participation in demonstrations for a student sample at Florida State University, Clarke, James W., and Egan, Joseph, "Social and Political Dimensions of Campus Protest Activity," The Journal of Politics, Vol. 34, 1972, pp. 500-519.

⁵Clarke and Egan using a more general measure termed "political alienation" found alienation highest toward the more "proximate objects" of public officials and the party system among activists.

⁶Using different items to get at "political alienation" Clarke and Egan found that alienation rose progressively among both legal and illegal demonstrators. W. Clarke and Egan, Social and Political, op. cit., p. 519.

⁷Cnudde, Charles F., and McCrane, Donald, "Party Competition and Welfare Policies in the American States," American Political Science Review, Vol. 63, 1969, pp. 858-866.

CHAPTER VII

As stated above, authority means that those in positions of responsibility in government have sufficient expectation that their decisions are considered generally legitimate and will be willingly complied with by those to whom they are directed. As such, authority is a fundamental concept linking the individual citizen to the political system. For the political system to persist, it must have support. Stress will result if support declines for the political community, the regime, or for authorities of the political system. When stress is high, political authorities incur significant costs in securing compliance on the part of citizens. Such a condition is likely to exist when the legitimacy of governmental authorities or of the regime of the political system is rejected. When the legitimacy of authority is generally low, costs to authorities are high and the persistence of the political system is called into question.

Some have charged that the period of campus unrest in the United States has constituted a threat to the American political system itself as well as to certain subsystems such as universities. Actions of student groups have seemingly served to threaten the positions of those in authority and student attitudes have become a major object of attention both in conventional political terms and as a factor in system stress in the American political system.

A major objective here was to delineate how widespread possible negative authority attitudes were in the student samples examined and to assess their meaning for the political system. In doing so, I wanted to see what form these attitudes would take and how much impact they would seemingly have on student behavior. Finally, I wanted to see if some widely mentioned background characteristics of students were important.

Student Beliefs Concerning the Legitimacy of Authority

It is apparent that if the students interviewed in this study are at all typical of students generally in the United States, the American political system is not in as much trouble as we may have been led to believe. The regime or the constitutional order in its broad sense--the way things are done--seems to attract substantial support from the students. This is not to say that all students are happy or unquestioning. Considerable pockets of challenge exist, but the dominant tendency is one of support for, not rejection of, the political system. Secondly, the picture for individual political authorities may not be as bleak as we may have been led to expect. Defiance is not widespread although considerable challenge does exist for some authorities. While some such as the President of the United States, governor, university president, etc., enjoy considerable attribution of legitimacy, others such as Director of the Selective Service, F.B.I. agent, and Dean of Men face considerable rejection although not by a majority of the students.

Students do not think of authority along purely functional or subsystem lines. Rather, in thinking about individual authorities, they tend to use both functional and subsystem groupings in the way they categorize authorities. They grouped authorities into general, bureaucratic, university, police, and city authority dimensions. It is interesting to note, however, that university authorities tended to be grouped on the university dimension but also on other dimensions as well, indicating that they are perceived as representatives of the other dimensions of the political system as well as representatives of the university subsystem. In addition, attitudes toward these university authorities were more helpful in explaining attitudes toward dissent than were attitudes toward the other dimensions involving authorities.

The Relationship of Student Background to Attitudes
toward Authority and Dissent Activity

As mentioned previously, several studies of activist groups have tended to rely fairly heavily on social and educational background characteristics to explain protest behavior. The data presented here does not confirm this view. Rather, the politically centered authority and ideological attitudes of the students themselves were found to be more relevant. This finding speaks directly to the theoretical concern with socialization toward authority in the political system.

The indictment of the American upper-middle class family has been quite severe. Children socialized toward authority by permissive,

highly educated parents in affluent homes are said to carry over their general rejection of authority into the political arena, where it manifests itself in political alienation and overt protest activity. However, granting that the parents and the home are important for the initial authority inception period, does it follow that these experiences are carried directly into the political arena in terms of attitudes toward political authorities and events? This thesis posits that the family acts as the prototypical authority structure.

The data presented here do not tend to support such a thesis. It is possible that "permissiveness" could be operationalized in other ways than was done in this study. For example, the researcher could ask the parents rather than the student. It is possible the result could be different utilizing such a procedure. However, other researchers have found inconsistencies in childrearing reports between husband and wife as well as between parents and children, so this procedure is not without difficulty.

However, if the condition is as presented here, it might be useful to look for alternative explanations for authority attitudes. One possible route of development that is still family centered is that the parents transmit directly the content of their political authority values rather than indirectly acting as authority prototypes.¹ That is if the parents tend to be cynical toward political authority, they may transmit these values to their children somewhat analogously to the process whereby party identification is transmitted. In such an event the root cause of a rejection of the legitimacy of political

authority would not be the middle class family but cynical political attitudes on the part of specific parents. Other alternatives are possible, including the effects of school, peers, or particular political changes of society. Because the parents have their maximum impact in the early years, it would not be surprising if later socialization experiences directly concerned with political authority would be more controlling than any family effects.² That is, it would be most helpful to examine those experiences the individual has directly concerned with political authority to determine his authority attitudes.³

In any event, the social class explanation centered on the American family seems to help little in explaining either authority or ideological attitudes or behavior.

Background vs. Attitudes in Explaining Behavior

Another facet of the examination of the role of background characteristics concerns their utility in explaining behavior. In countless studies now, researchers in political science have utilized socioeconomic variables, sometimes along with attitudinal variables, to explain political behavior. The question becomes how useful are such gross demographic distributions in explaining varying types of political behavior.

At this point, it is becoming increasingly apparent that for political behavior, the gross background characteristics have their greatest utility when they define a group whose shared attitudes

relevant to the political behavior of interest is linked to their group membership status. However, the point I am making here is that the attitude of the individual toward political phenomena, events, and behavior is what is crucial--not his group membership per se. This point has been raised before in conjunction with the explanation of voting behavior.⁴ However, the departure from the electoral arena where social group membership has had historical relevance may accentuate the need to emphasize the feelings and orientations of relevant political actors even more.

Areas of research concerned with behavior not historically linked to social groupings may be more fruitfully explored by careful examination of those orientations inherently political on the part of those in the population. This single study is not sufficient to support such a conclusion alone. It is true the attitudinal factors were of more utility here and that attitudes toward specific events were probably crucial. However, as research proceeds into probing other non-traditional modes of political behavior, it may become increasingly apparent that attitudinal variables dealing with broadgauged concerns as well as specific events are controlling.⁵

Student Attitudes, Authority, and Dissent

The political attitudes of college students have come to occupy a considerable amount of attention of both academic researchers and practical politicians in recent years. The costs to political authorities

of ignoring such attitudes whether in terms of traditional or non-traditional political activity have proved to be high.

From this study it is apparent that popular assumptions portraying uniform dissatisfaction and willingness to protest are in error. There is a diversity of attitudes and this diversity is important for understanding how students think about and relate to the political system. Overall, the students examined here did not display deep rejection of the regime of the political system. There were sizable pockets of resistance, however. Students felt differently about the different individual political authorities and categorized them according to their own beliefs. Their attitudes toward dissent activity are not uniform either. Level of personal involvement determines to some extent how much support students will display for stronger protest activities. The closer they are placed to possible involvement, the less likely they are to say they support such activities. Attitudes toward specific events, ideology, the regime of the political system, and university authority all play some part in their attitudes toward dissent and are intimately connected with how students view dissent.⁶

It will be incumbent upon political authorities to continue to pay attention to the political attitudes of students, not just for electoral reasons, or because of threat of disruption, but because these attitudes link individuals to the political system and will play a part in the way they relate to that system and its authorities on a continuing basis.

Students and the Political System

It is relevant to ask at this point what possible effect have students had on the political system. Again, a single study can only be suggestive here. If student attitudes generally are anything like those of the students interviewed here, it is apparent the fears for the political system are overstated. These students did not reject that system. There is considerable questioning. Considerable potential for challenge to authorities does exist. However, considerable attachment remains.

It would not be wise, however, to end explanation of the linkage of students to authority in the political system at this point in time. Certain macro-level changes in our society that may be responsible for the emergence of "youth" as a political force of note may continue or be modified. One observer, of the effects of population changes, Neil Chamberlain, notes that in any society experiencing a sustained or increasing rate of population growth, the proportion of youth will also increase.⁷ Indeed the population of the U.S. has grown and the proportion of youth has increased. As Chamberlain observes a warrantable hypothesis may be that where youth represents so substantial a part of the population, and in view of its special characteristics which seem to dispose it to challenge the status quo, it becomes a major force for social change.⁸ This may be especially true if those in positions of authority perceive youth as such a force, due to the actions of various group leaders, and act upon the basis of their perceptions.

The most significant implication for the American political system may have been modification made as a result of perceived or imagined rejection. The swift movement to lower the voting age was in part a move, no doubt, to bring into the political system a group that had supposedly rejected it and to restore its legitimacy in the eyes of those who had journeyed far from its processes. The ironic result may have been to further involve those who had never left. An interesting topic for future research would be to examine the attitudes of those who had really rejected the legitimacy of the system and its authorities to see if the move has had the desired effect.

FOOTNOTES

¹Jaros, Hirsch, and Fleron found support for direct transmittal of parental political values but little for the family acting as a prototypical authority structure in a sample of Appalachian families. Jaros, Dean, Hirsch, Herbert, and Fleron, Frederic J., Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-culture," American Political Science Review, Vol. 62, 1968, pp. 564-575.

²Utilizing a national probability sample of 12 grade student-parent pairs, Niemi and Jennings found little correlation between parental and student political cynicism. They conclude,

"What results from juxtaposing parents and their children on these two measures of cynicism and cosmopolitanism-localism is the suspicion that more global orientations to political life do not yield parent-student correspondences of greater magnitude than on more specific matters. If anything, the opposite is true--at least with respect to certain specifics. It may be that the child acquires a minimal set of basic commitments to the system and a way of handling authority situations as a result of early experiences in the family circle. But it appears also that this is a foundation from which arise widely diverse value structures, and that parental values are an extremely variable and often feeble guide as to what the pre-adult's values will be."

Jennings, M. Kent and Niemi, Richard, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review, Vol. 63, 1968, p. 179.

³This view is opposite to that expressed by Flacks who states that the central hypothesis that the family is a political system instilling authority attitudes remains fruitful. Flacks, Richard, "Protest or Conform. Some Social Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy," in Trusty, Francis M., Administering Human Resources, McCutchan Publishing, Berkeley, p. 322.

⁴See Campbell, Angus, et.al., The American Voter, (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1964).

⁵In a nationwide study of the attitudes of American men toward violence, Head et.al. used 5 psychological measures including values, identification, definitions, social issues and perceptions of others, and also background characteristics including age, region, race, and education, and concluded that the background factors add very little to the explanatory power of the psychological characteristics in explaining

orientations toward violence for social change. Head, Tendra B., et.al., Justifying Violence: Attitudes of American Men, (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1972), p. 237.

⁶Head, et.al., found that how men felt about the legitimacy of the state affected how they defined acts as being violent. Ibid., p. 79.

⁷Chamberlain, Neil W., Beyond Malthus, Basic Books, New York, 1970, p. 49.

⁸Ibid.

APPENDIX I

"If we use partial correlation coefficients, or some analogous technique, often we cannot distinguish between these models. In such controls, we are attempting to hold "constant" that variation in other variables which is due to the control variable. We can conceptualize what is involved in these procedures by thinking of residual variation after the control. In the developmental sequence test, we hold constant variation in the independent and dependent variables which is related to the control variable. The relationship which remains after the control, therefore, is the association between the residuals in both variables. Thus if the variation in the dependent variable which is due to the independent variable is entirely transmitted through the intervening variable, then, the residual relationship should be zero in the pure case. If the residual relationship is of a magnitude to make us think that it does not really depart from that of the original relationship, usually we would reject the developmental sequence model. However, this does not mean that we can then infer the spuriousness model, because it is not the only alternative model.

Similarly, if we make the spuriousness test, we examine the residuals (which are not related to the control variable) between the two variables under test. If a relationship remains after the control, we may want to reject the spuriousness model, but this test alone does not allow us to infer that a developmental sequence exists.

Moreover, even if we use the two tests in combination often we will be unable to distinguish between the two models. The reason for this is that when we proceed with the test for spuriousness, we will

observe a reduction in the relationship between the two variables under test when either model fits the data. If the relationship is that of a developmental sequence, when we control for spuriousness we remove variation due to the most independent variable in the sequence. Therefore, the controlled relationship between the remaining variables is due to their residuals which are unrelated to the control variable. If the relationship is that of a developmental sequence, we will be examining the correlation between residuals that are left over after variation due to the initial variable in the sequence has been removed. In this case, we would not expect a very high partial relationship because with the first causal variable in the sequence removed, we are left with relationships that are primarily outside the sequence. In other words, we will observe reductions in the partial relationship with this kind of control when the relationships are either spurious or developmental. As a result we can not use this test to distinguish between the two models. This is the procedure utilized in the recent literature."

Charles F. Cnudde and Donald McCrone, "Party Competition and Welfare Policies in the American States," American Political Science Review, Vol. 63, 1969, pp. 858-866.

APPENDIX II
QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

1. All of the following are in positions of authority in the U. S. in one way or another and make decisions that affect people in their respective areas. Different people think that some of them exercise legitimate authority and others do not. Some think all are legitimate, some think none are. Check those whose authority you consider not legitimate to make decisions that could or do affect you. HAND CARD #9 RESPONDENT MARKS OWN ANSWERS

- 1. Mayor
- 2. State Legislator
- 3. F.B.I. Agent
- 4. City Court Judge
- 5. Director of State Alcohol Control Board
- 6. U. S. Congressman
- 7. Dean of Students
- 8. State Attorney General
- 9. U. S. Supreme Court Judge
- 10. Faculty County Member
- 11. Director of Selective Service
- 12. Governor
- 13. City Manager
- 14. University Conduct Hearing Officer
- 15. U. S. Attorney General
- 16. University President
- 17. City Councilman
- 18. State Highway Patrolman
- 19. Dean of Men
- 20. President of the U. S.
- 21. State Court of Appeals Judge
- 22. Campus Safety Patrolman
- 23. District Attorney
- 24. City Policeman
- 25. Father
- 26. Corporation President
- 27. American Civil Liberties Union President
- 28. Mother
- 29. University Professor

2. A. Have you ever:

READ EACH ACT: INTERVIEWER RECORDS ANSWERS

- | | |
|--|-------|
| 1. Written a letter to the student newspaper | _____ |
| 2. Voted in Student Government elections | _____ |
| 3. Talked to others to gain support for a position on a campus political issue | _____ |
| 4. Campaigned for a candidate in Student Government | _____ |
| 5. Signed a petition of protest | _____ |
| 6. Discussed campus political issues | _____ |
| 7. Picketed | _____ |
| 8. Sat-in | _____ |
| 9. Sought a campus political office | _____ |
| 10. Engaged in civil disobedience | _____ |
| 11. Engaged in acts that destroy property to achieve a goal | _____ |

B. Now for those same things, would you ever:

READ EACH ACT

- | | |
|--|-------|
| 1. Write a letter to the student newspaper | _____ |
| 2. Vote in Student Government elections | _____ |
| 3. Talk to others to gain support for a position on a campus political issue | _____ |
| 4. Campaign for a candidate in Student Government | _____ |
| 5. Sign a petition of protest | _____ |
| 6. Discuss campus political issues | _____ |
| 7. Picket | _____ |
| 8. Sit-in | _____ |
| 9. Seek a campus political office | _____ |
| 10. Engage in civil disobedience | _____ |
| 11. Engage in acts that destroy property to achieve a goal | _____ |

3. Here are actions some students on college campuses have taken to present their grievances about such things as student participation in school politics, tuition raises, R.O.T.C. and civil rights. Mark with the following signs as indicated: HAND CARD #10
RESPONDENT MARKS OWN ANSWERS

A double plus (++) the one action you consider most legitimate for these students to engage in. Use (++) only once.

A single plus (+) other actions you consider legitimate for these student to engage in.

A double minus (--) the one action you consider least legitimate for these students to engage in. (Use (--) only once.

A single minus (-) other actions you consider not legitimate for these students to engage in.

Mark each blank:

1. Talking to others to gain support for a position
 2. Signing a petition
 3. Picketing
 4. Sitting-in
 5. Engaging in civil disobedience such as taking a building
 6. Burning record files

4. As you were growing up how much did your parents stress obedience? HAND CARD #12 ONE ANSWER--INTERVIEWER RECORDS ANSWERS

1. Parents demanded obedience at all times.
 2. Parents stressed obedience a great deal, but permitted occasional slips.
 3. Parents stressed obedience but allowed lots of leeway.
 4. Parents didn't stress obedience much; they allowed me to do pretty much what I wanted.
 5. Parents didn't care about obedience; I almost always did what I wanted.

5. Do you generally consider yourself to be a Republican or Democrat?

Republican Democrat Independent American
 1 2 3 4 Independent 5 Other
Party

6. Do you consider yourself to be liberal or conservative in politics?

1 Liberal 2 Conservative 3 Neither

7. What is the highest level of formal education your mother and father completed?

| | mother | father |
|---------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| a. grades 1-8 | _____ | _____ |
| b. grades 9-12 | _____ | _____ |
| c. high school or trade school degree | _____ | _____ |
| d. some college | _____ | _____ |
| e. college degree | _____ | _____ |
| f. post-graduate work | _____ | _____ |

8. (Radical Regime Change Items)

In this section a number of statements different people have made about themselves, the government, and society are presented. For each one indicate whether you Agree Strongly, Agree, are Undecided, Disagree or Disagree Strongly. HAND CARD #13 RESPONDENT MARKS OWN ANSWERS

| | <u>Agree</u> <u>Strongly</u> | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> <u>Strongly</u> |
|--|---------------------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| a. I prefer a good discussion of life's values to just about any other kind of discussion..... | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| b. Some people today are spending too much time in philosophizing and not enough in doing something worthwhile | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| c. I would not like working for an employer who would frequently check me out on my work..... | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

| | <u>Agree</u> <u>Strongly</u> | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Undecided</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> <u>Strongly</u> |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| d. An employer will get better work from his employees when he organizes their work for them..... | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| e. The values of efficiency and order are overstressed in our culture today..... | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| f. Homosexuality is contrary to the natural order of life | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| g. I have often had the urge to do something which I hope will shock someone..... | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| h. Generally, a person should try to control his impulses..... | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

9. What is your major?

CODE INTO APPROPRIATE CATEGORY

- _____ 1. Business
- _____ 2. Education/HPER
- _____ 3. Art/Music/Fine Arts
- _____ 4. Nursing/Science/Engineering/Pre-professional
- _____ 5. Behavioral Sciences/Languages/Humanities/Journalism
- _____ 6. Purdue Programs
- _____ 7. No Answer

10. What is your approximate grade point average?

- _____ 1. 0 to 1.99
- _____ 2. 2.00 to 2.49
- _____ 3. 2.50 to 2.99
- _____ 4. 3.00 to 4.00

11. What is your age?

- 1. 17 and Under
- 2. 18-19
- 3. 20-21
- 4. 22-23
- 5. 24-26
- 6. 27-30
- 7. 31-40
- 8. 41 and Over

12. What is the approximate current income of the family in which you were raised? READ CATEGORIES, IF PERSON IS OVER 25 ASK FOR HIS CURRENT INCOME

- 1. 0 - \$2,400
- 2. \$2,500 - \$4,999
- 3. \$5,000 - \$7,499
- 4. \$7,500 - \$10,000
- 5. \$10,000 - \$15,000
- 6. over \$15,000

13. What is your religious affiliation? DO NOT READ CATEGORIES, READ ANSWER IN APPROPRIATE CATEGORY

- 1. Protestant
- 2. Catholic
- 3. Jewish
- 4. Other
- 5. No Religion
- 6. No Preference, Don't Know, No Answer

14. Sex Male Female
 1 2
 (By observation)

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