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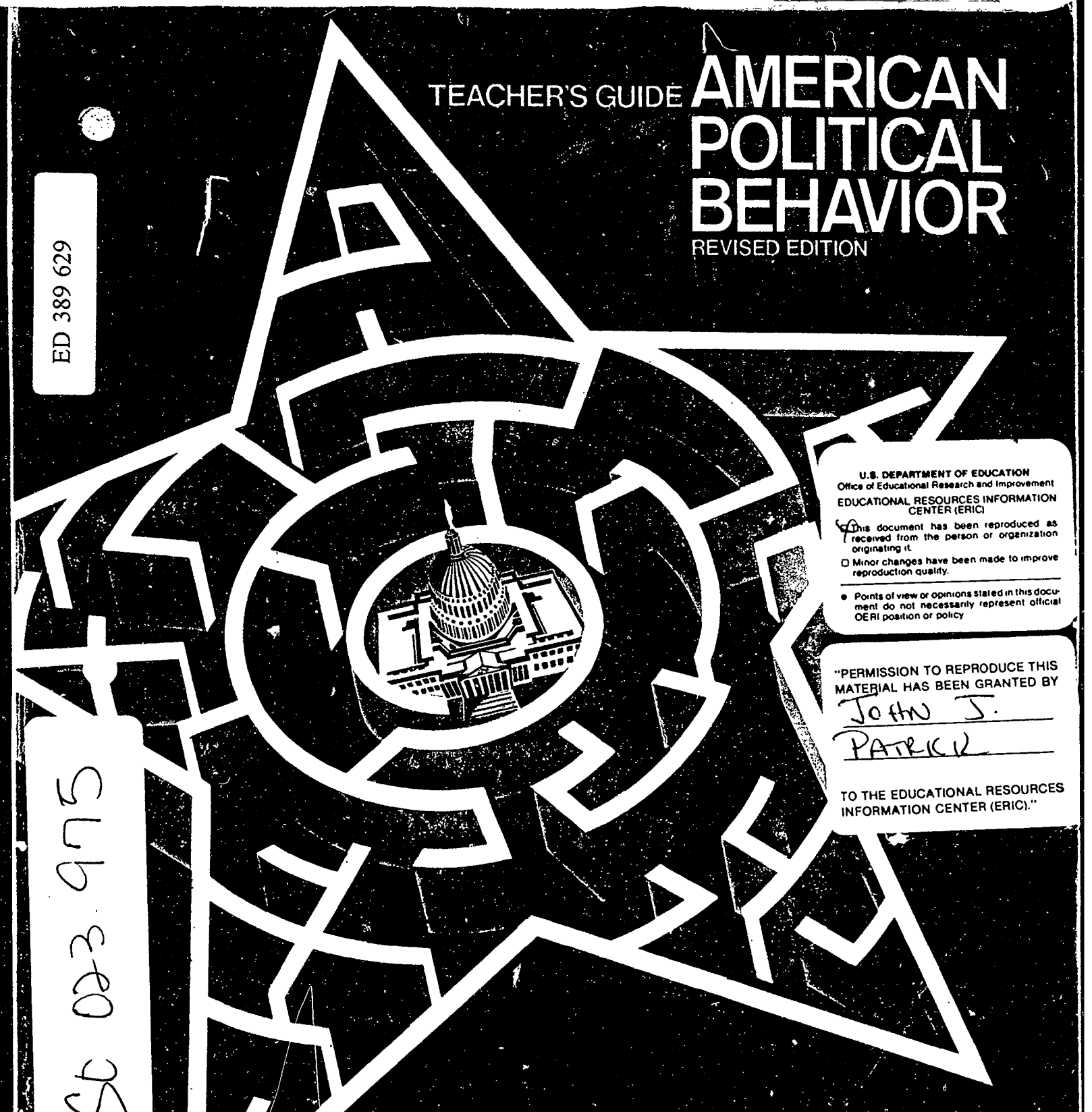
ABSTRACT

This teacher's guide corresponds to the textbook "American Political Behavior" and provides resource materials and teaching suggestions. There is a lesson plan for each lesson in the course. The textbook tries to capture the vitality and drama of politics through the use of cases that describe the political activities of typical citizens and political leaders. Simulations, games, political attitude surveys and data-processing activities are used to enliven the study. The guide consists of five units with supporting activities for each chapter. Unit 1, "Introduction to the Study of Political Behavior," includes chapters on: (1) "What is Political Behavior?"; (2) "Political Participants"; and (3) "Making Judgments about Political Behavior." Unit 2, "Similarities and Differences in Political Behavior," contains: (1) "Comparing Political Behavior"; (2) "Culture and Political Behavior"; (3) "Social Status and Political Behavior"; and (4) "Political Loyalties." Unit 3, "Elections and the Behavior of Voters," includes: (1) "Selecting Leaders of Government"; (2) "Participating in Electoral Politics"; and (3) "The Voting Decision." Unit 4, "Political Decision-Makers," contains: (1) "Introduction to the Study of Political Decision-Makers"; (2) "The Presidential Role"; (3) "The Congressional Role"; (4) "The Role of Supreme Court Justices"; and (5) "The Role of Federal Bureaucrats." Unit 5, "State and Local Decision-Makers," includes: (1) "The Nature of American State and Local Governments"; (2) "Chief Executives in State and Local Government"; (3) "Legislative Bodies in State and Local Government"; (4) "Courts in State and Local Government"; and (5) "State and Local Bureaucrats." (EH)

TEACHER'S GUIDE

AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

REVISED EDITION



MEHLINGER/PATRICK

TEACHER'S GUIDE TO

AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Revised Edition

Howard Mehlinger
and John J. Patrick

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Contents

Unit Three · Elections and the Behavior of Voters

Unit Four · Political Decision-Makers

6. Influencing students to value scientific approaches to the verification of factual claims and rational analysis of value claims

7. Increasing student capability to assess the likely costs and rewards of particular types of political activities

8. Reinforcing democratic political beliefs such as respect for the rights of individuals, support for majority-rule practices, acceptance of civic responsibility, etc.

To achieve these goals the authors devised a program that is different in content and instructional strategies from traditional civics courses.

II. Content and Learning Materials in *American Political Behavior*

American Political Behavior brings together the behavioral *approach* to the study of politics and the knowledge acquired by political scientists who have used the behavioral approach. The relationships of social factors to political behavior are emphasized in the course. Students study the political process in terms of several basic social science concepts: political culture, political socialization, social class, status, role, and decision-making. The relationships among these concepts are stressed, so that students learn how to construct and apply conceptual frameworks to the organization and interpretation of information. While controversial topics, such as the political aspects of race relations or the relationship of social class to political behavior, permeate the course, these topics are included as subjects for analysis, not as exercises in iconoclasm.

Following are the five major units of instruction which comprise the course.

1. Introduction to the Study of Political Behavior. Students are introduced to the meaning of political behavior, to participation by citizens in interest groups, and to the processes of making factual and value judgments about rational behavior.

2. Similarities and Differences in Political Behavior. Students learn about the relationship of social factors to political attitudes and political behavior. This unit introduces such basic concepts as role, socioeconomic status, culture, socialization, and personality. This unit also includes material about the political behavior of ethnic groups.

3. Elections and Voting Behavior. This unit focuses on the relationship of various social and psychological factors to voting behavior. Other topics are the formal and informal rules that direct the election process in our society, the differences between the major political parties, and the consequences of voting behavior.

4. Political Decision-Makers in the Federal Government. Students learn about the political roles of four types of public officials in the national government: the President, members of Congress, bureaucrats, and judges. The rights and duties of each role type, the recruitment of individuals to the role, and the decision-making activities of the role occupant are emphasized.

5. State and Local Decision-Makers. Students learn about the political roles of four types of officials in state and local government: chief executives, legislators, judges, and bureaucrats. Emphasis is on role behavior and decision-making activities.

Throughout these units students are taught basic social science skills. They are taught how to pose hypotheses, to link variables, and to gather data to test hypotheses. Students learn differences between factual claims and value statements and how to deal with the separate characteristics they present. Students learn how to read statistical tables and ultimately how to build their own to present data in a useful and valid manner.

The overriding purpose has been to provide a sound program in civic education for all young people. APB is not a program for the intellectual or social elite, a kind of vocational training program for budding social scientists. Indeed, it is an effort to make available to all citizens information and skills presently offered only to those who attend college. Social science provides a way of thinking about politics which should be a part of every citizen's training. That is the purpose of this program.

Student Text in Hardcover and Paperback

APB has been designed to provide a complete, full-year program in high school civics or American government. The basic textbook appears in two forms: a hardback textbook and two paperback volumes. The hardcover text includes all five units, providing a full year's instruction. Book One of the paperback treats units one, two, and three. Book Two covers units four and five. Some schools that wish to offer APB for only one semester prefer to use one of the paperback volumes rather than purchasing hardcover textbooks. But others select from all five units of the hardcover text to build their semester course.

Book One is different in a number of ways from Book Two, and either volume can stand alone. Book One emphasizes basic social science skills and knowledge about the political attributes of typical citizens. In Units Four and Five (Book Two) attention shifts to those individuals who hold positions in the federal government (Unit Four) and in state and local government (Unit Five). Each volume emphasizes certain concepts that are treated less fully in the other volume. For example, political culture and political socialization are basic concepts for understanding Unit Two; role, recruitment, and decision-making are fundamental concepts for Units Four and Five.

The course has been used successfully both as a one-semester and as a full-year course. For those teachers who wish to use only the Book Two paperback, a brief introductory chapter summarizes some major concepts introduced in Book One.

Adjunctive Materials: Transparencies, Simulations, Games, Worksheets, Tests, Films

In addition to the textbook the course includes transparencies, two simulations, two games, four films, worksheets, tests on duplicating masters, and the *Teacher's Guide*. Teachers using the text have permission to copy the worksheets and transparency masters that are printed in the back of this *Teacher's Guide*.

Two simulations accompany the course and are published in a special booklet. One simulation, entitled "City Hall," is designed to be used at the end of Unit Three. It requires students to play roles of voters, candidates, and campaigners in a city election. The second simulation, entitled "Influence," may be used with Chapter 2 or Chapter 13. It requires students to play the roles of public officials concerned with particular policy questions and unofficial political specialists who desire to influence public policy decisions.

Unit Four utilizes two board games that are published separately in a game package. "Bottleneck" teaches students major features of the legislative process in Congress. "Ninth Justice" deals with important elements in the Supreme Court.

Four films, available from Xerox Films, have been especially produced to tie in with this course. They are described on pages 16, 22, 66, and 99 of this Guide.

The worksheet lessons involve the generation and management of data. Exercises in table reading, table building, graph reading, and graph construction are presented via worksheets. Through the worksheets, survey research activities are presented and structured.

Several lessons in the course are built around the use of transparencies. Some of these lessons are concerned with the generation, organization, and interpretation of data. Others are for the purpose of raising questions, provoking speculation, or prompting insights.

Short answer tests accompany the various chapters of the text. The tests are available in a packet of duplicating masters from which teachers can produce enough copies for their own classes. Ideas for how the tests can be used best are presented below.

III. Instructional Techniques, Lesson Plans, and Testing Program

Teaching strategies for *American Political Behavior* are planned to develop skills of critical thinking and inquiry. Over and over again students must demonstrate ability to use particular ideas, skills, and information to complete an exercise or solve a problem.

Concepts and skills are organized sequentially so that students begin with very simple tasks and move to more complex ones later in the course.

taking advantage of earlier learning. The authors assume very little regarding the prior training of students who take this course. Thus, students learn basic social science concepts, such as role and culture, at the outset; these concepts and others soon become a working part of their vocabulary. In like manner students read very simple statistical tables at first; later they are able not only to read more complex tables but are able to construct such tables on their own. Concepts and skills introduced early are reinforced and expanded upon throughout the course as students are led from simple to complex social science material.

Different instructional techniques and types of lessons are employed in the course to achieve different types of instructional objectives. For example, the use of a written instructional program, which provides precise step-by-step direction, is a very efficient way to teach a skill such as how to read contingency tables. In contrast, student role playing and interaction within the context of a systematically designed simulation activity is an appropriate way to develop ability to devise fruitful political strategies.

Lesson sequencing and teacher strategies of *American Political Behavior* are organized to help students develop and test their own hypotheses and to judge critically the hypotheses of others. Often a new topic is introduced through an activity that requires students to speculate freely and then to formulate hypotheses. Next, students are required to reassess and modify hypotheses in the light of additional information and new ways of organizing information. The next step involves student applications of modified ideas to new situations. Students often complete the study of a topic with a lesson that requires them to make value judgments about the topic. Students are called upon continually to classify and interpret information in terms of the social science concepts that structure the course. Case studies are used extensively as the basis for student analysis of political behavior.

Four Categories of Instruction

The course employs four basic categories of instruction: (1) confrontation, (2) rule-example, (3) application, and (4) value judgment. Each has different purposes, as shown below, and requires different instructional techniques.

1. **Confrontation:** (a) to focus attention; (b) to motivate; (c) to generate speculations and/or hypotheses.

2. **Rule-example:** (a) for systematic development of ideas and/or skills; (b) for hypothesis testing.

3. **Application:** (a) to require use of ideas, information, and skills presented previously; (b) to provide clues about the extent to which instructional objectives have been attained.

4. **Value judgment—policy decision:** (a) to relate evaluational questions to an empirical context; (b) to require reasoned value judgment.

Confrontation. Confrontation lessons initiate study of a particular topic, such as participation in public elections. The role of the teacher is to conduct open-ended discussion. The teacher provokes students to respond to stimuli presented in the lesson and provides cues to sustain discussion. The teacher refrains from judging student responses, since the point of this type of lesson is to generate speculation, to raise questions, and to provoke inquiry. When teaching a confrontation lesson, the teacher is primarily a discussion manager, rather than a giver of answers or a judge of student responses.

In-class attitude surveys, case studies, student reaction to pictures of symbols, and provocative questions and contrasting points of view are among the kinds of lessons employed in the confrontation lesson. For example, two cases are used to initiate student consideration of the following two questions: (1) What is political behavior? and (2) Why do people behave politically? In another part of the course contrasting arguments about the meaning of loyalty and patriotism are used to provoke student consideration of questions about the origins and consequences of political beliefs about patriotism and the right to dissent. In another part of the course, the confrontation lesson consists of soliciting student speculation about the relative tendencies of different groups to participate in public elections. A set of transparencies, conveying pictorial representations of different social groups stimulates student reaction.

Rule-example. These lessons provide the bases for systematic consideration of a topic initiated through the confrontation lessons. The teacher role is to assist student mastery of particular skills, ideas, and information. The teacher helps students

make judgments about their responses to questions and exercises.

Teacher demonstrations. programmed instructional materials, written exposition enriched with examples and exercises, and data processing and analysis activities are among the kinds of lessons employed in the rule-example lesson. For example, an instructional program teaches students how to construct contingency tables. In another part of the course, written exposition enriched with examples and exercises teaches the meanings of such aspects of political behavior as issue, influence, political resource, and political decision. This lesson specifies rules, or criteria, for determining instances or non-instances of each of these terms. The text provides examples of instances and non-instances of each of these terms. Then students use these terms to classify fresh information. In other parts of the course, the rule-example lesson teaches a variety of factors that enter into decision-making by public officials. The various factors are explained and usually illustrated with examples.

Application. The application lesson involves student use of information, ideas, and skills in a novel situation. Through application lessons students have an opportunity to indicate mastery of instructional objectives. Students who demonstrate mastery of application lessons provide evidence of particular capabilities. If these capabilities were not present prior to instruction, then one can assume that mastery of application lessons demonstrates learning. Inability to master application lessons indicates deficiency in terms of particular instructional objectives. Careful appraisal of inadequate student performance may provide clues about student incapacity that can be overcome through remedial instruction.

The teacher role during the application stage of instruction is to help students assess the extent of their learning, to help students to determine whether they have attained particular instructional objectives. Teachers should give special attention to students who cannot demonstrate mastery.

Case-study analysis, classification exercises, data processing and interpreting problems, simulation activities, and games are types of application lessons. For example, throughout the course students apply conceptual frameworks to the analysis of case studies of political behavior. In Unit Three, students apply knowledge of voter behavior and public elections to the successful performance of roles in a simulation activity.

Value judgment. This category of instruction provides an opportunity to relate particular descriptions and explanations to value judgments. Through these lessons, students have the chance to relate their studies of what is, and what has been, to consideration of questions about what ought to be.

The teacher role is to conduct open-ended discussions, to provoke student responses, and to influence students to engage in rational consideration of value claims. Rational consideration of value claims means assessing consequences of particular value judgments and determining consistency between means and valued ends.

Through lessons requiring value judgments and policy decisions students learn to distinguish factual judgments from value judgments. Students also find that fruitful value judgments depend upon competent factual judgments, that reasoned value judgments stem from careful consideration of what is and what might be.

In *American Political Behavior* students must make value judgments about the outcomes of case studies of political behavior. Students also make value judgments and policy decisions when playing roles in simulation activities. The value judgments are about alternative political strategies and techniques, about alternative political beliefs, and about alternative policies.

Lesson Plans

This *Teacher's Guide* contains a lesson plan for each lesson in the course. In addition, at the beginning of each chapter there is an overview of the subject-matter content, a bibliography of some useful books, and a list of 16mm. films and filmstrips and games and simulations that might be used profitably in the unit. While supplementary books, films, and filmstrips can contribute positively to the use of the course, they are not essential to it. APB has been used successfully by teachers who used only the materials that comprise the basic program.

Individual lesson plans have two main headings: *objectives* and *suggested procedures*. The objectives tend to be stated in "performance" or "behavioral" style so that each teacher will understand clearly what the lesson purports to do. By stating objectives in this style, teachers can readily determine whether students have mastered the lesson for that day. Following are five example of instructional objectives for different lessons in the course.

1 Students are able to construct a contingency table from raw data.

2. Students are able to state empirically testable hypotheses.

3. Students can infer from data in this lesson that individuals with higher socioeconomic status tend to be more active in political affairs than individuals with lower socioeconomic status.

4. Students can identify and explain five informal rules that influence how the legislative role is played.

5. Students will be able to apply the judicial norm *stare decisis* to the Escobedo case by writing their opinion of how the case should be resolved.

Such objectives leave little doubt in the teacher's mind regarding what can be accomplished with a particular lesson.

Following the statement of objectives, each lesson plan provides "suggested procedures" for achieving the objectives for the lesson. These proced res stem from the experience of the developers and pilot teachers through three years of pilot teaching the course. Nevertheless, it is certain that often teachers will have better ideas for accomplishing the objectives than the ones included here. Teachers are encouraged to use their own ideas and their knowledge of their own students to modify and improve upon the procedures specified. There is no desire to "lock" teachers into any particular approach. Rather, the goal has been to specify the objectives clearly in order that teachers will understand how a given lesson fits into a sequence of lessons and provide some suggestions for ways the lesson might be taught successfully.

APB will have greater appeal to high school students if they learn that they can apply concepts and skills learned in the course to contemporary political events. It is impossible for authors to include such applications in the lesson plan, but teachers should systematically draw upon events reported in the media for illustrations of course content. In order to encourage this, the lesson-plan pages are perforated so that they may be torn out of the published Teacher's Guide and placed in a notebook, enabling teachers to build their own guide by adding clippings and notes as they add to the course. This merely reinforces the point made earlier: "suggested procedures" are only ideas to teach the lesson at a basic level. Teachers will surely add to and embellish the suggestions we have provided.

It should be noted that each lesson plan contains a reference to the "estimated" amount of time required to teach a lesson. Certainly, the time requirements will vary from school to school and teacher to teacher. Even the term "one class period" does not mean the same thing to everyone, since class periods vary from place to place. Nevertheless, the estimated time informs teachers about the average amount of time each lesson has required in the past. Teachers will have to adjust the time for each lesson to meet their own teaching situation.

Testing Program

A unique and popular feature of APB for pilot teachers was the testing program. APB includes twelve short answer tests. We believe the primary purpose for giving tests is to provide data for the teacher and students whether learning has occurred. For each lesson we have stated objectives as clearly as we believe are possible without becoming trivial. An APB teacher understands clearly what students are to accomplish in a given lesson. After three years of pilot testing, the authors believe that most students can master each lesson in the course.

The purpose of a test is to provide a check for teachers and students on whether they are indeed achieving the objectives. Therefore, the test items are designed to be criterion measures for the objectives. In short, the tests do not measure knowledge students should have before taking the course; nor do the tests measure knowledge learned outside the course. Any student who has mastered each day's lessons should be able to answer correctly all of the questions on any given test. In actual practice, students will sometimes miss a particular item because they misread the item, not because they failed to master the objective it measured. Therefore, on a test of 20 multiple-choice test items we ordinarily indicate that students have demonstrated "mastery" of the material previously studied if they answer 16 of the 20 questions correctly. Such a score demonstrates to the teacher that a student is ready to continue on to the next material in the course.

The tests are not easy, but they are fair, since they test only those things students have been asked to learn. Most students are able to master the APB course. Therefore, you will find that you

are likely to give higher grades in this course than other courses you have taught, since students are likely to surprise you with their achievements.

IV. Evaluation of the APB Course

The experimental version of the APB course was field-tested extensively. Following is a brief report of the results of the evaluation of the final, experimental version of APB, conducted in spring, 1970. While the experimental version of the course differs in certain fundamental ways from this published version, the results may interest teachers. Formal papers reporting the results of the evaluation are part of the final report to the U.S. Office of Education and may be obtained through the ERIC system.

A Political Knowledge Test, a Political Science Skills Test, and six political attitude scales were developed to measure student performance in terms of instructional objectives of APB. Evaulation done with these three instruments provided grounds for hypotheses about the relationship of experiencing the American Political Behavior course to student acquisition of particular knowledge, skills, and attitudes.

A Political Knowledge Test was designed to measure (a) student recall of particular generalizations and information and (b) student ability to apply certain main ideas about political behavior to the interpretation of case examples. The Political Science Skills Test was designed to measure capability (a) to organize and interpret information and (b) to make critical judgments about statements and questions.

Six political attitude scales were constructed to measure the impact of APB on attitudes associated with a democratic political orientation: (1) political tolerance, (2) political interest, (3) sense of political efficacy, (4) equalitarianism, (5) political trust, and (6) political cynicism.

The three instruments were administered to comparable experimental and control groups in nine communities. Experimental group students in each of the nine communities performed markedly better than the control groups on the Political Knowledge Test. Analysis of the interaction of certain social variables with student group membership and test performance indicated that the treatment variable, APB, was a causal factor.

Experimental group students in four of the nine communities performed very much better than the control groups on the Political Science Skills Test; in three communities, the experimental groups performed slightly better; and in two communities, there was only a trifling difference in the performance of experimental group and control group students.

There was no significant difference in the test performances of the experimental group students of "prepared" and "unprepared" teachers. "Prepared" teachers are those who attended a special seven-week institute in civic education in the summer of 1968. These "prepared" teachers were given special instruction in the teaching of American Political Behavior. The "unprepared" teachers had no special instructions prior to serving as experimental group teachers.

The APB course had little or no impact on the political attitudes of experimental group students as measured by the six attitude scales listed above. This finding is consistent with other studies about the relationship of formal instruction in public schools to attitude change. *The significance of this finding to users of APB is that it refutes the hypothesis that teaching about the complex realities of politics results in political cynicism and the undermining of democratic beliefs.*

The evaluation of the experimental version of APB contributed extensively to the revision of the course for publication. In particular, the evaluation of the experimental version pinpointed certain defects in the skills development program that have been remedied in the published version of APB. Several other minor defects in course content revealed through the evaluation study have been corrected in published material.

In conclusion. *American Political Behavior* is a different kind of civics course. It will appeal especially to teachers who have grown tired of legal-institutional approaches to the study of politics and government and who believe that students ought to learn about politics through a social science perspective. Teachers trained in more traditional approaches to American government will encounter ideas that are unfamiliar to them. They, too, will learn some new ways of thinking about politics along with their students. The course has been taught successfully by teachers with no training in political behavior. Students find it interesting – even parents report studying

the course along with their children. And the content represents valid, up-to-date political science.

V. An Overview of the Social Science Approach to the Study of Politics

Experience indicates that APB can be taught successfully by teachers lacking training in political behavior. Nevertheless, many of the pilot teachers did find useful a paper prepared for the High School Curriculum Center in Government by Professor Leroy Rieselbach entitled— *The Behavioral Approach to the Study of Politics: An Overview.* The following treatment about the social science approach to the study of politics draws heavily upon, and quotes extensively from, this paper.

Science and Behavioral Regularities

At the most general level, science may be defined as "a systematic search for knowledge of the universe and its contents."* Underlying all science, natural and social, is an assumption of *determinism,* an assumption that there are patterns to the way things happen. To put it another way, science assumes that events are not unique, but rather that classes of occurrences are sufficiently alike so that to know something about one event is to know something about another similar event. Just as the natural scientist seeks to discover the factors that cause physical or chemical reactions to take place, the social scientist seeks to isolate the things that may cause particular forms of human behavior to occur. With respect to the latter, the determinist assumption suggests, to take one example, that if we can identify the factors that predispose individuals to vote for the Republican candidate in one election, we should be able to specify those who are most likely to vote Republican in subsequent elections. We assume that people do not make up their minds anew at each election, but instead use similar reasoning processes to arrive at similar voting decisions in successive elections. Thus to know what factors lead to Republican voting at one point in time is also to know what factors will most probably lead to the same choice later.

Of course, it is true that human behavior is not as regular as the behavior of atoms and molecules, but this does not vitiate the central point: Human action is not random, although warranted propositions about human behavior take a different form (as we shall see below) in social science as compared to the propositions in natural science. There appear to be patterns or regularities in human behavior, and the social scientist seeks to discern and record such patterns. In his effort to identify these regularities, the behaviorist employs as much of the methodology, as many of the procedures, of natural science as possible.

Basic Characteristics of Science

All science, social or natural, shares certain characteristics. Among these attributes are the following.

1. Science as Explanation. Scientists seek to explain what goes on in the world; they hope to find relationships of cause and effect. The cause "explains" the effect; knowing the cause (or causes) permits us to say "why" the effect happened.

In the social sciences, it is often difficult to separate cause and effect. Frequently, the best we can do is to discover that certain things go together, that they are correlated. Thus, for instance, it seems clear that a relationship exists between higher social status (i.e., the possession of a college education, a prestige occupation, a good salary, and the like) and a preference for Republican candidates. We cannot tell whether having high status "causes" Republicanism or having Republican inclinations produces the motivation to achieve high status, but we can say that the two tend to go together. The establishment of a relationship, then, does not guarantee a clear-cut explanation of why the relationship exists. The goal of social science, however, remains that of trying to move toward statements of cause-and-effect relationships.

This last point suggests that we must be careful to distinguish between explanation and prediction. In the natural sciences, experiments can be conducted under laboratory conditions, and the relationships established can reasonably be expected to occur again under similar conditions (e.g., two parts of hydrogen combine with one part

*Eugene J. Meehan, *The Theory and Method of Political Analysis* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1965), p. 28.

of oxygen to form water). The ability to explain how water is formed provides the ability to predict conditions under which it will be formed in the future. In social science, however, the link between explanation and prediction is by no means as clear. It is known, for example, that since 1932 those with a Republican party preference have constituted a minority of the American electorate. Predicting on the basis of this fact, we would have forecast Democratic victories in each presidential election since then, and we would have been wrong in 1952, 1956, 1968 and 1972. We can account for these inaccuracies in terms of the personal appeal of General Eisenhower and public concern about the wars in Korea and in Vietnam. More generally it appears that short-term forces (candidates and issues) led enough Democrats to desert their party to bring about a GOP triumph. Thus we can explain why, contrary to our expectations, the Republican candidate was elected on these occasions, but this explanatory ability will not let us predict in advance *when* short-term forces and *what* short-term forces are likely to produce another minority victory. Thus, explanation does not always lead to prediction in social science.

2. Science Rests on an Empirical Foundation. Science, to produce valid explanations, must deal with facts, must deal with the world as it is. Factual data make up the raw material of science, which tries to explain why certain observed facts (events and occurrences of all kinds) exist. Any explanation which science puts forward must rest on a factual base and must be capable of being tested against fact. Before we accept an explanation as correct, we must have factual evidence in support of the explanation. It is not enough merely to assert that the upper class prefers the Republican party; we must investigate the members of this class, by taking a survey, for instance, to see whether they do favor Republican candidates to a meaningfully greater extent than do members of other social classes. If it is "fact" that such a relationship exists, then we can think seriously about accepting the explanation that social class standing is a "cause" of Republicanism (but not necessarily the only one).

Here, too, social science is at a relative disadvantage when compared with natural science, for the data required to generate explanations may not be available. The facts may be inaccessible. With the secret ballot, we cannot be sure how a person votes; we must rely on his report of his preference, and his report, intentionally or inadvertently, may be incorrect. Similarly, a government official's decisions are most often made in private, and it is virtually impossible to look inside his or her mind and discover the "real" motivation for the decisions. Does a political candidate espouse some position because he or she believes it to be wise or because that stance will win votes? This is a question, and there are many others like it, to which an adequate answer may be very hard to obtain for lack of accessible data. The behavioral scientist, while recognizing that data may be hard if not impossible to get, nonetheless insists that it is essential to make every effort to get the best possible data, to build the best possible empirical base for his or her explanations.

3. Science Produces Generalizations. Scientific explanations grounded in empirical data take the form of generalizations and theories. A generalization is a statement which links facts, provides explanations, suggests causes. In the natural sciences, generalizations are of the form, "If A occurs, then B will occur," or "A causes B." While social science would like to discover such *universalistic* generalizations (where A always leads to B), more frequently it must settle for *probabilistic* generalizations, where A leads to B a specified proportion of the time. For instance, not all individuals in the upper social class prefer Republican candidates (as a universalistic generalization would imply); rather the accepted generalization states that, in about 70 percent of the cases, those of upper-class status support Republicans rather than Democrats. Abstractly put, probabilistic (or statistical) generalizations take the form, "If A occurs, then B will follow X percent of the time" of "X percent of A is also B." The proponents of the behavioral approach, recognizing that human action will never be completely predictable, believe that there do exist statistical regularities and their research efforts are directed at uncovering these.

A theory is a generalization about generalizations. A theory relates and explains general statements much in the same way that generalizations relate and explain facts. Looked at from the opposite perspective, pieces of evidence (data) are combined and explained by generalizations, and the latter fit together and are explained by theories. The most powerful form of theory is the deductive theory which consists of axioms from which are deduced more specific statements which,

in turn, can be verified by empirical test. Euclidean geometry, with its axioms and postulates leading to the deducing of testable theorems, is one example of the deductive structure.

Much more could be said about the attributes of theory, but it is clear that powerful deductive theories are at least temporarily beyond the capacities of social science. Contemporary behavioral scientists, possessing probabilistic tendency statements rather than universalistic generalizations, have been more successful in producing *factor theories.* A factor theory is one in which the simultaneous presence of a set of factors leads to a specific occurrence: "If A, B, and C, then X (80 percent of the time)." This kind of formulation moves beyond a simple generalization, suggesting that the occurrence of some behavior is the result of (is "caused" by) the set of factors identified.

The analysis of voting turnout, i.e., the decision to go to the polls and vote, by the authors of *The American Voter,* illustrates the use of factor theories. Campbell and his associates discovered that five factors were associated with turnout: (1) interest in the campaign, (2) concern over the outcome of the election, (3) a sense of political efficacy, i.e., a feeling that one's vote is important and can affect the outcome, (4) a sense of citizen duty, i.e., a feeling that each citizen has an obligation to cast his ballot on election day, and (5) the strength of the individual's preference for a political party. Each of these factors leads to increased participation in elections, but when all are operative, some clear differences emerge. In 1956, for instance, among those influenced by all five factors (those who were very interested in the election, cared a good deal who won, felt their vote was important, felt a strong obligation to vote, and felt an intense preference for their political party), 96 percent voted in the presidential election; among those affected by none of these factors, only 22 percent cast their ballots. In short, each of the factors contributes to turnout, but when all are present, turnout reaches its peak.

Science Yields Factual Judgments. Science seeks to establish generalizations and theories which help to explain reality; it does not pass judgment on whether that reality is "good" or "bad." We may conclude that high levels of support for Republicans from those on the upper rungs of the socioeconomic ladder is desirable or undesirable (depending on our own values); science, as science, seeks only to determine whether such a relationship exists, and it does so without regard for the question of whether such a relationship should or should not exist. This is an example of what philosophers of science have called the "fact-value distinction." Science is concerned with the former, the facts, and not with value judgments about those facts.

This is not to say that values play no part at all in science. Personal preferences may influence what topics scientists choose to investigate; their feelings of right and wrong may lead them to focus on some particular problem. The ethical neutrality postulate of science, however, demands that the conducting of research itself be as free as possible from the influence of values. Similarly, values will influence what one makes of a relationship, what proposals one bases on the relationship, but values should not affect the determination of the existence of the relationship.

Science, then, can—but should not—be used to surround one's own beliefs with an aura of "scientific truth." Public opinion polls, for instance, can describe the views of the citizenry accurately or they can be "rigged" to indicate popular support for some particular point of view. Not all users of surveys have matched the widely known Gallup and Harris polls in their unbiased efforts to plumb public sentiments.

By way of summary, we may say that behavioral scientists, as scientists, seek (1) explanations of and predictions about events in the real world. These explanations should (2) be built on an empirical base, (3) be cast in the form of generalizations and theories, and (4) be ethically neutral in character. Behavioral scientists advocate and aspire to these goals, but they recognize that they cannot achieve them completely. They know, given the character of human behavior, that their explanations are likely to be incomplete and that, rather than permit predictions of the future, they may merely give a few clues on which to base an "educated guess" about things to come. They know also that needed data (facts) may be unavailable and that factor theories, not full-blown theories, may be the best that can be produced. Despite these limitations, social scientists feel that by emulating the scientific method to the greatest possible degree, they can uncover more of the regularities of human behavior than have previously been set forth. In this way they hope to advance our understanding of the social (including political) behavior of humans.

How Social Scientists Conduct Research

Thus far, the discussion has focused on some general characteristics of the scientific approach as applied to human behavior. While this is not the place for an extended treatment of the details of scientific method, some comments about the process by which social scientists conduct research will be useful to APB teachers. To begin, we should recall our earlier discussion about the difficulties inherent in constructing theories. We noted that deductive theories are generally beyond the reach of political scientists. Instead researchers tend to look for factor theories, sets of variables which, taken together, permit a greater understanding of some particular form of behavior. (The example of a factor theoretical approach to voting turnout was presented earlier.) Political analysts, hence, devote more energy to seeking generalizations linking one or a few factors to behavior than they expend in theorizing in the deductive sense. Therefore, theories in political science are more likely to be created by combining generalizations discovered one at a time than to be "invented" by a single researcher. More simply, theories are likely to emerge from the combination of existing generalizations rather than to precede the formulation of such generalizations.

Therefore, we can characterize much behavioral science as "hypothesis-testing." A *hypothesis* is a suspected or conjectural relationship among concepts as variables. The terms *concept* and *variable*, though often used interchangeably, have somewhat different meanings. The former has been defined most simply as "an abstract idea generalized from particular instances" (Webster's Third Dictionary). Thus, the concept "desk" refers to those pieces of furniture, whatever their size, shape, color, etc., whose primary purpose is to provide a flat surface for writing. Similarly and more relevant to politics, the concept "social class" refers to the various statuses in society (e.g., middle class, working class, upper class) an individual may occupy. One hypothesis that has received substantial attention from behavioral scientists is that social class is related to political preference, that is, variations in social standing go together with consistent variations in political opinion.

When we turn to variables, on the other hand, we move to a level of greater specificity. It is here that we encounter the requirement of science that our relationships meet the test of a confrontation with empirical data. A variable is nothing more than an element which can assume several different values. A number of different variables are available to measure the concept of social class, for example. The upper class presumably is better off financially, so annual dollar income can be used to assign individuals a rank on the social ladder. Likewise, higher education and a prestige occupation are frequently characteristics of those in the higher levels of the class hierarchy; therefore, years of schooling and/or type of job can be taken as indicators of status. The variables of income, education, and occupation taken singly or in combination may be used as measures of social class. Our hypothesis can now be amended to state that social class as measured in a precisely specified manner is related to political sentiment, also measured by clearly defined procedures.

In stating hypotheses people commonly make a distinction between independent and dependent variables. The speculation about a possible relationship frequently assumes a cause-effect sequence: the independent variable is the assumed cause of the dependent variable. In the example above, the hypothesis relating class and partisan preference, the independent variable, social class, is presumed to influence the dependent variable, choice between the parties. Specifically the hypothesis states that the higher the social status the greater the tendency to prefer the Republican party, its candidates, and its stands on issues of the day. The attributes of high status are presumed to "cause" a liking for Republican alternatives. In operational terms, we may investigate to see whether those of higher educational attainment or with greater income do express preferences for Republican nominees and issue positions.

This process of moving from an abstract hypothesis toward a set of procedures to test the hypothesis is often designated "*operationalism*," or the process of "operational definition." It refers to the assigning of meaning to a concept by specifying the exact procedures (operations) which are used to measure the concept (or more accurately the variable which serves to link the concept to reality). A hypothesis, then, states a speculative relationship among variables, and operationalism defines the procedures by which the terms of the hypothesis are given meaning. Such operational specification permits successive tests of the hypothesis to be performed in a manner designed to promote confidence in the test results. If differing procedures are used, we cannot tell whether differing results reflect differences in procedures or differences in the relationship itself.

In addition to this attempt to avoid the pitfalls of inconsistent definition and usage, political scientists also seek to establish relationships independent of possible contaminating factors. This is the social science equivalent of the kinds of control over outside forces available to the natural scientist in a laboratory. For example, we may establish the relationship between social class and political views by conducting an opinion survey in Indiana. In this simple case we cannot tell whether class or residence in the Midwest accounts for preferring the Republican party. Before we can assert the relationship with confidence, we must be sure that region of residence is not contaminating our findings. To gain this certainty, we must "control" for region. This can be done by performing the same test, using the same operations, in other regions of the country. If in each case high status continues to be associated with Republican leanings, we can assert that the relationship is unaffected by regional considerations; it exists in all parts of the nation.

If our hypotheses are verified, that is, if the conjectured relationship is found to exist with the potentially contaminating forces controlled, we are in a relatively strong position to elevate our finding to the status of a generalization (or, as some writers prefer, a law). It is generalizations, as we have seen, that are the goals of science and that imaginative and inventive minds may combine into theories. The hypothesis-testing process, then, is the hallmark of contemporary behavioral science. The social scientist, seeking laws and theories, proposes hypotheses relating concepts and variables, defines these concepts and variables in operational terms to facilitate empirical tests of the hypotheses, and seeks to control for other variables which might impair a valid test. In these ways, social scientists endeavor to approximate the methods of science as closely as possible and to obtain results in which they can have a maximum degree of confidence.

The Field Perspective on Political Behavior

In the previous section we presented some of the basic aims and methods of social science. Now we shift our focus to the application of social science to the study of politics. The individual emerges at the center of attention, groups are viewed as little more than collections of individuals. Behavioral political scientists seek to uncover the causes of, or influences on, individual belief and activity. To do so, they look for all the possible relevant variables (factors) which affect individual behavior. Put more formally, they seek generalizations which link any of a very large number of independent variables to the dependent variables of citizen opinion and political behavior.

The field approach or perspective is one, but by no means the only, way to sort out the multitude of potentially influential variables. This approach conceives of the individual as a biological and human entity existing within social and cultural environments. It suggests that to understand behavior it is necessary to look at the individual and at the situation he/she is in at the time he/she must choose among alternative behavior possibilities. The field perspective attempts to take into account all major forces that may shape what a person thinks, says, or does. These potentially relevant forces can be subdivided into three broad categories: (1) cultural, (2) sociological, and (3) psychological or personal. In addition, all individuals undergo a socialization or learning process in which they are taught the things society deems appropriate for them to know and act upon. Let us examine each of these elements of the field in more detail.

Cultural and Social Forces. In the first place, each individual exists within a given culture, that is, within a system of norms shared by the members of society. As Americans we live within a culture that directs us to behave politically in certain expected ways. To cite one example, our culture impels us to participate actively in politics; as "good citizens," we are expected to vote, to know something about the issues, to contribute financially to the "party of our choice," and so forth. A person's political behavior, then, may reflect to some extent the culture in which he or she lives.

Beyond the dictates of culture, an individual's beliefs and behavior are bound up in the network of social groupings. People may belong to some primary groups—those of which they are more than merely a formal member, in which they are an active participant, and with whose members they interact on a personal and relatively spontaneous basis. Many Americans, for example, are deeply committed to church, ethnic, labor union, veterans, and many other types of voluntary associations. In addition to these more immediate memberships, individuals are members of secondary, or categoric, groups. They do not meet face to face with their fellow members but belong by virtue of their own position in the society socio-

economic status, adherence to some religious denomination, employment in a particular occupation--to broad class, religious, occupational, and other groups. What is important here is that persons may develop ways of thinking and acting which are appropriate to their membership in groups of this sort. They may learn how to approach a topic from their fellow members or they may feel social pressure to adjust their views and behavior and make them more consistent with group standards, thus protecting their own status within the group. In either case, however, what they do politically and otherwise will bear the imprint of their involvement in various positions in the social world of which they are a part.

Taking Account of Individuality. But individuals are by no means helpless pawns being pushed and pulled by cultural and social forces. Rather they are distinct, autonomous persons, whose behavior, while influenced by the cultural and social situations in which they find themselves, will reflect the kind of individual they are. What one is, in part, is determined by biological make-up. One's physical powers and intelligence will be limited by natural endowments, that is, by genetic inheritance. No parents, however doting and devoted to their child, can make a genius of a son or daughter whose IQ is near 80. A person's biological attributes, in short, impose limitations on the ways in which he or she may develop.

Within these limits, however, individual development may proceed along a nearly infinite variety of paths. As people mature, they find out how to deal with the environment in which they live; they come to develop characteristic modes of responding. Recognizing this fact, implicitly at least, we refer to people who shy away from social contacts, who prefer isolation to the company of others, as introverted, or we label as aggressive those who respond to frustrating circumstances by striking out violently at the perceived source of their discomfort. What this means is that individuals bring something of themselves to their behavior. Yinger refers to this as the individual's character, while other writers use the term "personality" to convey the same meaning. Whatever word is used, the fact remains that these attributes of the individual, like the cultural and social factors discussed above, must be considered in attempts to understand and explain political activities of the American people.

People are not born with developed personalities any more than they have knowledge of cultural or group norms and expectations at birth. The impact of culture and group as well as the development of personality takes place through a learning process known as socialization. As Roberta Sigel puts it:*

Political socialization is the gradual learning of the norms, attitudes, and behavior accepted and practiced by the on-going political system.

Therefore, we must examine the process by which dispositions to act are acquired, that is, the process of political socialization, in any attempt to generalize about the influence of culture, group, and personality on political behavior.

Role and Role Behavior. The notion of *role* provides a convenient way to see the simultaneous influence of culture, social structure, and personality operating through the socialization process. Colloquially, we speak of individuals playing roles with respect to some audience. More formally, role may be defined as the rights and duties, the normatively approved patterns of behavior for people in given positions in society.

Role, thus defined, has both social (or structural) and cultural attributes. A position refers to a specific place in a social structure. The rights and obligations of a position tend to be formalized and codified. A number of ways of behaving are required or forbidden by law, or some set of rules, to the occupant of a position. Violating these rules will, of course, lead to the invoking of formal, legal sanctions. In cultural terms, a role consists of a set of norms or expectations about how the person who takes the role should act. Those who occupy roles learn that there are some things which they are expected to do, some things which they must refrain from doing, and that those who violate the norms, while not subject to formal sanctions, may be punished informally. They may be ignored, socially ostracized, or generally deprived of the rewards which successful role-playing brings.

A distinction must be made between role and role behavior. Role defines how the role-player,

*Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions about the Learning of Political Values," In Roberta Sigel (ed.), "Political Socialization," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 361:1-9, at p. 2, September, 1965.

whoever he or she may be, is expected to behave. Role behavior consists of what a particular player of the role actually does. The behavior he/she exhibits may or may not match what others expect him/her to do, how they expect him/her to play the role. Inappropriate behavior may occur for a number of reasons. In the first place, the occupant of a role may be personally incapable of meeting demands of the role. We are all familiar with people who seem temperamentally unsuited for certain roles (e.g., husband or wife, group member, citizen, and the like), and when such individuals are thrust into such roles, their personalities will render it difficult for them to behave appropriately. Secondly, occupants of a role may not know what behaviors are expected of them, and they may act in unacceptable fashion until socialized, until they learn the behaviors which those with whom they must deal expect of them. In this socialization process, the role-player may discover that there is no agreement about how she/he should behave. The people with whom he/she must interact do not agree on what is proper activity to engage in. In fact, role-players may be confronted by incompatible expectations. The role may require them to deal with two or more sets people, each of which wants them to perform different and incompatible actions. Part of the socialization process involves learning how to cope with such varying expectations. For these reasons, role behavior may depart from the norms and expectations which define the role.

Example of the Role Concept. We may illustrate some of these points by examining the role of teacher. A classroom teacher, first of all, must work within the limits set forth in the contract and in the operating rules of the school. These comprise the formal aspect of the role, and violations will expose the teacher to formal penalties. At the same time, the teacher must meet the expectations imposed by a number of audiences—students, their parents and the larger local community, fellow teachers, and school administrators. The feelings of these groups about what should go on in the classroom will create for the teacher difficult and perhaps controversial choices about, among other things, the curriculum—what topics to emphasize, whether to deal with contemporary political issues, etc.—and about rules of student conduct. Each teacher will learn about the demands of these audiences and may find successful ways of dealing with these demands. As a result of socialization, the teacher will discover how to adapt his or her behavior to these various formal and informal pressures. Unsatisfactory adaptation may reflect personality; the teacher may possess personal needs which outweigh the necessity of "learning the ropes"in the school.

In short, the concept of role provides a way of visualizing the four classes of variables—cultural, social, psychological, and socializing—which the field approach singles out for attention. Role behavior will be an adjustment of the demands of culture, group, and personality. The behavioral political scientist seeks generalizations which link variables from each of these categories to political activities of individuals. The value of the field perspective is that it helps to ensure that research will at least consider each class of factors, will examine relevant forces, in its search for generalizations with explanatory and predictive value.

CHAPTER ONE

What Is Political Behavior?

Pages 2-19. Five class periods

Chapter Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the term *political behavior.* This term is complex and difficult to define precisely. Therefore, main aspects of political behavior that can clarify the meaning of this term are discussed and illustrated profusely.

Two Cases of Political Behavior stimulate student response to the questions: (1) What is political behavior? and (2) Why do people behave politically?

Aspects of Political Behavior. We identify several main aspects of political behavior such as conflict, influence, and political decisions.

The Shoreline Airport Case is an example of political behavior in a small city. Students should analyze this case in terms of the aspects of political behavior presented in the previous lesson.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Dahl, Robert A. *Modern Political Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 1-13, 39-54. The suggested pages offer discussion of political behavior such as conflict, influence, policy decisions, and political resources. (For teachers)

Froman, Lewis A., Jr. *People and Politics: An Analysis of the American Political System* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), pp. 1-14. A brief discussion of the meaning of politics. (For teachers)

Liston, Robert A. *Politics: From Precinct to Presidency* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 1-42. A general discussion of political activity in the United States. Written for young readers, this book is richly flavored with easy-to-understand examples. (For students)

Merritt, Richard L., and Pyszka, Gloria L. *The Student Political Scientist's Handbook* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, distributed by Harper & Row, 1969). Guide to finding and using various kinds of library resources useful to students of government and politics. Commentary about how to organize and write term papers. (For students)

Suggested Film

The Political Animal (Xerox Films). 14½ min. color. Especially produced for use with Chapter One of *American Political Behavior,* this film shows real students at an American high school behaving politically (see page 17). Available from Xerox Films, 245 Long Hill Road, Middletown, Conn. 06457.

Two Cases of Political Behavior

Pages 2-6; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can speculate about what political behavior is and why people behave politically.

2. Students are motivated to compare their speculations about political behavior with a subsequent discussion about the meaning of political behavior.

Suggested Procedures

Period One. Ask students to speculate, in terms of their own experience, about answers to the two questions on the first page of chapter 1: (1) What is political behavior? (2) Why do people behave politically? If students hesitate to respond, assure them that you do not expect sophisticated answers. Point out that the purpose of the lesson is to introduce a term, political behavior, that is basic to this course and to generate speculation about its meaning.

The teacher's role during this discussion is to act as a chairperson and to facilitate discussion. The teacher should not at this point close the discussion by making judgments about answers. In subsequent lessons, students will have a chance to compare their speculative answers with a systematic written discussion about what political behavior is and why people behave politically.

Assign the two cases of political behavior on pages 2-6: (1) What Is a Park Worth? (2) The Klan Comes to Town.

Divide the class into four or five sub-groups. Tell students to conduct discussions in their sub-groups of these questions:

1. What does each case reveal about the meaning of political behavior?

2. What does each case reveal about why people behave politically?

3. What should be the outcome of each case?

Select a spokesperson for each sub-group. Tell them that they are responsible for presenting the ideas of their group to the class during the next class meeting. Use the rest of the period for these sub-group discussions.

Period Two. Call on the spokesperson from one of the sub-groups to answer the first two assigned questions in terms of Case 1. Other students should listen intently and be encouraged to react critically to the report. At its conclusion, ask members of other sub-groups if they have additions or corrections to make to the report.

Next call on the spokesperson from another sub-group to answer this question: Do you like or dislike the outcome of this case? Why? At the end of this report, ask others to either agree or disagree with it.

Call on another spokesperson to discuss the first two assigned questions about Case 2. At the conclusion, ask others to react with criticisms.

Finally, have another spokesperson answer this question about Case 2: What decision do you think the mayor should make? Why? Have other students agree or disagree with this answer.

Since this is a "confrontation lesson," the role of the teacher should be that of discussion chairperson and facilitator. The teacher should withhold evaluation of student comments during this discussion. Rather, encourage student interaction. Maintain an open-ended discussion. See page 5 of this *Teacher's Guide* for discussion of "confrontation lessons" as part of a four-category lesson typology which undergirds the instructional strategies of this course.

Special Note on a Film for Chapter One. *The Political Animal* (p. 16) shows high school students, faculty members, and townspeople engaging in political behavior. The issue is an open-lunch policy for the high school. Various actors are employing a variety of political resources to influence a policy decision. The film shows explicitly that political behavior occurs within a culture that provides formal rules, customs, and positions that influence the form the behavior will take. The film can be used both as an introduction to and conclusion for chapter 1. See the Teacher's Guide which accompanies this film for discussion of instructional techniques to use with the film.

Aspects of Political Behavior

Pages 6-14; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can use the terms *issue* and *value conflict* to answer correctly the questions on page 7.

2. Students can use the terms *influence, political technique,* and *political resources* to answer correctly the questions on page 9.

3. Students can use the terms *political decision* and *compromise* to answer correctly the questions on page 11.

4. Students can use the terms *rules, anarchy,* and *government* to answer correctly the questions on page 14.

Period One. Assign pages 6-14. This reading assignment is a discussion of what political behavior is and why people behave politically. When reading this assignment, students can compare and contrast the speculative answers that they have made to the questions about the meaning of political behavior with this discussion about the meaning of political behavior.

Require students to answer the questions about issues and value conflicts on page 7; about influence, political techniques, and political resources on page 9; about political decisions and compromise on page 11; and about rules, anarchy, and government on page 14. Point out to students that they must refer to the two cases of political behavior on pages 2-6 to answer the questions.

Allow students to use one class period as a study period to work on this assignment. Since this is the first assignment in this course which requires students to apply terminology precisely, it is probably wise for the teacher to supervise the study period carefully and to assist students.

Period Two. Divide the class into four or five subgroups to discuss their answers to the assigned questions. The teacher should circulate among the sub-groups to facilitate discussion. Students should be encouraged to assist one another to obtain correct answers and to understand the main aspects of political behavior. Have students continue their sub-group discussions for about half the period.

Use the remainder of the period for a full class discussion.

Begin by asking the students if they have any questions about what are the correct answers to the assigned questions. Either answer these questions or ask students to help one another to answer the questions. By contrast with the previous lessons, the teacher's role is to help students to evaluate answers and to provide correct answers when students are unable to do this.

Indicate that students are to ask questions about the answers to assigned questions that caused difficulty during the previous discussion in the subgroups. The teacher should stress that students are not to ask questions about ideas that they have mastered. Through this device, the teacher and the class are relieved of the need to plod through each set of assigned questions in a point-by-point fashion.

Conclude the discussion by indicating that students are expected to know the meaning of these terms: issue, influence, political resource, political decision, compromise, government, anarchy, rules, political technique. Distribute *Worksheet 1. Using Words That Identify Aspects of Political Behavior.* This worksheet requires the use of the above terms. Require students to complete this worksheet in order to reinforce their knowledge of these key terms. You might ask students to hand in the worksheet so that you can evaluate their responses.

This activity is a "rule-example" lesson designed to teach systematically several key concepts, or ideas, which are aspects of political behavior. See pages 5-6 of this *Teacher's Guide* for discussion of "rule-example lessons" as a means to teach knowledge and intellectual skills systematically.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 7.* **1.** The issue in Case 1 was whether the city government should use scarce resources to build a park or an overpass. In Case 2 the issue was whether the Ku Klux Klan should have the right to hold a public rally.

2. In Case 1 the value conflict was over alternative uses of a limited amount of money. One group valued the use of money for an overpass; the other group, for a park. In Case 2 the value conflict was *free speech* versus *public safety and order.*

Page 9. **1.** Examples of political influence in Case 1 are the speech by Robert Randolph to the city council and the meeting between Mayor Harding and the West Side leaders in which a compromise was arranged. Examples in Case 2 of attempts to have political influence are the petition printed in the newspaper, the newspaper editorial, letters to the newspaper editor, and discussions between various civic leaders and the mayor. Since the case is open-ended, we do not know who succeeded or failed in their attempts to influence the mayor's decision.

2. In Case 1 various people used the political techniques of public speeches and negotiations with the mayor to influence the decisions of city government officials. In Case 2 the political techniques used to influence the mayor were

editorials, letters to newspapers, petitions, and personal contact with the mayor.

3. The political resources were (a) for the editor: control of a means of mass communication, a newspaper; (b) for Randolph: community prestige, wealth, and direct access to the mayor and other public officials; (c) for Henson: organized group action, the voting power of his group, his skills as a leader and negotiator, and direct access to the mayor; (d) for Mayor Harding: the power and prestige of his office and his skills as a political leader.

4. In Case 1 the West Side residents were poor, uneducated people with few political resources. However, by organizing, cooperating, and threatening group action, they magnified their political resources. In Case 2 people used political techniques which their resources enabled them to use adequately. An important rule of political participation is to do what you can with what you've got. In other words, don't try to use political techniques for which you have little or no resources. For example, people who are nearly illiterate probably should not depend on a letter-writing campaign to gain their political objectives.

5. In Case 1 the West Side citizens threatened to use their political resource of bloc voting power to influence a compromise that gave them some things they valued. The Sunnyside citizens used their political resource of prestige in the community to gain their objective.

Page 11. **1.** In Case 1 the first political decision was to build an overpass and not to provide a park. Later it was decided to build an overpass and purchase land for a park to be developed within two years.

2. The political decisions were made by the mayor and city council in Case 1.

3. The final decision in Case 1 is an example of compromise.

Page 14. **1.** In Case 1 the parties to the conflict tried to influence the mayor in accepted ways. They used negotiation and compromise according to the customs and laws of their community. They abided by the decisions of their public officials, which were made according to the rules. In Case 2 several individuals tried to influence the mayor in customary, orderly ways, according to the rules for political action in their community.

2. The individuals followed rules in the two cases in order to settle conflicts in an orderly manner. Presumably they feared extreme disorder, or anarchy.

Answers to Worksheet 1. *Part A.* (1) anarchy, (2) influence, (3) political resources, (4) rules or political decisions, (5) compromise, (6) government, (7) anarchy, (8) political decision, (9) rules or political decisions, (10) conflict or issue, (11) issue, (12) political resource, (13) issue, (14) political decision.

Part B. The answers to Exercises 1, 2, and 3 will vary since students are asked to provide local examples. In answer to Question 4, students should state that political resources are the means one person has to influence the behavior of another. In response to Question 5 students should state that political behavior involves efforts by individuals or groups to resolve conflicts.

Assign "The Shoreline Case," pages 14-19, as homework. Require students to analyze this case in terms of the questions on page 19. Tell students that this is an "application lesson," an assignment designed to test their ability to apply ideas studied in previous lessons. Students can demonstrate what they have learned about aspects of political behavior by completing this lesson. See page 6 of this *Teacher's Guide* for discussion of "application lessons" as part of a four-category lesson typology which structures the instructional strategies of this course.

The Shoreline Airport Case

Pages 14-19; one class period

Objective

Students can analyze "The Shoreline Airport Case" in terms of these concepts: (a) issue, (b) political resource, (c) influence, (d) political decision, (e) rules, and (f) political techniques.

Suggested Procedures

Begin the class discussion by reminding students that the main purpose of the lesson is to test ability to apply concepts introduced in the previous lesson to the organization and interpretation of new

information. Tell students that if they are able to do this lesson, then they show that they have mastered ideas introduced in the previous lessons. Next ask students to discuss answers to the questions on page 19.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. The issue was whether or not to expand the airport facilities.

2. The issue developed from differences in values of the parties in this conflict. Those who favored expansion of the airport valued industrial and urban development of their community more than probable increases in air and noise pollution and the loss of educational, recreational, and medical facilities. In contrast, the opponents of airport expansion were against industrial and urban development at the cost of more pollution and the loss of recreational, educational, and medical facilities.

3. Students should identify the following political resources of different individuals and groups in this case: (a) Lester Culp, the newspaper columnist, had the power to transmit and interpret important political information that could be used to influence the public and public officials. (b) Walter Simko had the resources of prestige associated with being president of the Chamber of Commerce and of direct access to important public officials such as Roger Rand. (c) Maxine Douglas possessed specialized knowledge which could be used to influence the decisions of public officials who did not have her expertise. (d) Marshall Levy, Carol Elliot, and the Safe and Sane Airport Committee had the resources of an organized political group and the skills necessary to make the group an important political force. (e) George Geddes, Roger Rand, and other public officials had the authority and prestige of public office.

4. Walter Simko tried to influence the outcome of this case by using such political techniques as writing a letter to the newspaper and personal contact with a public official. Maxine Douglas tried to influence the outcome by using her specialized knowledge as testimony before the city council. Marshall Levy and Carol Elliot used a well-organized demonstration as their main politic l technique. Lester Culp wrote an editorial in the local newspaper to try to sway public opinion.

5. The city council might decide to expand the airport, or they might decide against airport expansion.

6. Students should respond that the participants in this case followed the rules, both laws and customs, in trying to influence the outcome of this case.

7. Students should state that particular people became involved in a conflict over differences in their values. They tried to influence the resolution of this conflict in various ways. A political decision will be made to settle the conflict. The people in this case behaved politically to try to influence the settlement of the conflict in an orderly way.

8. The question asks students to offer their opinions about what political decision should be made in this case. Discussion of this question provides a good opportunity to point out the difference between describing and explaining political behavior and making political decisions. To describe and explain is to make judgments about what was, is, or might be. To make a political decision is to make a judgment about what ought to be. In chapter 3, students will be instructed in detail about the similarities and differences in making factual and value judgments.

Use the next class period to administer Unit One Test 1.

Unit One · Test 1

Objective

Students will be able to complete a short answer and matching test over the material in chapter 1, making a score of at least 16 out of a possible 20 points.

Suggested Procedures

The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these with the students. Answer any questions students may have about correct answers. Answers are provided on the spirit duplicating masters.

CHAPTER TWO

Political Participants

Pages 20-43. Five class periods

Chapter Overview

This chapter introduces three categories of political participants: public officials, unofficial political specialists, and typical citizens as political participants. The chapter then stresses participation by unofficial political specialists and typical citizens in interest groups. Various techniques of effective interest-group activity are discussed.

Who Participates? Three types of political participants are introduced: (1) public officials, (2) unofficial political specialists, and (3) typical citizen participants. Students are informed that this chapter stresses participation by unofficial specialists and typical citizens.

How Do People Take Part in Politics? We emphasize that participation through organizations is a very important feature of American politics. Two major types of political organizations are described: political parties and interest groups. Six keys to effective participation are discussed: (1) organizing skillfully, (2) focusing participation, (3) sustaining participation, (4) fitting activities to resources, (5) trading favors, and (6) building coalitions.

A Tightly Knit Organization. This is a case study of how a well-financed, powerful interest group can mobilize resources to influence legislation.

The Squeaky Wheel. This is a case study about Maria Begay, a Navajo political leader who must maximize her few resources in order to influence public officials.

The Activists. This is a case study of a group of young people who attempt to influence public opinion through public demonstrations.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Alinsky, Saul D. *Rules for Radicals* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1971). A professional political activist writes about his experiences as an organizer of disadvantaged people. He articulates practical rules for effective political participation based on his experiences. (For teachers and students)

Bentley, Arthur F. *The Process of Government: A Study of Social Pressures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908). This book has contributed immensely to the development of modern political science. Bentley was one of the first to call for empirical methods in political science. This book also stressed the importance of groups in politics. Government and politics were viewed as a process in which groups coalesced, struggled, won, or were defeated in the effort to advance their interests. (For teachers)

Burkhart, James, and others. *Strategies for Political Participation*, Second Edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, 1974). Tells how citizens can use cost-benefit analysis to decide when to participate in politics and how to participate most effectively. (For teachers and students)

Etzioni, Amitai. *Demonstration Democracy* (New York: Gordon and Breech, Science Publishers, Inc., 1971). Empirical study of the strengths and limitations of demonstrations as a political participation technique. (For teachers and advanced students)

Fish, John Hall. *Black Power White Control: The Struggle of the Woodlawn Organization in Chicago* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

1973). Detailed case study of the organization and activities of political participants in a South Side Chicago black neighborhood. Saul Alinsky was instrumental in organizing the group. (For teachers and students)

Gardner, John W. *In Common Cause: Citizen Action and How It Works* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972). The founder and main leader of Common Cause discusses the goals, strategies, and tactics of his "people's lobby." Presents guidelines for effective political participation by interest groups. (For teachers and students)

Lamb, Karl. *As Orange Goes: Twelve California Families and the Future of American Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974). Analysis of political attitudes and activities of twelve families in Ramona Heights in southern California's Orange County. (For teachers and advanced students)

Sanders, Marion K. (editor). *The Professional Radical: Conversations with Saul Alinsky* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970). Insightful comments about how poor people can participate more effectively in politics as told by a master organizer. (For teachers and students)

Schriftgiesser, Karl. *The Lobbyists* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951). This book treats the history of interest-group activity from the time of mere personal persuasion to the complex tactics used by highly organized groups today. It is written in journalistic style and is sometimes sensational in tone. (For teachers and students)

Truman, David B. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951). This book builds upon Bentley's work. It shows how interest groups influence, and are influenced by, the activities of political parties, legislatures, courts, bureaucrats, and Presidents. It describes how interest groups are organized and how groups influence public opinion. (For teachers)

Suggested Films

Citizen Harold (Learning Corporation of America). 9 min. In this animated film, Harold seeks to find some way to stop the terrible noise caused by local tree removal. He tries many avenues to solve his problem, but in the end is totally unsuccessful and sinks back into his original apathy. Useful in provoking thought about effective actions citizens can take to make their desires known.

Pressure Groups (EBF). 20 min. b&w. Defines pressure groups and provides examples of a group in action.

The Role of the Interest Group Leader. (XEROX FILMS). 15 min. color. This film was produced for use with this chapter. An actual lobbyist for the Sierra Club seeks to mobilize support for anti-strip-mining legislation. The film is documentary, not fictional, and yet clearly focuses on the objectives of this chapter. Available from Xerox Films, 245 Long Hill Road, Middletown, Conn. 06457.

Suggested Simulations and Games

Plans (Western Behavioral Sciences Institute) In *Plans* the participants portray members of six interest groups: Military, Civil Rights, Nationalists, Internationalists, Business, and Labor, each with an equal amount of influence. Each group must decide how to use its own influence and that of other groups to adopt those public policies which will produce desired changes in the society. At the same time each group will have to try to block undesirable public policies.

Who Participates?

Pages 20-24; one class period

Objectives

1. Students are able to distinguish unofficial and official political specialists.

2. Students are able to identify what unofficial political specialists do and why they do it.

Suggested Procedures

Begin the lesson by asking students to look at the pictures of political participants on pages 22-23. Have them use these pictures to answer the questions on the first page of the chapter: In your opi-

nion, which of these types of people are more or less likely to be involved in politics? Why?

Conduct open-ended, free-flowing discussion of these questions. Encourage broad participation and wide-ranging, speculative answers. Don't evaluate student answers at this point. They will be able to check their speculations against information presented in other parts of the chapter. Spend no more than 10-12 minutes on this introductory discussion.

Tell students to read pages 20-21 about three categories of political participants: (1) unofficial political specialists, (2) public officials, and (3) typical citizen participants.

Have students answer the questions on pages 21, 24 as an application exercise for this lesson. By answering these questions correctly, they can demonstrate achievement of the objectives for this lesson.

Answers to Text Questions. *Pages 21,24.* **1.** Unofficial political specialists in this list are items a, d, e, g.

2. (a) The public officials in the Shoreline Airport Case are Roger Rand and George Geddes, who are members of the city council. (b) The unofficial political specialists are Walter Simko, Maxine Douglas, Marshall Levy, and Carol Elliot. (c) Students may imply from the Shoreline Airport Case that people become unofficial political specialists for some of the following reasons: (1) to get political decisions that are in line with their own values, (2) to get psychological rewards through the exercise of power and influence.

Assignment. Have students read the next chapter section, pages 24-33, as homework. Assign the application exercise, "Six Cases of Political Participation," on pages 32-33.

How Do People Take Part in Politics?

Pages 24-33; one class period

Objective

Students are able to judge political participation in terms of the six "keys" to effective participation discussed in this part of the chapter.

Suggested Procedures

Students should have read pages 24-33 and completed the application exercise at the end of this reading assignment.

Use this class period to discuss the application exercise.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 33.* **1.** In Case 1, Roy's objective is to become president of his senior class. Abe's objective is to be certain that sufficient funds are budgeted from the class dues to sponsor the class float in the Homecoming parade. In Case 2, the ACI wanted improvements in various city services for their neighborhood. In Case 3, the DBA's goal was to persuade the city government to build two high-rise parking garages in the downtown shopping area. Richard Witte's objective in Case 4 was to stop his state government from passing a lottery bill. However, the objective of several well-organized interest groups was to get this bill passed. In Case 5, the Consumer Protection Association had five objectives. They wanted to influence local businesses (1) to lower prices, (2) to improve services, (3) to provide higher quality products, (4) to follow fair hiring and promotion practices, and (5) to give more funds to improve the downtown business area. The goal of the Citizens for Better Government in Case 6 was to win control of the city government from "the machine."

2. In Case 1, Roy and Abe are trying to negotiate a trade of favors so that both can achieve their objectives. In Case 2, the Action for Community Improvement group is using a public demonstration to try to achieve its objective. In Case 3, the Downtown Businessmen's Association is trying to pool its resources with other groups in behalf of the same objectives. In Case 4, Richard Witte used the political technique of writing letters to the local newspaper and to public officials. However, several interest groups who opposed him pooled their vast resources to reach their shared objective. It is not clear in Case 5 how the CPA is trying to achieve its objectives. It seems that they are expending money, time, and effort diffusely. In Case 6, the CBG used persistence in building sufficient resources to challenge "the machine" successfully.

3. In Cases 1, 2, 3, and 6, people are using one or more of the six "keys" to effective participation discussed in this chapter. In Case 1, Roy and Abe are trying to trade favors as a means to achieve their different objectives. In Case 2, the ACI

leaders lacked resources needed to gain direct access to public officials. The news media ignored them. Thus, they resorted to a public demonstration to draw attention to their objectives. By using this political technique, they were trying to fit their resources to their objective—to do what they could with what they had. In Case 3, the DBA built a coalition with several other groups to pool their resources to increase their potential for achieving a common objective. In Case 6, the CBG used the "keys" of *focusing* and *sustaining* their participation.

In Cases 4 and 5, people are not following any of the six "keys" to effective political participation. In Case 4, Richard Witte is acting as a "lone wolf" political participant. His resources are too meager. Thus, he cannot contend with a coalition of interest groups in opposition to his objective. In Case 5, the CPA is trying to achieve too many objectives simultaneously. They don't have sufficient resources to achieve all of their objectives at the same time. They should have concentrated on one objective rather than spreading their resources too thinly across many objectives.

4. In Cases 4 and 5, people are participating rather foolishly, as they are violating one or more of the six "keys" to effective participation. In the other four cases, people are following one or more of the six "keys." Thus, we can judge their political participation more favorably.

Concluding the Lesson. Stress that the six "keys" to effective participation can be used as a set of criteria in terms of which to judge the actual or potential effectiveness of political activities. Tell students that they might apply these criteria to subsequent cases in this course and to political events that they experience outside the classroom.

As an extra assignment, interested students might be asked to use these "keys" to analyze current newspaper or news-magazine reports of political activities by groups or individuals.

A Tightly Knit Organization

Pages 33-36; one or two class periods

Objective

Students are able to analyze a case study about a conventional interest group in terms of ideas presented in the preceding lessons about political participation.

Suggested Procedures

Have students read the case study on pages 33-36. Next conduct a discussion of the four questions at end of the case on page 36.

During this discussion stress the importance of organization as an important political resource.

Make certain that all students understand the basic facts of the story—that the Connecticut Rifle and Revolver Association is a private group (not an official body of government) which represents the firearms' interests and is attempting to head off a bill which threatens those interests. Then turn to the questions for class discussion which focus upon how the gun organization accomplished its task.

Dr. Blake, the legislator who originally sponsored the bill, was at a disadvantage because he had few contacts and little experience or understanding about gun controls. Among the resources used by the Association were the skills of its leaders at personal persuasion, the knowledge and contacts required to select a favorable committee quickly, and the expertise needed to draft a new bill in legal language. Speedy action was important because the early moves had to be made before the issue became public (since public opinion would probably have worked against the Rifle and Revolver Association).

Students should realize that had the Rifle and Revolver Association not acted, public policy in Connecticut on the issue of gun controls would probably be quite different and that it was able to accomplish this by skillfully converting its considerable resources into influence within the general rules by which interest groups are expected to play.

Emphasize the point that interest groups frequently try to mobilize support for their positions by presenting arguments that *appeal to the general public*, not just to their own members. Other examples of this would be the railroad industry arguing for tax preferences on the basis of its importance to the total economy, or teachers justifying their requests for higher salaries in terms of the need to recruit better teachers and improve the education of children.

Ask students to summarize the kinds of political resources available to the Rifle and Revolver Association. These include membership, connec-

tions, respectability, and finances. They may all be employed to influence policy in ways which will serve the group's cause.

An additional class period can profitably be used by showing and discussing the film *The Role of the Interest Group Leader* (page 22). To maximize its effect, plan to show the film twice. The Guide accompanying the film suggests specific questions for students to keep in mind as they view the film a second time.

The Squeaky Wheel

Pages 36-40; one class period

Objectives

1. Students are able to analyze a case study about an interest-group leader in terms of ideas presented in the preceding lessons.

2. Students can distinguish between the means of influence used by the Navajo representative, with few tangible resources, and the Connecticut Rifle and Revolver Association with its vast resources.

Suggested Procedures

Have students read the case on pages 36-40 and answer the questions at the end of the case.

During class discussion stress the importance of focused and sustained political participation as exemplified in this case.

Students should identify persistent complaining to public officials as Maria Begay's main political technique.

This case provides an opportunity to discuss the relationship of political resources to political techniques. The Connecticut Rifle and Revolver Association had numerous political resources, such as money, paid lobbyists, and a large cooperative organization. Thus, the Rifle and Revolver Association was able to sustain a campaign to influence legislators and the public in support of the Association's political objectives. By contrast, Maria Begay had as her only political resources her skill as an individual persuader and access to information needed by certain public officials.

The Activists

Pages 40-43; one class period

Objectives

1. Students are able to analyze a case study about participants in a mass movement in terms of ideas presented in the preceding lessons.

2. Students can explain differences in political participation techniques used by the Connecticut State Rifle and Revolver Association, Maria Begay, and the antiwar activists.

Suggested Procedures

Have students read the case on pages 40-43 and answer the questions at the end of the case.

During class discussion stress the value of public demonstrations to political participants who cannot readily exercise influence through more conventional means.

Students should understand that the "activists," with limited political resources and without direct access to public policy-makers, chose to influence public policy indirectly through influencing public opinion. Their main political resource was skill in communicating their opinions to the public in the hope that an aroused public opinion would influence public policy.

As an extra assignment you might ask students to find newspaper clippings about one or more local groups that used techniques similar to those used by the "activists." What resources do these groups have? How are they treated by the media? Do they appear to be influencing public opinion? What customs and rules influence their activities?

Unit One • Test 2

Objective

Students will be able to complete a short answer and multiple-choice test over the material in chapter 2, making a score of at least 15 out of a possible 20 points.

Suggested Procedures

The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about correct answers. Answers are provided on the spirit duplicating masters.

CHAPTER THREE

Making Judgments about Political Behavior

Pages 44-74. Eight class periods

Chapter Overview

The main purpose of this chapter is to teach how factual and value judgments are made about political affairs. Both distinctions between and relationships of factual and value judgments are highlighted. There is a special section on the uses of polling in politics as a way to stress the uses and interlacing of factual and value judgments in political life.

Types of Judgments. Definitions and examples of factual and value judgments are presented.

Gathering Evidence to Make Factual Judgments. Types and uses of evidence are discussed. Three techniques for gathering evidence are presented: (1) asking questions about behavior, (2) observing behavior directly, and (3) examining behavior products.

Making Value Judgments. The process of making value judgments is illustrated through discussion of how newspaper editors and political cartoonists express value preferences in their work.

Factual and Value Judgments in Political Affairs. The interplay between factual and value judgments in the daily lives of political participants is the theme of this section. A case study about the conflict between ecological and economic values in Gary, Indiana, is used to emphasize both the uses and limitations of facts in making value judgments, which are at the core of political decision-making.

Using Polls to Make Judgments about Political Behavior. This section includes all the main ideas of this chapter as they pertain both to the techniques and political uses of public opinion polls. The relationships of facts and values in making political decisions are stressed along with the uses and limitations of facts in making value judgments.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Backstrom, Charles H., and Hursh, Gerald D. *Survey Research* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1963). Highly regarded basic introduction to conducting survey studies of political attitudes and opinions. (For teachers)

Berelson, Bernard, and Steiner, Gary A. *Human Behavior*, Shorter Edition (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1967), pp. 3-13. This book is an abridgment and simplificatin of an inventory of the findings of behavioral scientists. This first chapter is a brief survey of the inquiry techniques of behavioral scientists. (For students and teachers)

Crenson, Matthew A. *The Un-Politics of Air Pollution: A Study of Non-Decision-Making in the Cities* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971). Detailed case studies of unsuccessful efforts to limit air pollution in the cities of East Chicago and Gary, Indiana. Useful supplement to the "Shutting Down the Open Hearth" case. (For teachers and students)

Esposito, John C. *Vanishing Air: The Report on Air Pollution* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970). One of a series of Ralph Nader study group publications. Survey of current facts with several case studies of air pollution and what is and is not being done about it. Useful supplement to the "Shutting Down the Open Hearth" case. (For teachers and students)

Lindblom, Charles E. *The Policy-Making Process* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968). A

brief discussion of the process of policy-making and the factors that influence policy decision-makers.

McClosky, Herbert. *Political Inquiry* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969), pp. 1-69. The first section of this volume is a discussion of the logic and techniques of survey research as employed by political scientists. (For teachers)

Meehan, Eugene J. *Value Judgment and Social Science* (Homewood Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1969). An excellent introduction to the meaning of value judgment and the relationship of facts to value judgment.

Meyer, Philip. *Precision Journalism: A Reporter's Introduction to Social Science Methods* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973). Clearly written introduction to inquiry methods in the social sciences. Five very good chapters about how to conduct and critique public opinion polls. (For teachers)

Roll, Charles W., Jr., and Cantril, Albert H. *Polls: Their Use and Misuse in Politics* (New York: Basic Books, 1972). Commentary and cases of how politicians use and misuse polls in electoral politics and political decision-making. (For teachers)

Slonim, Morris James. *Sampling: A Quick, Reliable Guide to Practical Statistics* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966). Very readable introduction to sampling techniques in survey research and polling. Criteria for criticizing sampling studies are presented. (For teachers and advanced students)

Suggested Film

Smear: The Game of Dirty Politics (CBSTV). 30 min.b&w. Presents printed and audio examples of political smear activities used from the time of George Washington to the campaigns of J.F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon. Defines smear as an argument that contains untruths or statements that cannot be substantiated and suggests that health as well as careers are often affected by malicious attacks. Warns the public not to believe all information that is read or heard before comprehensive investigations are made. Distributed by CCM Films, Inc., 866 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

Suggested Simulations and Games

Propaganda (Wff 'N Proof Company) *Propaganda* is based on the book *Thinking Straighter*, by George Henry Moulds. *Propaganda* is based on approximately 50 propaganda techniques and is designed to develop clear thinking. According to the authors, Robert W. Allen and Lorne Greene, the game will "help participants distinguish between emotional aura surrounding an idea and the actual content of that idea." Students learn propaganda techniques and then apply them to propaganda examples.

Types of Judgments

Pages 44-47; one class period

Objective

Students can distinguish factual judgments from value judgments.

Suggested Procedures

Ask students to read pages 44-47 and to focus attention on the four examples of judgments made by President Ford.

Conclude the lesson by having students complete the application exercise on pages 46-47. *Answers:* value judgments are items 2, 4, 5, 7; factual judgments are items 1, 3, 6, 8.

Ask students to give reasons for their answers. They should note that the factual judgments are about what was, is, or might be. In contrast, the value judgments are expressions of what someone believes ought to be or what someone believes is good or bad.

Gathering Evidence to Make Factual Judgments

Pages 47-51; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can use evidence either to support or reject factual judgments about political behavior.

2. Students can identify each of these techniques for gathering evidence: asking questions about behavior, observing behavior, examining behavior products, and using information gathered by experts.

3. Students can build statistical tables from raw data.

4. Students can read statistical tables.

Suggested Procedures

Period One. Have students read to the end of Case 2, "Political Decision-Making in Levittown." The two cases are presented to show how social scientists gather and use evidence to make factual judgments. After students have read the material, use the questions on page 49 to structure a class discussion.

Following the discussion, assign the rest of the lesson (pp. 49-51) and have students jot down answers to the questions in the application exercise on page 51.

A major overall objective of this course is to develop a particular cognitive style among students. The essence of this cognitive style is capability and willingness to marshal evidence in support or rejection of hypotheses about human behavior. This is the first of several lessons in this course in which students will be required to provide warrants, in the form of empirically gathered evidence, in support or rejection of hypotheses.

Answers to Text Questions. *Page 49.* **1.** The factual judgments made by the scholars are clearly stated in the cases.

2. The factual judgments were based on evidence gathered through empirical means, that is through one's senses. In Case 1, this evidence was gathered by asking questions about political behavior. In Case 2, the evidence was gathered by asking questions about behavior, by observing behavior directly, and by examining behavior products.

3. In both cases, the social scientists made inferences from their evidence to draw conclusions. For instance, in Case 1, inferences about the powerholders in Agri-city were made from evidence gathered through interviews of a small, representative sample of the city's population. In Case 2, Gans made conclusions about Levittown's population from interviews of a representative sample of the population of the community.

4. It is conceivable that both public officials and interest-group leaders in Agri-city and Levittown would be interested in the findings of these two studies. This knowledge would help them to understand more fully the political processes of their communities. Presumably this fuller understanding could result in more effective political participation.

Page 51. **1.** The evidence in Table 1 supports the factual judgment.

2. The evidence in Table 2 rejects the factual judgment.

3. The technique of asking questions about political behavior was used to gather this evidence. Given the large size of the national population, asking questions of a representative sample seems the only really practical way to gather the needed evidence.

Period Two. Use *Worksheet 2* to help students learn how statistical tables are constructed and how to read them. Begin the lesson by giving a copy of the worksheet to each student.

Students might be divided into sub-groups of five to eights students to work on this exercise, helping each other to complete the assignment.

Conduct class discussion of the exercises in *Worksheet 2*. This lesson should help students to see where the data presented in stastistical tables come from. It should also help them to read statistical tables throughout this course. Also this lesson should help students to see that tabular presentation of data is an organizational device for simplifying the task of interpreting data. Finally, students once again should be impressed with the fact that, in this course, hypotheses about political behavior are to be accepted or rejected on the basis of empirical evidence.

Notice that *Worksheet 2* tells students to make tally marks in the various tables. This is to familiarize them with how researchers would construct a contingency (or frequency) table if they were working with data collected on individual cards.

Use the transparencies (T-1, T-2) which accompany this worksheet to assist class discussion of the answers to the worksheet exercises.

Sample Correct Answers to Worksheet 2. 1. Average is 13.4.

2. Low, 24; high, 26; total, 50.

3. Democratic, 25; Republican, 15; neither, 10; total, 50.

4. Republican scores: low, 2; high, 13; total, 15.

5. Democratic scores: low, 14; high, 11; total, 25.

6. "Neither" scores: low, 8; high, 2; total, 10.

7.

Democratic:	low, 56%;	high, 44%;	total, 100%.
Republican:	low, 13.3%;	high, 86.6%;	total, 99.9%.
Neither:	low, 80%;	high, 20%;	total, 100%.

8. Those who prefer a political party are more likely than those who do not prefer a political party to have a high degree of political interest. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to have a high degree of political interest.

9. (A)—I; (B)—C; (C)—I; (D)—C; (E)—C; (F) -C; (G)—I; (H)—C; (I)—C.

Making Value Judgments

Pages 51-56; one class period

Objectives

1. Students are able to identify and analyze value judgments expressed in newspaper editorials.

2. Students can interpret the use of political cartoons as editorials on public issues.

3. Students recognize the use of symbols by cartoonists to express points of view.

4. Students will demonstrate increased capacity to interpret correctly political cartoons that appear in local newspapers.

Suggested Procedures

Assign pages 51-56. Tell students that this lesson shows how value judgments permeate the work of newspaper editors and political cartoonists.

Make certain that students understand the role of a political cartoonist to be an editorialist using pictures rather than words.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 54.* **1.** The value judgment expressed in the cartoon by Hesse is that "big money campaign contributions" ought to be stopped. The value judgment in the Bassett cartoon is that the President and Congress ought to be working together—not pulling apart—to solve the energy crisis. Cartoonist Taylor is saying that the USSR is not doing its part to promote detente.

2. Hesse conveys his value judgment by using a corrupt-looking person as a symbol for "big money campaign contributors." He uses an eager, corruptible-looking person as a symbol of "politics" that can be tainted by the "big money campaign." Bassett conveys his value judgment by using an injured person as symbol of the energy crisis and the President and Congress as medics. Cartoonist Taylor shows U.S.-USSR detente as a handcar with Kissinger doing all the work.

3. Students may express various different value judgments in response to this question. Discuss these differences, noting how different viewers bring different interpretations and different values to the same stimulus.

Worksheet and Transparency Lesson. We have prepared a set of transparencies and a worksheet to assist you in teaching this lesson. Begin by handing out *Worksheet 3.*

Show T-3 without the overlays. Ask students to identify the character "Uncle Sam." Who does he represent? What seems to be his attitude in this case? How can you tell?

Add the overlay T-4 representing children around Uncle Sam. Now what seems to be happening? Note that children represent different races and ethnic groups. What might these children symbolize? The transparency overlay also contains the names of some "free world" nations. How has the addition of these names added to the meaning of the cartoon? What might these nations be seeking from Uncle Sam? If it were protection from the USSR or China, how could that have been shown symbolically? Perhaps a bear or a dragon could have been used.

Now ask students to respond orally to each of the questions on the worksheet as applied to Cartoon 1. Since this "cartoon" was prepared by the APB authors, it had no caption. Perhaps your students could suggest one. Here are some possible captions: "Defender of the Free World"; "Friend of the Friendless"; "The Best Sheriff in Town."

Show transparency T-5. Ask students to answer

the questions for Cartoon 2 (T-5) on *Worksheet 3*. After the class has finished discussing Cartoon 2, project T-6 and repeat the procedure, comparing and contrasting the two cartoons on this transparency. Have students use the back of *Worksheet 3* for analyzing Cartoon 4.

As an outside assignment you may wish to have students collect various political cartoons for showing in class. Time should be allowed for the discussion of these cartoons. If there are students who can draw, you might suggest they draw their own political cartoons which focus on a current school, community, or national issue.

Factual and Value Judgments in Political Affairs

Pages 51-62; one class period

Objectives

1. Students are able to identify conflicting value judgments about a public issue.

2. Students can tell how political participants use factual judgments to defend their value judgments about a public issue.

3. Students can make and defend value judgments about a public issue.

Suggested Procedures

Assign pages 51-62. The focal point of this lesson is a case study, "Shutting Down the Open Hearth." Have students answer the questions on pages 61-62 about this case.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. The main value conflict in this case is whether or not to prevent extensive air pollution at the expense of jobs, income, and profits. The complex problem in the case is how to limit pollution so as to protect health while protecting output, jobs, income, and profits.

2. The value conflict resulted from the "dirty" open-hearth furnaces at Gary's U.S. Steel plant. The company was asked to replace these furnaces with the cleaner Basic Oxygen Process (BOP) method of making steel. However, it was uneconomical for the firm to complete this transformation within a deadline set by the courts. Thus, this conflict between economical and ecological needs occurred.

3. Following are value judgments made by different kinds of people in this case: (a) Steel official Haskell believed the EPA's action against his company to be wrong and "totally irresponsible." (b) Gary official Miertschin said that it was wrong for U.S. Steel officials not to take blame for the economic problems associated with this issue. (c) Steelworker Larry Stone believed that the open-hearth furnaces should not have been shut down. (d) EPA official Francis Mayo believed that Judge Sharp's decision was fair to all parties. Obviously there are other examples of value judgments that could be provided for each type of political participant in this case.

4. A factual judgment made by an official of U.S. Steel was that there would be inevitable losses of production and unemployment associated with the open-hearth shutdown. A factual judgment of the Gary city attorney was that U.S. Steel agreed in 1965 to have their open hearths shut down in 1973.

5. The U.S. Steel officials argued that the open-hearth furnaces ought not be shut down in the short run (value judgment). They said that to shut down the furnaces would cost them dearly in profits, would force many factory workers out of work, and would contribute to the economic recession already afflicting Gary (factual judgments). The EPA officials said that the open-hearth furnaces should be shut down immediately (value judgment). They said that the U.S. Steel company officials had received ample warnings and sufficient time to prepare for a shutdown (factual judgment).

6. You should expect students to offer various value judgments about the outcome of the case. Try to have them articulate as clearly as possible their reasons for making their value judgments. Help them to distinguish their factual judgments from their value judgments. Help students to understand that there are reasonable alternative views of complex issues such as this one and that the facts don't exactly point the way to a final answer. Rather, different facts may look more or less important given one's value judgments.

Using Polls to Make Judgments about Political Behavior

Pages 62-74; three class periods

Objectives

1. Students are able to identify uses of polling in election campaigns and in making political decisions.

2. Students can make value judgments about different uses of polling in election campaigns and in making political decisions.

3. Students are able to distinguish scientific from unscientific sampling procedures.

4. Students can distinguish acceptable and unacceptable questions in political science according to the criteria that good questions (a) are stated clearly, (b) are unbiased, and (c) are significant.

5. Students can detect polls that are likely to be unreliable and inaccurate.

Suggested Procedures

Period One. Have students read pages 62-65. Conduct class discussion of the questions on page 65 about the three cases of the uses of polling.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 65.* **1.** James Buckley made the factual judgment that a large proportion of New York voters supported his political ideas. Frank Licht made the factual judgment that the main political issue in his state was resentment about new tax laws. William Green made the factual judgment that he had much more popular support than was indicated in a poll reported in the newspaper.

2. James Buckley made this value judgment: I ought to run for election to the U.S. Senate. Frank Licht made this value judgment: I ought to try to convince voters that I can bring about desired reforms of the state tax laws. The editor of the *Philadelphia Daily News* made the value judgment that he ought to print a retraction of the story about a poll showing William Green with very little voter support.

3. James Buckley was influenced to run for the Senate by evidence in a state-wide poll showing that many New York voters agreed with his ideas. Frank Licht's decision to stress tax reform was based on evidence in an opinion poll of voters in his state.

4. While discussing the uses of polls in election campaigns, emphasize that polling is a means to gather information about voters that can help a candidate for public office plan and execute a winning campaign. Thus, pollsters can provide a useful "intelligence service" for candidates and their campaign managers. The manner in which different politicians use this intelligence service may vary considerably. Different politicians may use poll results more or less wisely, more or less honestly.

Your discussion of the uses of polling data in decision-making by public officials should stress that polling data alone should not determine a policy decision. Rather, the wise politician usually considers prevailing public opinion and combines it with several other factors in trying to make the best decision about a public issue.

Period Two. Assign pages 65-74. Focus attention of students on the application exercises about sampling and questionnaire items on pages 69, 71 and 73-74.

Answers to Text Questions. *Page 71. Exercise A.* **1.** Team II had the best sampling technique. Their technique was best because it produced a random sample. A random sample is a small group of people that is very likely to represent accurately a much larger group of people. A sample is random if every individual in the population, from which the sample was taken, has the same chance of being chosen in the sample as every other individual. Random samples are used because it is too time consuming and too expensive to get responses to attitude scales from every individual in a large population.

2. Response (c) is correct: all university students in the university where this particular attitude survey was made. The sample was drawn from the student population of one university.

3. To extend the generalizability of their findings, the researchers must draw a sample representative of a group larger than this single university. They could, for example, select a sample of universities from a particular region (or

from the entire country) and then select sample students from each of the sample universities.

Exercise B. The *Literary Digest* sample was biased in favor of those relatively few individuals who owned telephones and automobiles in 1936. A large mass of voters was not represented in this sample. Most of these individuals voted for Roosevelt. The *Literary Digest* used an unscientific, and non-random, technique for selecting their sample. The inadequate sample yielded erroneous conclusions.

Pages 73-74. **1.** The defective items are a, b, c, f. Item (a) is biased in that it suggests that it was wrong not to vote. Item (b) includes emotional words that could bias responses. Item (c) includes an ambiguous word, "frequently." Item (f) uses a slang word, "jiving," which may not mean the same thing to all respondents.

2. Following are examples of how the defective questionnaire items might be rewritten.

a. Did you happen to vote in the city's election last month, or didn't you have a chance to vote?

b. Do you think that those who refused to serve in the armed services during the Vietnam War should have been given amnesty?

c. How often do you read about politics in newspapers or news magazines: (1) once a month, (2) once a week, (3) two or three times a week, (4) every day?

f. Do you think the President was honest with the people in his speech last night?

Supplementary Lesson on Poll Analysis. You should emphasize that public opinion polls, if done properly, can be accurate pictures of reality. However, polls are sometimes done incorrectly. Newspapers and magazines occasionally publish defective polls without criticism. Thus, it is very important that citizens learn to evaluate published polls so that they can be wiser voters and more alert appraisers of politicians' performances.

Your students might practice critical appraisal of published polls by applying the questions on page 74 to polls published in newspapers and magazines. To initiate this exercise, you might have your students evaluate the following polls reported in two prominent newspapers.

Example 1. On May 5, 1969, an article appeared in *The New York Times* about a history professor who wanted to measure New York City public opinion about proposed admission policy changes at the City College of New York. The professor stood on a street corner in Harlem and asked the first 48 people he saw what they thought about the proposed policy. He found that 19 agreed and 14 disagreed with the new policy. Twelve had mixed feelings, and three had no opinion.

Example 2. An article in the May 8, 1973, *Louisville Courier-Journal* reported an opinion poll of Clark County (Ind.) residents taken by the Jeffersonville (Ind.) Jaycees. According to the newspaper, the Jaycees asked bank officials to mail an opinion questionnaire to Clark County residents along with their monthly bank statements. About 1500 responses were received. More than 12,000 people live in Clark County. From the poll results, the Jaycees identified the opinions of Clark County residents on important local political issues.

As an extra assignment, your students may be interested in applying what they have learned about polling to the design and conduct of a public opinion poll of other students in your school.

Unit One · Test 3

Objective

Students will be able to complete a short answer and multiple-choice test over the material in chapter 3, making a score of at least 16 out of a possible 20 points.

Suggested Procedures

The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about correct answers. Answers are provided on the spirit duplicating masters.

CHAPTER FOUR

Comparing Political Behavior

Pages 78-93. Five class periods

Chapter Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce consideration of basic similarities and differences in political behavior of different groups. Concepts and hypotheses are discussed as tools for making comparisons. Students learn to formulate and test hypotheses about similarities and differences in political behavior.

Three Cases about Settling Conflict are presented to stimulate consideration of basic similarities and differences in the political behavior of different groups.

Stating Hypotheses about Similarities and Differences. The process of formulating and testing hypotheses about comparisons is discussed.

Using Concepts to Make Comparisons. In this section we discuss concepts as standards for making comparisons. Students learn techniques of systematic comparative analysis.

Pitfalls in Making Comparisons. This is a discussion of common fallacies in interpreting evidence. Instruction is provided about how to detect and avoid these "pitfalls" in reasoning.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Gibson, Quentin. *The Logic of Social Enquiry*. (London: Routledge & Kegan, Paul, 1960). Discussion of social science as a way of thinking. Chapters on the formulation and testing of hypotheses and the strengths and limitations of social science inquiry. (For teachers)

Labovitz, Sanford, and Hagedorn, Robert. *Introduction to Social Research*, Second Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975). Introduction to social science inquiry techniques. Good discussion of concepts and hypotheses testing. (For teachers and advanced students)

Van Dyke, Vernon. *Political Science: A Philosophical Analysis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960). Excellent introduction to the application of the social science method of inquiry to the study of politics. (For teachers)

Weinland, James D. *How to Think Straight* (Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Co. 1963). Easy-to-read discussion of fallacies in thinking and how to avoid them. (For teachers and advanced students)

Three Cases about Settling Personal Conflict

Pages 78-80; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can identify similarities and differences in political behavior concerned with settling personal conflict.

2. Students can speculate about explanations for the similarities and differences in political behavior that they identify in three cases about settling personal conflict.

3. Students can make value judgments about differences in political behavior described in three cases about settling personal conflict.

4. Students can speculate about the sources of their political values.

Suggested Procedures

Require students to read the three cases about settling personal conflict on pages 78-80 and answer the questions on page 80.

Discuss the questions on page 80 during the latter portion of this period. The purpose of this lesson is to get students to make speculative, or hypothetical, explanations about similarities and differences in political behavior. These speculations represent highly tentative answers, arrived at intuitively and prior to systematic study. Presumably this type of lesson motivates, stimulates, and channels student thinking as a prerequisite to effective systematic inquiry.

Make the discussion open-ended. You should not expect students to provide highly sophisticated answers. And you should not try to achieve closure through this exercise. Rather, you should attempt to set the stage for succeeding lessons by helping students to identify the main objective of study for the remainder of the unit—inquiry into the factors that account for similarities and differences in political behavior within and across societies. Having focused on the subject to be studied during the remainder of the unit, and having offered speculative explanations about the factors that shape political behavior, hopefully students will be motivated to test their speculative explanations against the information provided in subsequent lessons.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 80.* **1.** In Case 1, mediation is used to settle conflict; in Case 2, the "blood feud"; in Case 3, adjudication. A basic similarity is that in each case there were rules for settling conflicts which guided the behavior of people in the cases.

2. Students might offer various speculative answers. The purpose of the remainder of Unit Two is to help them learn why there are similarities and differences in the political behavior of different groups.

3. Students might offer various value judgments in response to this question. Require students to offer reasons in support of their value judgments.

4. Ask students to think about what their answers to item 3 reveal about the bases of their value judgments. Perhaps students will respond in terms of the concept of culture, which is introduced in chapter 5. If not, don't be concerned, since students will be taught this concept in subsequent lessons.

Stating Hypotheses about Similarities and Differences

Pages 81-83; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can state alternative hypotheses in response to questions about political behavior.

2. Students can use evidence to support or reject hypotheses.

3. Students are able to construct a bar graph and a line graph from tabular data.

4. Students are able to read bar graphs and line graphs.

Suggested Procedures

Period One. Assign pages 81-83. Tell students to complete the application exercises at the end of the reading assignment.

Following are suggested answers to the application exercises.

1a. Alternative hypothesis: Poor people were less involved in trying to influence public officials in 1976 than they were in 1966. Evidence to test this hypothesis could be gathered by examining newspaper and television accounts of political participation in 1966 and 1976.

1b. Alternative hypothesis: Rich people are less likely than poor people to try to influence public officials. Evidence could be gathered by interviewing representative samples of rich and poor people and asking about their attempts to influence public officials.

1c. Alternative hypothesis: Construction workers are more likely than farmers to be active in politics. Evidence could be gathered by interviewing representative samples of farmers and construction workers.

2a. Hypothesis: Lawyers tend to have many more political resources than factory workers do. Evidence could be gathered by interviewing representative samples of lawyers and factory workers.

2b. Hypothesis: Violent political activity is more likely to occur in dictatorships than democracies. Evidence could be gathered to test this hypothesis by examining relevant historical documents.

2c. Hypothesis: Women are more involved in political leadership positions today than they were in 1976. Evidence could be gathered by counting the number of women who hold top positions in national, state, and local governments today as compared to 1976.

Period Two. Distribute to each student a copy of *Worksheet 4. Constructing and Reading Graphs.* Tell students to complete this worksheet as a homework assignment.

Use the first part of this period to allow students to complete work on the graph construction part of this lesson. Move around the classroom to check the work of individual students and to assist those who are having difficulty.

Use the latter part of the period to discuss the worksheet exercises.

Answers to Worksheet 4. *Part A* **1.** Factual judgment: Voters in the South participated in the 1964 presidential election to a lesser extent than did voters in other regions.

2. The graph was constructed from the table and shows the same relationship between region and voter participation as the table does.

4. Factual judgment: The political interest of students in the higher grades at Central High School is much greater than that of students in the lower grades.

Part B. **1.** Factual judgment: Voters are more likely to participate in presidential elections than in off-year congressional elections.

2. The graph was constructed from the table and shows the same relationships between factors as that presented in the table.

4. Factual judgments: Prior to 1964, males were more likely than females to participate in politics in Lakeville. After 1964 there was little difference in the degree of political participation of males and females.

Using Concepts to Make Comparisons

Pages 83-89; one class period

Objectives

1. Students are able to make precise comparisons in terms of particular concepts used as standards for analysis of similarities and/or differences in political behavior.

2. Students can speculate about explanations for the similarities and differences in political behavior that they identify in three cases about governmental organization.

4. Students can speculate about the sources of their political values.

Suggested Procedures

Discuss the exercises on pages 87-89. This is an application exercise. As a result of studying the previous pages about comparative analysis, students should be able to do the exercises successfully. Help students to notice the difference between the precise comparative analysis that they must perform to complete these exercises and the much looser comparisons they made while doing the previous introductory lessons.

Following are ideas about concepts which you may want to use during discussion of this lesson.

Concepts give meaning to facts. Concepts are devices for organizing and interpreting information. Our use of concepts determines our focus and provides our particular view of phenomena.

Concepts are standards for making comparisons. This means that facts are organized in terms of a standard definition, or set of criteria. Applying the same concept to different groups of facts enables precise, standardized comparison of different groups of facts.

When discussing the use of concepts in analysis of political behavior, stress that concepts are tools for thinking and learning. A concept is a category of objects or events with common characteristics. Concepts are used to classify actions or events and to provide the basis for systematic comparison in social sciences.

As names, or labels, that assist inquiry, concepts provide a vocabulary for ordering, describing, and comparing facts. As tools of social science inquiry, concepts cannot be considered true or false. Concepts are not descriptive or explanatory statements which can be judged as more or less accurate representations of reality. Rather concepts only can be judged as either more or less useful devices for assisting thinking, for helping to organize, compare, and interpret facts.

Suggested Answers to Text Exercises. *Pages 87-89.* **1.** (a) *Diagram 4* would be completed correctly by putting marks in boxes B, D, and F. (b) *Diagram 5* would be completed correctly by putting marks in boxes B, D, and F. (c) *Diagram 6* would be completed correctly by putting marks in boxes A and D.

2. Students should answer in terms of their values. Many students will respond that they favor Oberlin's manager-council type of government, since it is familiar. But there is the possibility of alternative answers. Require students to support their value judgments with reasons.

3. Item 1 requires factual judgments in terms of a set of shared concepts. Item 2 involves value judgments. The special purpose of this question is to highlight the difference between precise comparison in terms of standard concepts and the looser comparison that is made without the aid of well-defined, commonly held concepts.

4. The type of government that a student says he or she prefers reveals the person's values on government organization. The explanations that students give in answering item 2 should reveal something about where they get their values. For example, students who say that the manager-council form of government is best may reveal that they think this way because the manager-council form of government is part of the American culture. They may say that it is best because it provides both for popular control of officials and for separation of powers. And their culture has taught them that these are two desirable aspects of government.

5. Use this item to prompt alternative speculative answers about why there are differences in political behavior of different groups. Tell students that in the next two chapters they will be presented with ideas and information against which they can check their speculations.

Pitfalls in Making Comparisons

Pages 89-93; one class period

Objective

Students are able to detect the following common fallacies in making factual judgments about political behavior: (1) relying on personal experiences, (2) overlooking exceptions, (3) making exact predictions from survey data, (4) overgeneralization, (5) blind faith in authority.

Suggested Procedures

Assign pages 89-93. Tell students that this lesson provides instruction in detecting common fallacies in interpreting data and making factual judgments. As such, this lesson provides practice in critical thinking. You should expect students to continue to use these critical thinking skills throughout the course as they work with evidence and make factual judgments.

After students do the assigned reading, conduct discussion of the application exercise on pages 92-93.

Answers to Text Exercise. *Pages 92-93.* **1.** The fallacy in this statement is "overlooking exceptions." It is correct that those with more income are more involved in political activities. Since Mary Sanders earns a high income, one might expect her to be more involved in political activities. However, she may be an exception to the rule. Thus, while one can say correctly that those of Mary Sander's type are likely to be very involved in politics, one must be cautious in making conclusions about any individual of this type.

2. The fallacy in this statement is "overgeneralization." This conclusion goes beyond the population which was sampled. The population of Zenith City was sampled. Thus, one can only make accurate factual judgments about Zenith City from these data.

3. The fallacy in this statement is making an exact prediction from survey data. Survey data can provide an accurate picture of political beliefs and behavior at the time the survey was taken. This "picture" can be a guide to the future. But predictions are risky, since circumstances associated with

political beliefs and behavior are subject to basic changes.

4. The fallacy in this statement is "relying on personal experience." One is not likely to make an accurate generalization from a very small, unrepresentative sample selected unsystematically.

5. This statement is correct.

6. This statement is incorrect. The data in *Table 4* reject the statement.

Supplementary Lesson on Propaganda

We have prepared a set of transparencies and a worksheet on analyzing propaganda to accompany this lesson. While propaganda can take many forms and serve a variety of functions, we shall concentrate primarily upon identifying seven typical categories of propaganda and apply these to the way candidates are presented or present themselves to the public. You may wish to expand the analysis to other topics, e.g., efforts to resolve public issues, commercial advertising, etc.

Objectives

1. Students can identify seven basic propaganda techniques used to influence public opinion and apply the categories to real illustrations.

2. Students will be able to speculate about the influence of propaganda on political opinion.

Suggested Procedures

Show *Transparency 7.* Ask the students to speculate about what is occurring in the picture. The following questions should stimulate discussion:

1. What do you think is going on in this picture?

2. Why is it important that the President is the speaker?

3. What does the President want the audience to do?

Ask students what the word *propaganda* means to them. Write their ideas on the board. Suggest that propaganda is the use of facts and opinions for the purpose of influencing others. It is used for both good and bad causes. Explain to the students that they are going to study some of these propaganda techniques.

Show *Transparency 8.* Suggest that there are three ways in which propaganda may influence opinion. T-8 focuses on one of the three ways: Encouraging a Sense of Identification with a Person or Cause. "Plain folks," "bandwagon," and "testimonial" are three examples of the effort to foster this sense of identification.

Show *Transparency 9.* It focuses on the use of slogans and symbols. "Glittering generalities" and "transfer" are two illustrations of this propaganda approach.

Show *Transparency 10:* It focuses on rejection and slanted analysis. "Name calling" and "card stacking" are illustrations of this category.

Show *Transparencies 11-12:* Some of these propaganda techniques are presented without captions on these two transparencies. Ask the students to classify each picture according to one or more of the seven techniques.

After completing the transparencies, hand out copies of *Worksheet 5.* After everyone has completed the exercise, discuss the answers. Later announce the correct answers and explain why each was most suitable. The correct responses are as follows: 1—glittering generality; 2—bandwagon; 3—name calling; 4—glittering generality; 5—plain folks; 6—testimonial; 7—card stacking; 8—name calling; 9—testimonial; 10—plain folks; 11—transfer; 12—card stacking.

CHAPTER FIVE

Culture and Political Behavior

Pages 94-115. Six class periods

Chapter Overview

Culture as an influencer of political behavior is the theme of this chapter. Variation in culture and political behavior, patterns of American culture related to political behavior, and a case of conflict between cultures are presented.

How Culture Affects Political Behavior. The concept of culture is introduced and defined. Culture is discussed as a factor that helps to account for similarities and differences in political behavior.

Learning a Political Culture. The concept of socialization is introduced and defined. Socialization is discussed as a factor that helps one to account for similarities and differences in political behavior.

Differences in Political Culture. Democratic and autocratic political cultures are defined and discussed as ideal type concepts.

Cultural Variations within a Country. A conflict over school attendance is used to illustrate cultural variation in the United States and the conflicts that may stem from these kinds of differences.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Barber, James David. *Citizen Politics: An Introduction to Political Behavior*, Second Edition (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 147-164. A discussion of the relationship between culture and political behavior in four communities. (For teachers)

Berelson, Bernard, and Steiner, Gary A. *Human Behavior*, Shorter Edition (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1967), pp. 14-35. Culture and society are defined. Sociocultural influences on behavior are discussed. (For students and teachers)

Bowen, Don R. *Political Behavior of the American Public* (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1968), pp. 103-124. Discussion of cultural influences on political behavior. Recent research about sociocultural influences on political behavior is reviewed. (For teachers)

Dolbeare, Kenneth M. and Patricia. *American Ideologies: The Competing Political Beliefs of the 1970's*, Second Edition (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1973). Survey of alternative political beliefs and ideas that are prominent features of the American political scene. (For teachers)

Pickles, Dorothy. *Democracy* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1972) Discussion of the main tenets of democratic political organization and behavior. (For teachers and advanced students)

Shockley, John Staples. *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974). Excellent case study of cultural and political conflict between Chicanos and Anglos in Crystal City, Texas. (For teachers and students)

Wattenberg, Ben J. *The Real America: A Surprising Examination of the State of the Union* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1974). Easy-to-read analysis of various current public opinion polls. Construction of a picture of many political and social beliefs in the United States as of the early 1970s. (For teachers and students)

Suggested Films

Man and His Culture (EBF). 15 min. b&w. Presents and analyzes the myriad variety of cultures—each stamped by habits, customs, and attitudes peculiar to it. Common cultural concerns such as the quest for food, need for shelter, family organization, language, religion, and mores are discussed. Transmission of culture is explained via imitation and direct teaching. One's personality and environment are considered important determinants regarding what is learned. The individual is seen as being shaped by the culture and shaping it (the culture) in turn; hence, all cultures are sketched as changing, at varying rates to be sure. Diffusion, invention, and discovery comprise major elements pushing in the direction of change. This film can be used fruitfully with the first lesson of this chapter. It is produced by Encyclopaedia Britannica Films and may be rented from various distributors.

Speech and Protest (Churchill). 21 min. color. Introduces the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and presents dramatizations to show actual situations where freedom of speech and assembly might be questioned. Presents student discussion of foreign policy, classroom discussion of academic freedom, and an antiwar demonstration at a chemical plant. Includes an alternate conclusion to stimulate student debate. Bills of Rights series. A good film. After each issue is raised there is a stopping point to allow for student discussion. The political behavior of the students in the classroom, the demonstrators, and the parents protesting the classroom discussions are issues real to most high schools and students. Therefore, good discussions are generated. Produced and distributed by Churchill Films, 662 N. Robertson Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90069.

How Culture Affects Political Behavior

Pages 94-97; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can identify statements that reflect the American political culture.

2. Students can identify statements of American political values that are, for the most part, practiced in our society.

3. Students can identify statements of American political values that are, for the most part, not lived up to in our society.

4. Students can hypothesize about why there may be a gap between some political values of a society and political behavior in the society.

5. Students can hypothesize about the extent to which political values that are not carried out exactly have any influence on political behavior.

Suggested Procedures

Begin the period by distributing a copy of *Worksheet 6—Political Attitude Survey* to each student. Ask students to respond to the items according to the directions at the top of the worksheet. Students should be able to complete this activity within five minutes. Collect the worksheets and store them for use as part of a subsequent lesson. We suggest administration of the attitude survey at this point so as to limit contamination of responses, which would be substantial if students read about culture and political behavior prior to responding to the items. Students should not put their name on the worksheets.

After students have read this lesson in class or as homework, discuss the questions on page 97.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 97.* **1.** The statements that reflect the American political culture are a, b, e, h, i, k, l, m.

2a. The statements of American political values that are, for the most part, practiced in our society are a, e, h, i, l, m. These selections are subjectively based. There may be differences of opinion about this portion of the exercise. Tolerate these differences. But require discussion to support their selections with examples.

2b. Statements of values that are often not lived up to in our society are b and k. Once again there is room for variation in answers to this question.

3. Students might offer various speculative answers to this question. We expect that any good answer would include commentary about the difficulty of behaving exactly in terms of high ideals,

such as providing equally for the rights and opportunities of all people in a society.

4. Students might offer reasonable alternative answers to this question. However, any good answer would include commentary about the importance of having ideals as guides to behavior—as goals to try to reach and as standards to measure behavior.

Learning a Political Culture

Pages 97-100; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can recognize that reactions to political symbols vary from group to group and from individual to individual.

2. Students can recognize that variation in response patterns of different groups to a set of political symbols results from variation in political socialization.

Suggested Procedures

Assign pages 97-100, which introduce the concept of political socialization. After students finish this brief reading assignment, distribute a copy of *Worksheet 7.* Instruct students in the use of the five-point scales according to the instructions that appear at the top of the worksheets.

Next, show *Transparencies 13-14* of the twelve pictures of political symbols that have been prepared for this lesson. Be sure to show them one at a time and in the correct order from 1 to 12. As these pictures are shown, students are to be indicating their reactions on the scales. After each picture has been shown once, run through the series again so that students can be sure they have made their desired response to each item.

Next collect each copy of the completed worksheets. In order to insure anonymity, be sure that no names are written on the worksheets. Then shuffle the papers and redistribute them to the class.

Now you are ready to tabulate the student responses on a frequency distribution table A transparency (T-15) of a frequency distribution table has been prepared for this lesson. A copy of this table also appears on *Worksheet 8.* Distribute a copy of *Worksheet 8* to each student. For each symbol, as indicated on the frequency distribution table, ask for a show of hands that indicate the frequency of each possible response to each of the symbols. Record the frequencies in the appropriate spaces on the transparency. Tell students to record the same totals on the frequency distribution table on *Worksheet 8.*

Next, attempt to find response patterns in the frequency distribution table and to categorize these patterns. Use the questions on page 100 to assist you. Typically, a response pattern that approximates the following table will emerge.

Tabulation of Reactions to Political Symbols

	VBF	BF	LNF	GF	VGF
1. American Flag				10	15
2. Soviet Flag	12	10	3		
3. Democratic Party Symbol	4	5	5	6	5
4. Peace Symbol	5	4	5	5	6
5. Statue of Liberty				14	11
6. Republican Party Symbol	5	6	4	6	4
7. Spanish Flag		2	21	2	
8. President Ford	2	8	3	8	4
9. Nazi Symbol	5	16	4		
10. Lenin Medal	7	12	6		
11. Black Power Symbol	5	5	6	4	5
12. Presidential Seal			3	6	6

In this table of typically expected responses, we note that students reacted uniformly to the American political symbols with a "good feeling." Circle Symbols 1, 5, 12 with a grease pencil and label them "American Political Symbols." Note that most students reacted to Symbols 2, 9, 10 with negative feelings. Ask students why this reponse pattern emerged. Through discussion determine that students were reacting negatively to symbols that represent alien political ideas or political systems with which our nation has clashed. Then use a different color to circle this set of symbols and label them "Enemy Political Symbols."

Next, note that most students responded to Symbol 7 with "little or no feeling." Ask students why this response pattern emerged. Through discussion determine that students were reacting with "little or no feeling" to a political symbol that they

did not recognize, that conveyed little or no meaning to them.

Then look at the responses to Symbols 3, 4, 6, 8, and possibly 11. Ask students why the responses to these symbols are so varied, if indeed this pattern emerges in your class. Students should indicate that these symbols—the Democratic party symbol, the peace symbol, the Republican party symbol, the President, and the Black Power symbol—are likely to tap differences in viewpoint that prevail among Americans. Expressions of these kinds of differences are legitimate in our society.

Point out the difference in response to the Presidential Seal (Symbol 12) and an occupant of the Presidency (Symbol 8). Students should indicate that a positive response is the expected reaction of a loyal citizen to the institution of the Presidency, an integral part of the political system. However, a particular occupant of the Presidential office may trigger diverse reactions due to his association with controversial decisions. This kind of diverse reaction does not indicate a high incidence of disloyalty. Rather, it is a norm of a democratic society to show strong feeling for basic institutions while being free to criticize the policies of those who direct the functioning of these institutions.

At this point in the discussion, you will have adequately answered the first question on page 100. Next have students answer the other questions.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 100.* **2.** Students might respond that most other American teen-agers would have responded to the symbols in about the same way as their own class did because the schools and other institutions, in the main, teach a similar set of values. (If some students suggest that most other American youth would not respond in the same way as their own class did, go on to a consideration of question 3.)

3. Groups in the United States who feel that they are "left out," or who are politically alienated, or who for some reason consider themselves outside the mainstream of American culture – particularly the political culture—might well respond to the symbols differently from the typical classroom of American teen-agers. Some or most students in the class may feel that "we are different—we are not typical." Some groups would respond differently from the typical group because they have had different socializing experiences.

4. Most students will recognize that Russian teen-agers would respond differently to the same political symbols because the Russians are socialized to hold different political values.

5. People will respond similarly to a set of political symbols if they have been socialized to hold a similar set of values. A part of a society's culture consists of the values held by the members. Some of the differences in response to a particular symbol or set of symbols can be accounted for by differences in culture and socialization.

6. Socialization might produce such good outcomes as sense of social unity and the inculcation of traits that promote the social welfare: cooperation, tolerance, hard work, etc.

7. Bad outcomes would probably result from socialization that emphasized lack of consideration for others, national glory at the expense of other peoples, race or ethnic superiority, etc.

Teacher Commentary on Political Symbols. As a guide to the discussion of the questions on page 100, the following commentary might be used.

Political symbols are objects that represent, or stand for, political beliefs and feelings. Political attitudes are feelings and beliefs about what is good or bad political behavior. Political symbols influence political attitudes and behavior.

Political symbols take many different forms. Flags, medals, buildings, words, posters, uniforms, statues, and music are different kinds of political symbols we find in most countries. The American flag and your state flag are political symbols. So is our national anthem. The words "democracy" and "freedom" are also cherished American political symbols. The Washington Monument, the White House, the Lincoln Memorial, and the Liberty Bell are honored symbols of the United State government as are local court houses, city halls, and civil war monuments. The uniform of a police officer and the robes of a judge are other examples of political symbols.

Political symbols are parts of an individual's social environment. They are stimuli that provoke reactions of the kind that were made in reponse to the twelve pictures in this lesson. These reactions show your political attitudes about the symbols. As parts of a social environment, political symbols influence the political thinking and activity of individuals.

Political symbols exist in all societies. The most important function of political symbols is to help hold a society together. Political symbols serve to unite the many different kinds of people found in any society. They stand for what everyone in a nation has in common—the government, the laws, and the political culture.

All leaders use political symbols to promote loyalty to the society, especially to the government of the society. Political symbols are used to promote patriotism to the government and the nation. For example, national flags and national anthems are used for ceremonies at public gatherings to remind people of their common nationality, of their common government, of their responsibilities to honor, respect, and support their common nation and government.

Political symbols arouse positive feelings about the political values that make up a political culture. Political symbols are used to arouse good feelings about the political values of democracy, freedom, majority rule, the rights of individuals, etc. In this way political symbols influence public opinion so that a majority of the people continue to support the maintenance of the political culture and the government.

Political symbols are used to support the authority of certain individuals in a government. For example, the police uniform and the black robes of a judge are symbols of the authority and power of police and judges as enforcers and guardians of the law. Public buildings such as the White House, City Hall, and the county court house are symbols of leaders in the American government. These public buildings are made to look grand and impressive so as to support the authority of the government.

Not all political symbols mean the same thing to all people. As part of the process of political socialization, individuals learn the meanings of their society's political symbols. Thus, an American child reacts to the American flag in a positive way. The national flag of Argentina probably evokes little or no feeling in Americans And the national flag of Communist China may generate hostility. These reactions are learned. They are products of the process of political socialization.

Political socialization can be a highly positive force in that this process helps societies to maintain stability, order, and continuity. However, this process can be employed to diminish individuality in the name of conformity and order. As employed by some, the various agents of socialization have been used to destroy free expression and basic human rights. Hitler's Germany provides the best modern example of the negative effects of highly effective political socialization aimed at ends inimical to protection of basic human rights and dignity.

As you discuss political socialization with your students, stress both the positive effects and the potential dangers associated with this fundamental social process.

Assign pages 100-104, about "Differences in Political Culture," as homework.

Differences in Political Culture

Pages 100-104;three class periods

Objectives

1. Students can distinguish political systems according to democratic and autocratic orientations in terms of the criteria of majority rule, minority rights, and political pluralism.

2. Students can determine, in terms of the threefold criteria mentioned above, that the political system of the United States is democratically oriented.

3. Students can respond negatively to statements that assert that any political system is either completely democratic or autocratic. Rather, students can respond that a political system may be either more or less democratic or autocratic.

4. Students can respond that it is meaningless to discuss the extent to which a political system is democratic unless the discussants agree on criteria in terms of which to appraise democratic orientation.

5. Students can organize and interpret responses of class members to an "Anti-Democratic Orientation" questionnaire.

6. Students can construct a set of items that could be used to measure support for democracy.

7. Students can infer, from data presented on page 103, that most Americans support, in the

abstract, the basic democratic norms of majority rule and protection of minority rights.

8. Students can infer, from data presented on page 104, that many Americans oppose the practice of the majority-rule, minority-rights norm as it might apply to certain minority groups or unorthodox individuals in our society.

Suggested Procedures

Period One. Begin class discussion by asking students to respond to the following questions.

1. How can we distinguish between political systems that are democratically or autocratically oriented?

2. Why do we distinguish between the democratic or autocratic orientations of political systems in more or less rather than in either-or terms?

3. To what extent is the political system of the United States democratically oriented?

4. Why is it meaningless to discuss the extent to which a political system is democratic unless agreement can be reached about a set of criteria in terms of which to evaluate democratic orientation?

When discussing these questions, stress the point that there are no perfect democracies or autocracies in the world. Rather, all political systems are either more or less democratic or autocratic relative to other political systems. Stress three fundamental political values which serve as basic criteria by which to evaluate the democratic orientation of any political system: (1) political decisions should be made by majority vote; (2) the rights of individuals should be protected; (3) different people and ideas should be free to compete with one another according to the law.

Conclude the discussion by asking students to evaluate these statements about democracy:

Statement 1: Rule by one is autocracy and rule by the many is democracy.

Statement 2: Democracy is dictatorship of the enlightened few who are willing and able to defend the rights of the majority of the people.

Statement 3: Democracy is the freedom of each individual to do whatever he or she pleases.

Ask students to use data, provided on pages 103-104, to discuss the questions on page 104 of the text.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 104.* **1.** Items 4-5 of *Table 5* show that a little over half of the sample favor censorship of the mass media in some circumstances. Thus the evidence rejects *hypothesis a.* Items 1 and 3 show lack of strong support for the rights of minorities under all circumstances; thus the evidence rejects *hypothesis b.* Students should point to item 2 in the table to show that the evidence also rejects *hypothesis c.*

2. Items 1, 3, 4, and 5 in *Table 5* show a contradiction with item *a* under the rights of individuals and with the items under "free competition" on page 102.

3. One possible hypothesis: Many Americans who express agreement with certain basic democratic political beliefs in the abstract will express some contrary beliefs when they are applied to particular situations. Or: Americans are more likely to express agreement with democratic beliefs stated in the abstract than in a more concrete form.

4-8. These questions provide an opportunity for an open-ended discussion of values in the American society and of your students' value judgments about individual freedoms and limitations on free expression of beliefs. You should expect variation in responses. However, try to have students provide reasonable justifications for their value judgments.

Period Two. Use this period to organize and interpret data gathered previously, when students were asked to respond to the anti-democratic orientation questionnaire on *Worksheet 6. Transparency 16* and *Worksheet 9* are provided to assist your conduct of this lesson.

Distribute to each student a copy of *Worksheet 9, Organizing and Interpreting Responses to Political Attitude Survey.* Remind students of the attitude survey that had been administered to them previously. Indicate that they should organize and interpret these data in terms of concepts and facts acquired through prior instruction.

Distribute randomly the student responses to the attitude survey that was conducted previously. Presumably each student will receive a paper that is not his or her own. There should be no student names on the papers.

Direct students to score the responses on the paper that has been distributed to them by giving the respondent 1 point for each "agree" response. For example, a person who agrees with two items

and disagrees with the other three would receive a total score of 2. The student should mark the respondent's score on the "Tally Chart" on the first page of *Worksheet 9*. Project the transparency (T-16) of *Table 1*, from *Worksheet 9*, on the screen. Tell students that this table will help them to start to organize the responses of their class to the political-attitude survey. Ask students with a respondent score of 5 to raise their hand. Write the total number of respondents with scores of 5 in the appropriate box on the transparency of *Table 1*. Tell students to enter this in the appropriate space in *Table 1* on the worksheet. Repeat this procedure, concerning other possible scores, until the table is completed.

Next call attention to *Table 2* on the transparency. Tell students to use information from the "Tally Chart" and *Table 1* to complete *Table 2* on the worksheet. Then ask particular students what are the correct totals for each box that is part of *Table 2*. Enter the correct totals in the table on the transparency.

Require students to use these data to answer the two questions on the first page of the worksheet:

1. What percentage of your classmates scored "low," "medium," or "high" on the "Anti-Democratic Orientation" scale?

2. How can you account for the pattern of responses of your classmates to the "Anti-Democratic Orientation" scale?

Students ought to employ their concept of culture when answering Question 2.

Next ask whether students think the "Anti-Democratic Orientation" scale is a good measure of anti-democratic attitudes. Students ought to discuss this question in terms of criteria for making judgments about democratic orientation identified in the textbook, such as the practice of majority rule and protection of the rights of individuals.

Assign Exercise 5 of *Worksheet 9* as homework. This assignment requires students to construct a set of five items that could be used to measure democratic political attitudes. Students should be prepared to justify their items in terms of the criteria mentioned above.

Period Three. Divide students into four or five sub-groups. Instruct the groups that they have roughly one-half of the period to devise a set of five items that could be used to measure democratic attitudes. Each sub-group should develop its set of five items from the items that each student constructed as the homework assignment.

Use the last half of the period to discuss the sets of items created by each sub-group. Students should be required to discuss criteria that they used to construct their items and in terms of which they judge the items.

Assign pages 105-115 as homework. Require students to be prepared to discuss the questions on page 115 about the case study titled "The Plain People's Resistance."

Cultural Variations within a Country

Pages 105-115; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can apply the concepts of culture, subculture, and socialization to the interpretation of the case "The Plain People's Resistance."

2. Students can make value judgments about the Amish school dispute.

Suggested Procedures

Begin the period with discussion of the six questions on page 115 about the case "The Plain People's Resistance."

You might want to conclude the lesson with a value judgment activity. Ask students to write one-page position papers in which they support or reject the Amish viewpoint in this case. Call on three or four students who represent conflicting positions to justify their positions. Ask other students to listen carefully and to react critically to these ideas.

Conclude the discussion by asking students to distinguish this discussion about value judgments from the discussion that they had previously when they described and analyzed the political behavior presented in the case study. Stress that students must accept the possibility of plurality of answers that may emerge during the value-judgment discussion. Stress that students are likely to conduct the value-judgment discussion in terms of differing

assumptions. They are likely to bring indeterminate and conflicting categories to bear on their interpretation of right and wrong in the case. Contrast this with the determinate categories they are required to bring to bear on their interpretation of what happened in the case.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 115.* **1.** The main issue in this case is whether the Amish should be required to conform to state educational laws concerning school facilities, curricula, and teacher certification, or whether the Amish should receive special consideration due to their special customs and needs.

The government officlals wanted to shut down the Amish schools because the schools did not meet standards set by law. They believed that to allow the Amish to break the school laws would be to open the way for other groups to argue that they too should be allowed to break laws that they do not agree with. Also the government officials believed that the local community wanted them to force the Amish to obey the school laws.

The Amish refused to conform to the school laws because they believed that conformity to these laws would violate certain basic religious beliefs that structured their way of life.

2. The value conflict in this case is an example of conflict between a particular subculture and the larger culture within which the subculture exists. The larger culture promotes the value of education as a means to broaden occupational choices and choices about life style. The Amish subculture promotes the value of maintaining the Amish way of life. Public school education represents a threat to this way of life. So the Amish resisted it.

3. This case is an example of conflict based on differences between the Amish subculture and the larger American culture.

Through their socialization process, the Amish transmit some values to their young which are very different from the values learned by other Americans. The Amish try to maintain their subculture in the face of pressures from the larger society to change their ways.

4. The first decisions to settle this conflict were made by the Oelwein County court. The court decided to fine the Amish for noncompliance with the state school law. The Iowa state government passed a law to grant a temporary right to the Amish to maintain their schools and thereby to deviate from the state school laws. The decision appears to have been made to halt a conflict that was bringing bad publicity to Iowa. Also many people appear to have sympathized with the right of the Amish to be different so long as they posed no threat to others in the society.

The United States Supreme Court decided that the Amish should be exempted from compulsory school attendance laws.

5. The consequence of the Supreme Court's decision has been to buttress the Amish in their attempts to preserve their subculture against the threats of change.

6. This case shows that the rights of minorities in the United States can be protected through the law. The laws protecting minorities have been made with reference to majority approval. The majority continue to support these laws to protect minority group rights.

Unit Two · Test 1

Objective

Students will be able to complete a test over the material in chapters 4 and 5, making a score of 20 out of a possible 25 points.

Suggested Procedures

The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about correct answers. Answers appear on the spirit duplicating masters.

When students have finished with the test, have them proceed with the next day's reading assignment: Chapter 6, the first section on 'Status and Role," pages 116-122. Inform students that they should apply what they learn from this reading assignment to the case study on page 122.

CHAPTER SIX

Social Status and Political Behavior

Pages 116-141. Six class periods

Chapter Overview

Similarities and differences in political behavior are viewed in terms of social status and social class. Differences in rates of political activity, style of political behavior, and impact on public policy decisions among individuals of different socioeconomic statuses are discussed. Political roles and statuses of females, past and present, are examined.

Status and Role. The concepts of status and role are introduced. The learning of roles and statuses and the relationships of socialization, culture, and political role behavior are discussed.

Socioeconomic Status and Political Behavior. Socioeconomic status is discussed as a factor that helps one to account for similarities and differences in political behavior.

Differences in Status and Political Participation. This section consists of a case study that illustrates variation in political behavior related to socioeconomic status differences.

Political Roles of Women: How Much Change? The past and present political statuses and roles of American women are compared. Students are encouraged to speculate about changes in the future.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Berelson, Bernard, and Steiner, Gary A. *Human Behavior*, Shorter Edition (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1967), pp. 70-89. Brief, easy-to-read discussion of the measuring of social class and the relationship of social class to behavior. (For teachers and students)

Chamberlin, Hope. *A Minority of Members: Women in the U.S. Congress* (New York: New American Library, 1974). Historical survey, with case studies, of the roles and statuses of women as members of Congress. (For teachers and students)

Howe, Irving. *The World of the Blue Collar Worker* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1973). Twenty chapters on various aspects of the lives of working class people. Several chapters contain case studies of political behavior. (For teachers and advanced students)

Levison, Andrew. *The Working Class Majority* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., 1974). Easy-to-read description of the roles of working class people in American politics. Comparison of political beliefs and behavior of working class people with other SES groups. (For teachers and students)

Milbraith, Lester W. *Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), pp. 110-141. Discussion of research about the relationship of socioeconomic status and political participation. (For teachers)

Shostak, Arthur B., and others. *Privilege in America: An End to Inequality* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973). Discussion about inequality among social groups can be used to supplement instruction about variation in political resources and participation associated with socioeconomic status differences. (For teachers)

Suggested Films

People and Power (FI). 17 min. b&w. Emphasis is on participation through representation.

Violence is sketched as a means of achieving goals if it is necessary. The first rule of change is controversy. Friction is viewed as an inherent aspect of society. The importance of attitude change for realizing societal goals such as equality is stressed. This particular selection is from the Saul Alinsky school of thought and makes possible a contrast with the cases presented in the last two sections of this chapter. Use of this film may arouse criticism from persons or groups opposed to the Saul Alinsky approach. The film may be obtained from Films Inc., 1144 Wilmette, Wilmette, Illinois 60091.

Social Class in America (McGraw-Hill). 16 min. b&w. Follows the lives of three young men representing the lower, middle, and upper classes. Shows how their class and social status affect their behavior. Points out that it is possible to change one's social status.

Suggested Simulations and Games

Star Power (Simile II) A highly involving game about the world's unequal distribution of wealth and power in which individual players have a chance to progress from one economic level to another by acquiring wealth through trade. At one point the rich are given the right to make rules for the game and invariably act to keep themselves in the privileged position. The post-game discussion should focus on the world's distribution of wealth and power.

While the emphasis of the game is the gaining of wealth, post-game discussion in government classes can also focus on the "whys." Why did the rich group behave as they did? Why did the lower economic groups react as they did? (The game ends when the lower economic groups revolt against the rich and their rules.)

Status and Role

Pages 116-122; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can interpret political behavior in a case study in terms of the concepts of socialization, status, role, and personality.

2. Students can interpret a set of pictures in terms of these concepts: socialization, status, role, and personality.

Suggested Procedures

Period One. Elicit any questions that students may have about the terms "status" and "role" after having read the assigned pages. To check on understanding of the terms, ask students to name some of their statuses (or positions). As they respond, list several on the board: student, daughter, brother, club member, team captain, babysitter, etc. In a second column have students list about ten other statuses held by their parents; hopefully you will hear, among others, the words "voter," "party member," or other political statuses. In a third column, students might suggest some local political positions or statuses, such as sheriff, fire chief, alderman, etc.

Then have students name some behaviors that are linked with the various positions (or statuses) that they have named. Help them to see that these behavior expectations are the role—that the role is a pattern of behavior expectations.

When it is clear that students understand the terms and the other aspects of role and status discussed in the text, turn to the questions on page 122.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 122.* **1.** Students should explain Nick's landslide defeat in terms of the concepts of socialization, status, and role. Nick violated the customs associated with a candidate's role. The voters had been socialized to expect a certain kind of behavior from a person occupying the status of candidate. When Nick violated these expectations, he alienated many voters. In contrast, Jim played the role of candidate in terms of the political culture.

2. One might speculate that Nick and Jim played the role of candidate differently because of differences in personality.

Period Two. Begin the period with discussion of transparencies 17-20, involving four pictures of individuals in action, and ask students to respond with answers to the two questions.

1. What would most people in our society expect to happen next?

2. Why would most people have these expectations? Use the terms socialization, role, and personality to explain your answer.

It is expected that students will respond to these questions in terms of their culture. For example, in response to T-17, they will probably predict that the accused individual standing in the courtroom will comply with the judge's instructions. Students should explain that they have been socialized to expect that a judge, a defendant being judged, and others in a courtroom will behave in certain predictable ways peculiar to our society. *These predictable ways of behavior are roles.* These roles are part of the culture. The judge, defendant, and others in the courtroom have been socialized to play these roles.

When individuals consistently behave in certain ways in certain typical situations, then social stability is maintained. The establishment and maintenance of patterns of behavior is the fabric of society.

Let us use T-18 to provide another example of likely student responses to this exercise. In response to this picture, students probably will predict that the policeman will give a traffic ticket to the lady because she had parked her car illegally. Most likely, students will respond in this way because they have learned through the political socialization process that it is against the law to park in certain restricted areas. Students have most likely learned, through the political socialization process, that it is wrong to break the law and that an individual occupying the status of policeman has the right and duty to play the role of law-enforcer. We may say that it is legitimate for the policeman to behave as law-enforcer in *this* situation. Or to put it another way, we might say that the policeman has the authority to enforce the law in this situation. As indicated by our political culture, the role of the lady, who temporarily occupies the status of lawbreaker, is to accept the policeman's ticket without complaint and to pay a fine to the city government as punishment for breaking a law. Thus, on the basis of knowledge of the political culture, acquired through the political socialization process, students can predict the political behavior of the policeman and the lady shown in the picture. On the basis of knowledge of political roles and statuses in our society, students can predict how the policeman and the lady *should* behave.

On the basis of your knowledge of political roles and statuses in the American society, one can predict the likely political behavior that would result from the situations shown in the pictures on the transparencies. In most cases of this kind, behavior predictions would be accurate. Social stability results when individuals know what behavior to expect from one another in typical situations. Tensions are eased and uncertainty is limited when individuals have learned, through the socialization process, the typical statuses and roles that are part of their society.

However, there may be weaknesses involved in attempting to predict political behavior solely on the basis of a knowledge of the political culture. A political culture is the product of what *most* people in a society believe about how individuals *ought* to behave politically. Political roles, as parts of a political culture, represent the prevailing, or consensual, attitudes and beliefs about how individuals occupying certain statuses should behave politically in typical situations. But there may be a difference between what people should do and what they actually do, between what *ought to be* and *what is*. Furthermore, due to differences in personality and situation, different individuals may have different views of how they *should* behave politically. Thus without knowledge of the individual's personality and the behavioral situation, prediction of *political role behavior* may not be accurate.

Not all individuals play the political roles expected of them all the time. From time to time most individuals deviate a little bit from the norms of their society. Some individuals often deviate greatly from the norms. Perhaps some students will respond to the picture T-18 in terms of deviant behavior. For example, some might predict that the lady would offer the policeman a bribe not to give her a ticket and that the policeman would accept the bribe. Or some might predict that the lady would tell the policeman that she is a friend of the mayor and will get the policeman in trouble if he gives her a ticket. Both of these responses are predictions of deviant behavior, behavior that departs from the norms which comprise the roles that each individual is expected to play.

After students have had an opportunity to discuss "what will happen next?" in response to each of the four pictures, begin the second phase of the discussion. Show each of the pictures again. However, this time insert the responses of the individuals who were being talked to in the first phase of the discussion. A suggested list of responses follows. These may be written in the balloons on the transparencies with a grease pencil. In

T-17 the defendant answers the judge with "Shut up, pig" or "I'll speak whenever I please." In T-18 the woman replies to the policeman, "My brother is the Mayor." In T-19 the party chairman is telling the candidate, "No, I don't like you. My support goes to your opponent." In T-20 the sanitation supervisor replies to the mayor, "I have better things to do with my time."

After you have written the response on a transparency picture, then ask these same questions: (1) What will most likely happen next? (2) Why?

Students should recognize that each of the responses inserted into the situations is an example of aberrant, or deviant, role behavior. In their responses to the new situation created by the deviant responses, they may speculate that the "significant other" in the situation will either use his authority to reject and attempt to punish the deviant behavior or will comply with the deviant behavior. In either case require students to interpret their responses in terms of the concepts of socialization, role, and personality.

The point of the lesson is to determine whether students can apply the concepts of socialization, role, and personality to the interpretation of behavior situations.

Socioeconomic Status and Political Behavior

Pages 122-127; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can use their knowledge of socioeconomic status to rank individuals with markedly different characteristics.

2. Students can specify criteria in terms of which individuals are ranked in our society.

3. Students can use data to support or reject hypotheses about socioeconomic status and political behavior.

4. Students can infer from data that those with higher socioeconomic status are likely to have more political resources and to be more involved in political affairs than are those with lower socioeconomic status.

Suggested Procedures

Assign pages 122-127. Tell students that this reading assignment concerns the concepts socioeconomic status and social class. Tell them that at the completion of the reading assignment they should have an understanding of the meaning of socioeconomic status and social class.

Have students answer the questions on pages 124-125 about *Tables 6-8*. Then discuss the questions on page 127.

Assign pages 128-134 as homework. This assignment consists of a case study about differences in social class and political behavior. Have students be prepared to answer the questions at the end of the case.

Suggested Answers to Text Exercises. *Pages 124-125.* **1a.** The data support this hypothesis.

1b. The data reject this hypothesis. A warranted alternative hypothesis is this: Lower-status people are less likely than upper-status people to rate themselves high in political knowledge.

1c. The data in *Tables 6-7* support this hypothesis.

1d. The data reject this hypothesis. A warranted alternative hypothesis is this: Lower-status people tend to be less active in politics than upper-status people are.

1e. The data reject this hypothesis. The data suggest this alternative hypothesis: Rich people tend to have more political knowledge, skill, and influence than poor people have.

1f. This statement is an example of the fallacy of "overlooking exceptions" to general tendencies. See pages 89-92 in chapter 4 to review several common "pitfalls" or fallacies people commit when making factual judgments. Here is an alternative hypothesis: People such as Anne Burton tend to have more knowledge of politics and to be more involved in politics than people such as Margaret Petty.

Page 127. **1.** The individuals should be ranked in the following order: (1) Mr. Green, (2) Mr. Thomas, (3) Mr. Jones, (4) Mr. Jackson.

2. Factors such as income, education, occupation, and organizational memberships should be used to rank the individuals in response to item 1. Those with more income, education, and

organizational memberships and with higher prestige occupations should be ranked higher in socioeconomic status.

3. The men should be ranked as follows according to their possession of political resources: (1) Mr. Green, (2) Mr. Thomas, (3) Mr. Jones, and (4) Mr. Jackson.

4. Mr. Green has the most potential for influencing government officials. Students should conclude there is a direct relationship between social rank, possession of political resources, and potential for influencing government officials.

5. Mr. Jackson has the least potential for influencing government officials. He has the least political resources.

6. One cannot make exact predications about political influence from the descriptions of the four men. Variations in circumstances and personalities make exact prediction hazardous. For example, a person with high SES and many political resources may choose to use these resources for nonpolitical purposes. Through skillful organization and group solidarity, lower-status people may maximize their resources and sometimes compete successfully with upper-status people in the political arena. Numerous cases in this course illustrate this political truth.

Differences in Status and Political Participation

Pages 128-134; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can compare political behavior in terms of these concepts: (a) political resources, (b) political interest, (c) political techniques, and (d) political influence.

2. Students can try to explain similarities and differences in political behavior in terms of these concepts: (a) culture, (b) socialization, (c) status, (d) personality, (e) maintenance, and (f) change.

3. Students can make and defend value judgments about the possible outcomes of the case study on pages 128-134.

Suggested Procedures

Discuss the questions on page 134. This discussion provides the opportunity to stress the strong relationship between an individual's position in the social stratification system and the individual's political behavior. Due to status, an individual's political style may be influenced markedly. Certain channels of political communication and influence that are open to an individual like Fred Miller are closed to an individual like Joe Johnson. Certain political techniques that are within the competency of an individual like Fred Miller are beyond the capability of an individual like Joe Johnson.

At the conclusion of the discussion assign the next lesson, pages 134-141, as homework. Students should be prepared to discuss the exercises in the section.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 134.* **1.** The issue in this case is whether or not to make a city law setting stricter housing standards.

2. Fred Miller and Larry Mason had more political resources and political interest than did Joe Johnson.

Miller possessed more political resources than did Johnson or Mason. But Larry Mason was in the process of getting the political resource of a community political organization, and this would narrow the resource gap between him and someone like Fred Miller.

Miller also appeared to have more political influence than the others. But Mason was in the process of getting increasing political influence.

The individuals differed markedly in political techniques, or style of political behavior. Fred Miller preferred direct contact with policy-makers. He was an able bargainer, negotiator, and organizer. In contrast, Larry Mason was a leader of public demonstrations and creator of a neighborhood organization. Since Mason did not have immediate direct access to policy-makers, he had to try to shape public opinion through public action as a means of gaining access to the policy-makers. Also Mason's political strength resided in his ability to lead a community political organization. Fred Miller did not employ public-protest activity, since his political strength stemmed from his wealth, occupation, influential friends, and his high-status position in the community.

The political behavior of these individuals varied on account of differences in culture,

socialization, and personality. Larry Mason and Joe Johnson were both lower socioeconomic-status types. They were products of the same culture. Yet Larry became a political activist and community influential.

3. Presumably differences in culture and socialization contributed greatly to the personality and political behavior differences between Mason and Joe Johnson.

The socioeconomic-status differences between Mason and Miller help to account for differences in their political techniques and objectives. For example, Miller, as an upper socioeconomic-status type, was able to rely upon direct contact with policy-makers. In contrast Mason had to organize public protests as a means to shape public opinion. As a lower socioeconomic-status type, certain channels of access to political power were closed to him when he initiated his political efforts.

Miller was trying to maintain the status quo. In contrast, Mason was trying to change the political and social situation in order to gain more advantages for his group.

4. Students might respond to this question variously. They might offer reasonable alternative speculations about whether or not Mason and COUP are likely to achieve their objectives. Require students to support their speculations with reasons based on evidence in the case.

5. Conclude this discussion by having students make and defend their value judgments about the possible outcomes of this case. Encourage an open-ended discussion of alternative value judgments about this case. Help students to see the differences between factual and value judgments -between statements of reality and ideals.

Political Roles of Women: How Much Change?

Pages 134-141; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students are stimulated to surface either positive or negative attitudes about women in political roles.

2. Students can speculate about why many people have negative attitudes about women in political leadership roles.

3. Students are able to use evidence to make factual judgments about the magnitude and significance of change in the political participation of women, including change in the governmental positions held by women.

4. Students are able to make factual judgments about the magnitude and significance of change in public opinion about women in politics.

5. Students can hypothesize about the future political roles of women.

6. Students can make and defend value judgments about the past and present political roles of women.

Suggested Procedures

Period One. Before students read this lesson, you may wish to poll them on their willingness to vote for female candidates for public office. The top part of *Worksheet 10* provides a polling sheet. Have pupils mark the sheet without putting their names on the worksheet. When the students finish, you may wish to collect and redistribute the papers in order to get a tally of the responses. Or you can postpone the tally until students have completed Part B of *Worksheet 10.* Postpone discussion of Part A until the class is ready to take up the exercises on page 139.

The following lesson is based on a set of eight pictures on a transparency (T-21) and Part B of *Worksheet 10.* The lesson is titled the "People-Watcher Test." Following are directions for administering the test.

Distribute a copy of *Worksheet 10* to each student. Read the directions with your students. Next show the eight pictures of people in the transparency for this lesson (T-21). As you project these pictures, tell students to match each picture with one of the descriptions in the "List of Personal Descriptions" in Part B of *Worksheet 10.*

When students have finished this matching exercise, read to them the answers to the "People-Watcher Test." Also pose questions about the significance of this activity for studying political role behavior.

Answers to the "People-Watcher Test." *Picture A* is Congresswoman Yvonne Braithwaite, who represents California's 37th District. In 1972 she was Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Convention.

Picture B is Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder, who represents Colorado's 1st District. She is a member of the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Picture E is Congresswoman Margaret Heckler, who represents the 10th District of Massachusetts.

Picture G is Congresswoman Patsy Mink, who represents the 2nd District of Hawaii.

Pictures C, D, F, and H are of males who do not fit any of the descriptions.

When students have finished this matching exercise, read to them the answers to the "People-Watcher Test." Also pose questions about the significance of this activity for studying political role behavior.

Tell students to determine their "people-watcher" ratings.

Ask students to tell whether they rated as "poor," "up-and-coming," or "super people-watchers." You might make a class count for each rating and write the frequencies on the board.

Next ask students to tell why they responded as they did, both as individuals and as a group. During this discussion stress that the main point of the "test" was not to find out who could match each woman's picture with an exact personal description. Rather the purpose was to see whether the respondents were willing to match women with political leadership roles. In this way, the "People-Watcher Test" serves as a detector of stereotyped thinking and possible bias against women in politics. It is anticipated that some students will respond in terms of the stereotype of male dominance of political activities. Accordingly, these respondents would be expected readily to match the women with such female sex-typed occupations as nursing, elementary school teaching, and assisting political leaders. It is expected that they would stereotypically match the men with the male sex-typed occupations of political leader and lawyer.

Conclude this discussion by asking students to speculate about answers to these questions:

1. Why might some people be unwilling to match women with political leadership roles?

2. How are attitudes about the political roles of women related to the political roles that women perform in our society?

Following discussion of the "People-Watcher Test," ask students to read pages 134-141 about change in the political roles of women. Have them prepare answers to the questions and exercises in this reading assignment.

Period Two. Begin your discussion of this lesson by focusing students' attention on these two questions: (1) Using participation as an indicator, what does the preceding evidence say about change in the political roles of American women (page 135)? (2) Using positions in government as an indicator, what does the preceding evidence say about the extent of change in the political roles of American women (page 138)?

You may use these answers as models and work toward similar student statements. Or, you may present one, two, or more of these conclusions as challenge statements and ask students if the data support them.

1. Female participation in public elections has increased greatly during the last twenty-five years. Today, women participate in public elections as voters about as extensively as males.

2. Women tend to vote independently of their husband's wishes. This is a significant departure from the way it was about twenty-five years ago.

3. Most women do not take part in public political activities other than voting. However, it should be noted that this conclusion applies to males too.

4. Very few women have achieved top positions of decision-making and power in national, state, and local politics.

Next, turn to the text exercises on pages 139-141. If Part A of *Worksheet 10* has not yet been tallied, you might do it at this time.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 139.* **1.** A majority of men and women today are willing to vote for qualified female candidates for President and for Congress. This represents a great change from thirty years ago. However, it should be noted that vastly more men and women are willing to vote for a female congressional candidate than for a female presidential candidate. Perhaps many

people are still unwilling to trust a woman with the highest position of power.

2. Some possible hypotheses about the changes in opinions follow: (a) The culture is changing with regard to female political roles so that it is now "normal" to think of women as political leaders. (b) Women have demonstrated ability to perform political leadership roles. (c) Women are becoming socialized to perform various political roles.

3. Answers will vary. But one explanation is that many people are still skeptical about a woman's ability to perform the nation's most important political role.

4. The tables suggest that the public's acceptance of women in political leadership roles is growing. This trend is likely to continue.

Pages 140-141. The ten questions ask students to express value judgments and to make predictions about the future of women in politics. Encourage students to support their judgments and predictions with reasons and evidence. But also help them to realize that differences of opinion about forecasting cannot be settled easily at present. Emphasize that students should be open-minded in considering viable alternative conclusions about the future of women in politics.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Political Loyalties

Pages 142-165. Five class periods

Chapter Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the social bases of political loyalty and to raise questions about loyalty to the nation and the right to dissent.

Types of Loyalty. Loyalty is defined and the social bases of political loyalty and conflicting loyalties are discussed. Questions are raised about the meaning of national loyalty.

What Is Political Alienation? Political alienation is defined. Types of politically alienated individuals are specified.

Sources of Political Alienation. The social bases of political alienation are suggested through four cases of alienated individuals.

Political Cynicism is defined and the extent of cynicism in contemporary America is discussed.

National Loyalty and the Right to Dissent. Questions are raised about the need for national loyalty and the rights and limits of dissent.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Allen, Rodney F., and Adair, Charles H. *Violence and Riots in Urban America* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Company, 1969). Edited readings about recent civil disorders. (For students and teachers)

Burnette, Robert, and Koster, John. *The Road to Wounded Knee* (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1974). Survey of current political history of various groups of Native Americans. Useful supplement to the 'Fish-In' case in chapter 7. (For teachers and students)

Grodzins, Morton. *The Loyal and the Disloyal* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956). Discusses the social bases of loyalty and disloyalty. (For teachers)

King, Martin Luther, Jr. *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964). Reverend King's arguments for civil disobedience and public protest in the black's struggle for equal opportunities. The book focuses on the public demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 and the 1963 March on Washington. (For students and teachers)

King, Martin Luther, Jr. *Stride toward Freedom* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958). The moving, dramatic story of King's participation in the Montgomery bus boycott case. (For students and teachers)

Steiner, Stan. *The New Indians* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1969). Discussion of political demands and activities of various groups of Native Americans. Includes several case studies. Useful supplement to the "Fish-In" case in chapter 7. (For teachers and students)

Suggested Films

Martin Luther King, Jr.: From Montgomery to Memphis (BFA) 27 min. b&w. Surveys the career of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the nonviolent civil rights movement under his leadership, from the 1955-1956 bus boycott in Montgomery to Dr. King's assassination in Memphis. Utilizes excerpts from Dr. King's speeches and scenes from major civil rights marches in Montgomery, Birmingham,

Washington, Selma, Chicago, and Memphis to convey the essence of the man and the movement. Points out that Dr. King's philosophy was based on brotherly love, national reconciliation, and fulfillment. Reveals that the object of his effort was "to save ourselves and our white brothers from tragic self-destruction in the quagmire of racial hate." BFA Educational Media, 2211 Michigan Ave., Santa Monica, CA 90404.

A Matter of Conscience—Henry VIII and Thomas More (LCOA). 30 min. color. An edited version of *A Man for All Seasons* accentuating the historical clash between the king and his chancellor. Emphasizes the true dignity of man, if man is true to his own conscience. This film is excellent in its presentation of how a man's loyalty is challenged, tested, and attacked. Thomas More's loyalty to his conscience and what he feels is right is beautifully stated in his trial. Also referred to as "Conscience in Conflict"—Great Themes in Literature Series (LOCA). 33 min. Learning Corporation of America, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

My Country Right or Wrong? Searching for Values series (LCOA). 15 min. Edited from Columbia Pictures film *Summertree*. A young man who desperately wants to avoid the draft encounters many obstacles and is finally prevented from leaving the country by his father. Raises many questions about personal and societal obligations.

Types of Loyalty?

What Is Political Alienation?

Pages 142-147; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can speculate about the meaning of political loyalty.

2. Students can classify examples of political behavior in terms of a definition of political alienation.

Suggested Procedures

Require students to read the three pairs of statements on page 142. Ask them to decide which speaker of each pair is the more loyal. Conduct an open-ended discussion. Students should be made to realize that their choices are based on criteria that represent value judgments. Press students to reveal the grounds for their choices.

After discussing this exercise for about fifteen minutes, tell students to read the remainder of the lesson (pp. 142-147). Require them to classify the eight statements on pages 146-147 in terms of the explanation of political alienation on pages 146-147. The correct answers are (1) not alienated, (2) alienated apathetic, (3) not alienated, (4) alienated activist, (5) not alienated, (6) alienated apathetic, (7) alienated activist, (8) not alienated.

Assign pages 147-155 as homework. Require students to answer the questions on page 155.

Sources of Political Alienation

Pages 147-155; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can make inferences about the relationship of group identification to the development of political alienation.

2. Students can indicate the relationship of the following factors to political alienation: (a) public policy decisions, (b) socioeconomic status, (c) sense of political efficacy, (d) sense of personal power, (e) culture conflict within a country.

Suggested Procedures

Discuss the four cases about sources of political alienation.

Although each student should have read all four cases in this lesson, some teachers may wish to break the class into four sub-groups for ten minutes or so to come up with answers to exercise 1 on page 155. Then have a spokesperson for each group tell how *group identification* (item 1a) was connected with the development of political alienation in the assigned case. Have another

spokesperson from each group report on item 1b; another on item 1c; and so on.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 155.*
1a. In Case 1, Mary's alienation developed as she identified increasingly with a student group which expressed values which contradicted those of her family and former friends. In Case 2, John's alienation developed as he identified with a group of individuals who were hostile to the prevailing viewpoints in American society. In Case 3 the Japanese who expressed disloyalty chose to identify with those of their ethnic group whom they believed to have been wronged by the United States government. In Case 4 the alienation of the black rioters was related to ethnic group identification and group antagonism toward a white-dominated society.

1b. Political decisions of public officials were related to the development of alienation of each of the cases. In Case 1 the alienated students believed that decisions in regard to foreign affairs and poor people in our society were odious. In Case 2 the alienated individuals believed they were struggling against the traitorous policies of the government. In Case 3 the policy decision to incarcerate the Japanese Americans led to the development of alienation among citizens previously committed very strongly to the United States. In Case 4 many black rioters believed that the government had been unfair, particularly in making decisions to do little or nothing about the grievances of blacks.

1c. There appears to be no direct relationship between socioeconomic status and political alienation. In the four cases individuals of higher and lower socioeconomic status expressed alienation.

1d. Feelings of political effectiveness and personal power seem to relate sometimes directly and sometimes inversely with political alienation. The alienated individuals in Cases 1 and 2 were activists and appeared to have strong feelings of political effectiveness and personal power. In contrast, the alienated Japanese Americans in Case 3 were politically apathetic and appeared to express weak feelings of political effectiveness and personal power. In Case 4 the rioting blacks were temporarily expressing power, but the typical political style among the black ghetto community was political apathy reflecting relative weak feelings of political effectiveness and personal power.

1e. In Case 3 the Japanese Americans constituted a distinct cultural group in the United States. Membership in this cultural group was a cause of conflict with certain members of the majority culture. This conflict led to the alienation of many of the Japanese Americans towards the American culture.

2. Following are general statements one might make about sources of political alienation and loyalty in our society: (a) The function of the political socialization process is to develop national loyalty among citizens. (b) National loyalty stems from the beliefs of many different people that the nation supports their rights and the rights of groups to which they belong. (c) Alienation from the nation may result from conflicting loyalties which pressure a person to prefer to identify with people and ideas contrary to the national culture. (d) The social groups to which we belong and with which we identify shape our attitudes of loyalty to, or alienation from, our country.

Political Cynicism

Pages 155-157; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can make factual judgments from tabular data about political cynicism in America during the early 1970s.

2. Students can make judgments about the extent to which they do or do not express political cynicism.

Suggested Procedures

This is a short lesson which most students should be able to read and discuss in one class period. Prior to assigning the reading, some teachers may wish to have students respond to a political cynicism questionnaire (without identifying it as such). Prepare a duplicating master with the title *Attitude Survey* (or leave it untitled) and these directions: "Mark each of the following statements A (agree), D (disagree), or U (uncertain). Do not write your name on the paper." Then reword the questions in Table 17 as statements in the following manner:

1. The people running the country don't really care what happens to us.

2. Most elected officials are in politics for all they can get out of it for themselves.

3. Most people with power try to take advantage of people like me.

4. Special interests get more from the government than the people do.

Collect the papers and make a talley of the responses while students read the lesson. Put the results on the board. When pupils finish their reading, ask: Do the results of the survey show much or little political cynicism in this class? (In lieu of a duplicated survey sheet, the items can be written on the chalkboard—with pupils responding to the four questions on a slip of paper.) Some students may wish to use these questions to poll others in the school or community about their feelings of political cynicism.

Begin a collection of news items and headlines which might lead the public to have strong feelings of political cynicism. Mount them on a piece of poster board and use the display to supplement the current events items listed on page 156 of the text. You may wish to have students look for additional items. Also have students speculate on why poor or evil performance by public officials gets much more news coverage than top-level and honest performance.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 156.* **1.** Tables 13-16 show a large increase in political cynicism after 1966.

2. Black people tended to be much more cynical than whites in the early 1970s.

3. Possible hypothesis on the increase of cynicism: The increase in cynicism is linked to charges of unethical practices by high government officials, such as the charges made during the Watergate affair. (Other hypotheses are acceptable.)

Students may respond with various hypotheses about the greater cynicism among blacks. Here is one acceptable example: Cynicism among blacks is associated with the long history of legal racial discrimination.

4. Students can be asked to listen for, read about, and report on current expressions of political cynicism.

National Loyalty and the Right to Dissent

Pages 157-165; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can identify examples of political alienation in two cases of political behavior.

2. Students can interpret the political behavior in two cases in terms of these concepts: culture, socialization, socioeconomic status, role, and group identification.

3. Students can make a value judgment about the political behavior in two cases.

4. Students can make a value judgment about the limits that should be placed on dissent in our society.

5. Students can evaluate the doctrine of civil disobedience as practiced by advocates of "just causes."

6. Students can articulate a view of patriotism and national loyalty.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson can generally be handled in one period if students have read the pages and studied the questions on page 165 before coming to class. The questions focus attention on the two cases about political dissent. The exposition leading up to the cases, however, merits some review in class to see if students have the main points in mind. The following questions may be useful:

1. What reasons do the authors give for saying that the right to dissent is basic to a healthy democratic system?

2. How can "too much" dissent hurt a society?

3. How can "blind loyalty" hurt a society?

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 165.* **1.** In Case 1 the main value conflict is about the segregation laws that existed throughout the South at that time. Some blacks defied these laws, and

public officials tried to maintain them. In Case 2 the issue is whether or not the state government of Washington could legally deprive Indians in the state of their fishing rights which were granted by a treaty with the federal government.

2. The blacks and Indians in these cases used public protest tactics because they saw no other way to gain attention from public officials and to build public support for their causes.

3-6. The answers to these questions must be value judgments. Thus you may expect a variety of answers to emerge. Try to make students justify their answers in terms of their views about good and bad. Try to see that students maintain consistency in their evaluations.

When discussing Question 6, stress the following ideas. Point out the differences in the meaning of patriotism in democratic and autocratic societies. Stress the point that patriotism serves an integrating functio in any society. Patriotism is a force for uniting people, for binding a nation together. Thus, patriotism is a beneficial force. However, in a democracy, patriotism that too strongly emphasizes conformity and unthinking obedience is dysfunctional. Patriotism that involves complete servility to the state is typical of autocratic societies. Point out that patriotism and loyalty in a democratic society may from time to time present complications as people struggle to define the limits of reasonable dissent, to determine when dissent becomes incompatible with loyalty. This knotty problem does not exist in the autocratic society.

If a variety of value judgments emerge in the class discussion, ask students to explain why this happened. Ask students what is the relationship between democratic political behavior and the existence of a plurality of political viewpoints?

Stress that conflict in our political culture stems from the democratic orientation of our culture and society. Stress that in an autocratic society, conformity to authority is maximized and freedom to dissent is minimized or is nonexistent. Point out that no society can allow extreme right to dissent from authority, to the point of ignoring authority, because this leads to anarchy. A democratically oriented society strives to protect the right to dissent while maintaining law and order, respect for legitimate political power.

7. Following are examples of the relationships of identification to the political behavior in these two cases:

In both cases the minority-group protestors were challenging laws which reflected the racial biases of the majority-group culture. The "law enforcers" in these cases were trying to maintain these laws, which they had been socialized to accept. The protestors were working for legal and cultural changes.

In both cases the protestors occupied lower-level socioeconomic statuses. Thus they had fewer political resources than did those against whom they protested. Groups with few resources tend to use public protest activities to draw attention to their causes.

In both cases the law enforcers played their roles as public officials when they arrested the protestors and in other ways tried to disrupt the protest activities.

In both cases the conflicts were sharpened by the loyalties of people to the groups with which they identified. In Case 2 the Yakimas chose to identify with the general "Indian cause" rather than to pursue narrow tribal interests.

8. The value judgments made in response to this question will vary with the beliefs and preferences of different people. Help students to clarify their value judgments and to offer reasons for holding them.

Unit Two · Test 2

Objective

Students will be able to complete a test over the material in chapters 6 and 7 making a score of at least 16 out of 20 points.

Suggested Procedures

The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about correct answers. Answers to each test appear on the spirit duplicating masters.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Selecting Leaders of Government

Pages 168-201. Six class periods

Chapter Overview

The main problem of selecting leaders of government is the theme of this chapter. Main characteristics of public elections in our society are discussed. The roles of political party leaders in elections are discussed. The strengths and weaknesses of our method of electing a President are considered.

Different Ways of Selecting Governmental Leaders. The problem of selecting leaders of government is introduced through five contrasting examples.

Political Parties and Public Elections. We discuss public elections as a method of leadership selection. Competitive and noncompetitive public elections are compared. Main characteristics of public elections in our society are identified.

Leadership Roles in Political Parties. This section clarifies the roles of political party leaders in public elections. Data are provided about the type of people who become party leaders and how leaders differ from party followers.

Electing a President. The method of electing a President in our society is depicted. The 1968 election is used as an example of the mechanical features of our presidential election process.

Should We Change Our Method of Nominating Presidential Candidates? The strengths and weaknesses of our system of nominating Presidents are discussed. Students are asked to make judgments about the worth of our system of nominating candidates for the Presidency.

Should We Alter or Abolish the Electoral College? The strengths and weaknesses of our system of electing Presidents are discussed. Students are asked to make judgments about the worth of our system of electing a President.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Longley, Lawrence D., and Braun, Alan G. *The Politics of Electoral College Reform* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972). Discussion of the electoral college system in American history with presentation of major reform proposals. Analysis of political reasons for defeat of reform proposals. (For teachers)

Matthews, Donald R. (editor). *Perspectives on Presidential Selection* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1972). Series of chapters by different authorities who critique the American methods of nominating and electing a President. (For teachers)

Mitchell, Malcom G., and Madgic, Robert F. *Nominating Conventions and the Electoral College* (New York: Scholastic Book Services, 1968). Easy-to-read description and strengths and weaknesses of nominating conventions and the Electoral College are discussed. (For students)

Michener, James A. *Presidential Lottery* (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett World Library, 1972). Thoughtful criticism of the electoral college system by a best-selling author who was involved as a presidential "elector" in the 1968 election. (For teachers and students)

Parris, Judith H. *The Convention Problem: Issues in Reform of Presidential Nominating*

Procedures (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1972). Discusses various criticisms of our method for nominating presidential candidates and examines proposals for reform. (For teachers)

Pomper, Gerald M. *Nominating the President* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1963). Scholarly discussion of our system. (For teachers)

Ribicoff, Abraham, and Newman, J. O. *Politics: the American Way,* Revised Edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974), pp. 74-95. Easy-to-read discussion of our way of nominating and electing candidates for public office. Filled with interesting examples. (For students)

Sayre, Wallace S., and Parris, Judith H. *Voting for President* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1970). Detailed discussion of the pros and cons of four plans for reforming the electoral college system. (For teachers)

Zeidenstein, Harvey. *Direct Election of the President* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1973). In-depth discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the direct popular vote plan for reforming the method by which we elect our President. (For teachers)

Suggested Films

The True Story of an Election (Dimension Films). 56 min. color. Emphasizes that power changes hands devoid of violence through the vote. Depicts an actual congressional election and sketches the campaign via three processes: the battle of the candidates, the publicity battle, and the precinct politics battle. Describes in detail the need for workers and money by both parties. The impact or power of the vote is somewhat exaggerated. A thorough postmortem of the campaign is included. Although the film is somewhat lengthy, excitement and interest is maintained by not divulging the winner until the last moment. The film can be used with the second section of this chapter. It is distributed by Churchill Films.

Our Election Day Illusions--The Beat Majority; Part 2--The Electoral College (CBSTV). 25 min. Points out the adequacies and inadequacies of the Electoral College and describes its procedures and functions. Poses the question of whether national elections always reflect the will of the people. Alternative proposals for modifying the system are discussed. This CBS Television film is distributed by Carousel Films, Inc.

The Political Process (McGraw-Hill). 10 min. color. Presents the political process in the United States with emphasis on a party's choice of a candidate at its national convention. Explains the jobs of the "grass roots" party workers from local volunteers, through the state party organization, to the national committee and its chairperson. Emphasizes the importance of each person's participation and urges young people to become involved in political activity. A concise look at the roles played by volunteers and state and national party chairpersons in the election process. Very well done.

Different Ways of Selecting Governmental Leaders

Pages 168-170; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can identify five types of political leadership selection: by hereditary right, through unlimited conflict, through popular vote, through the vote of an elite group, and by leaders in a one-party state.

2. Students can speculate about answers to questions concerning alternative types of leadership selection.

3. Students can make and defend value judgments about alternative types of leadership selection.

4. Students can make distinctions between the questions on page 170.

Suggested Procedures

Assign pages 168-170 for in-class reading. Require students to answer the questions on page 170 in class discussion.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 170.* **1.** Students should say that the method for political leadership selection in Example 1 is "hereditary right"; in Example 2, through popular vote; in Example 3, by unfettered conflict, a contest of force; in Example 4, through the vote of an elite group; in Example 5, by the party in a one-party political system.

2. As different groups have different social environments, they may have different methods for selecting political leaders. Different groups have devised different political cultures to help them meet their needs.

3. All groups try to devise some orderly means for selecting political leaders in order to prevent anarchy.

4. The methods of hereditary right, elite group selection, and popular vote appear more likely to contribute to political stability than does the power struggle described in Example 3. Examples 1, 2, 4, and 5 illustrate political leadership selection according to established rules. Example 3 is an illustration of potential anarchy, since it could involve a civil war or revolution.

5. Example 2 is likely to involve the greatest amount of popular participation, since citizen involvement in the leadership selection process is essential. However, because Example 3 could involve a civil war or revolution, widespread popular participation in the conflict could occur.

6. This question calls for a value judgment. Most likely students in your class will express preference for the "popular vote"method of political leadership selection, since this is the American way. When explaining their preference, they should point out the relationship between culture, socialization, and values.

7. Question 1 calls for a descriptive factual answer that can be quickly verified. Questions 2 and 3 call for explanatory answers. Here the facts identified in answer to the first part of the question are to be interpreted.

Questions 4 and 5 call for hypotheses that can be verified empirically through additional study. Question 6 calls for value judgments. Help students to differentiate clearly between the difference in the quality of these questions and in the answers to these questions.

Assign the next lesson, pages 170-175, as homework reading.

Political Parties and Public Elections

Pages 170-175; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can distinguish competitive and noncompetitive public elections.

2. Students can distinguish open primary elections from closed primary elections.

3. Students can describe the role of political parties in the conduct of public elections in the United States.

Suggested Procedures

Require students to review pages 170-175 and to prepare answers to these questions.

1. What is the difference between competitive and noncompetitive public elections?

2. What is the difference between open and closed primary elections?

3. What parts do political parties play in the conduct of public elections in our society?

Use the latter part of the period to discuss answers to these questions. Answers to these questions involve recall of information presented on pages 170-175.

Conclude the lesson by having students tell which of the statements on page 175 are correct or incorrect. Correct statements are 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Assign pages 176-190 as homework reading. Have students prepare answers to the questions on page 190.

Leadership Roles in Political Parties

Pages 176-190; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can make the following conclusions about the role of political party leader:

a. The political party leader is expected to direct the political party organization to attainment of its major objective, electing people to public office.
b. Political party leaders are expected to promote candidates for public offices who are acceptable to enough different interests that their election will be assured.
c. The political party leader is expected to reconcile various interests within the party so that harmony and cooperation can be maintained in pursuit of the overriding goal of electing individuals to public office.

2. Students can suggest a number of incentives that parties may hold out for individual involvement but recognize that any party must provide a variety of these in order to attract different kinds of leaders.

3. Students recognize that many factors motivate party leaders but know that desire for social contact, the excitement of politics, and the desire to influence policy are among the most important.

4. Students know that party leaders seek to control the distribution of rewards in order to achieve the goals of the party.

5. Students can trace the role of political party leader in the electoral process, including nominations, campaign, and elections.

6. Students understand that the impact of American party leaders upon public policy is indirect, intermittent, and relatively small.

Suggested Procedures

Have students discuss the questions on page 190 about the role of political party leader. Emphasize the ideas embodied in the instructional objectives for this lesson.

Some teachers may wish to develop an additional lesson on functions of political parties and the particular party organization existing in the students' own state and locality.

For the next class session assign pages 190-197 as homework reading.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 190.* **1.** The role of party leader differs for the various kinds of positions in the party organization. There will be different expectations for the precinct captain than for the head of the state or national committee. Yet all are expected to work vigorously for the election of the party's candidates to public office. The text on pages 178-180 describes specific kinds of jobs that the various leaders perform.

2. Some party leadership traits which students might mention include the following: willingness to compromise, energetic, ability to organize, moderate in political views in order to woo voters and party members who differ in their views, forceful in leading others, and so on. There will be many personality types among party leaders, but they are typically take-charge persons.

3. Among the incentives that attract people to party leadership posts are (a) the chance to influence patronage and other rewards, (b) the chance of moving up to a higher party post or to win a public office, (c) economic rewards in their own business, (d) social status, and (e) the chance to influence public policy.

4. Party leaders can influence election outcomes by helping to see that attractive (vote-getting) candidates are nominated and by organizing vigorous campaigns. Party leaders can influence political decisions in government to some extent by (a) helping to see that the "right" candidates are nominated, (b) putting candidates under obligation so that they will take advice on policy decisions, and (c) helping to shape party platforms. However, it should be noted that party leaders are most interested in winning elections, not in influencing government policy. If it appears that policy positions stand in the way of victory, the party leaders tend to encourage moderation—and even flip-flops—-on crucial issues. They are not expected to influence the policy decisions of their party's public officials except as these decisions relate to opportunities to win elections.

Electing a President

Pages 190-197; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can describe the main features of our system for nominating presidential candidates.

2. Students can describe the main features of our system for electing a President.

Suggested Procedures

Require students to review pages 190-197 and to prepare answers to these questions.

1. How are presidential candidates nominated?

2. What are the main features of our system for electing a President?

Use the latter part of the period to discuss answers to these questions. Answers to these questions involve recall of information presented on the assigned pages. Acquisition of this information is a prerequisite to evaluation of our method of electing a President, which is the topic of the next two lessons.

Students ought to have a general understanding of the variety of ways in which national convention delegates are chosen. They should understand that the presidential primaries held in some states are in some cases simply popularity contests. But in other states the delegates may be bound to support the winning primary candidate—at least on the first ballot at the convention. Details of the procedures in your own state will interest some students.

Assign pages 197-199 as homework. Require students to answer the questions on page 199. Tell them to prepare answers to Questions 1 and 2 for class discussion. Some teachers may wish to require students to write a brief (500-600 words maximum) position paper in response to Question 3. Instruct students to state clearly the assumptions on which they base their policy position.

Should We Change Our Method of Nominating Presidential Candidates?

Pages 197-199; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can identify main arguments for and against the convention system for nominating presidential candidates.

2. Students can evaluate main arguments for and against the convention system for nominating presidential candidates.

Suggested Procedures

The text presents a single alternative method for the nomination of presidential candidates—the nationwide primary. Able students might be encouraged to study and report on other alternatives. Some of the reading references cited at the beginning of this chapter will be useful. The methods for choosing national convention delegates differ from state to state; some provide for more popular participation than do others. Another alternative to the present system is to find the best state plan and encourage its spread.

Reserve sufficient class time for discussion of the questions on page 199.

For the next class period assign pages 199-201 as homework. Require students to answer the questions on page 201. Tell them to prepare answers to Questions 1 and 2 for class discussion. Require them to write a brief (500-600 words maximum) position paper in response to Question 3. Instruct students to state clearly the assumptions on which they base their policy position.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 201.* **1.** The main arguments against the convention system are that (a) it limits popular participation in the nomination process, and (b) it can thwart the popular will.

2. The main arguments for the convention system are that (a) it serves to maintain party unity; (b) it involves less expense than the alternative proposal of nationwide primary elections; and (c) it has worked adequately to produce competent presidential candidates.

3. If students have written a brief position paper in response to Question 3, call on three or four students to read theirs. Ask others to listen carefully and to assess these papers.

Since Question 3 requires students to make value judgments, do not judge their answers as true or false. Rather judge a student's answer in terms of how well he has stated his position. For example, does he clearly state the premises, or assumptions, that undergird his argument? Are his recommendations consistent with his premise? Do his assumptions violate what is known about reality? Has he considered the potential consequences of his recomendations?

Should We Alter or Abolish the Electoral College?

Pages 199-201; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can identify main arguments for and against the Electoral College system.

2. Students can evaluate main arguments for and against the Electoral College system.

Suggested Procedures

Student reports on alternatives to the Electoral College may be desirable in some situations; see the reading list at the beginning of this chapter.

Not mentioned in the text is another "reform" of the Electoral College system. It would tie the electoral votes to the congressional districts—with the candidate winning the district getting its one electoral vote; the candidate winning the state would get that state's two other electoral votes. Its chief attraction is that it would modify the "winner-take-all" rule. A presentation of this idea—with the pro and con arguments—might be given by a student or the teacher.

Reserve sufficient class time for the discussion of the questions on page 201.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 201.* **1.** The main argument for the Electoral College system is that it has worked pretty well and may have fewer defects than any suggested alternative.

2. Students should list the following arguments against the Electoral College:

a. A candidate with more popular votes than any of his opponents may fail to win the Presidency.
b. The law does not require the presidential electors to vote for the candidate who has received a majority of the popular votes in their state.
c. The states with less population are favored over the states with more population in the distribution of electoral votes.
d. The present system encourages candidates to focus attention on a few heavily populated states and to neglect the voters in other states.

3. This is a value judgment question. See comments on answer 3 in the preceding lesson.

Unit Three · Test 1

Objective

Students will be able to complete a test over the material in chapter 8, making a score of at least 16 out of a possible 20 points.

Suggested Procedures

The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about correct answers. Answers to the test appear on the spirit duplicating masters.

CHAPTER NINE

Participating in Electoral Politics

Pages 202-227. Five class periods

Chapter Overview

Three basic questions are considered in this chapter: (1) Who participates in public elections? (2) Why are particular individuals more likely than others to vote in the elections? (3) Who ought to participate in public elections? Legal and extra-legal factors that account for nonparticipation in public elections are identified. Students are required to construct a multi-factor explanation of tendencies to vote of different groups.

Who Participates in Electoral Politics? Students are asked to make generalizations from statistical data about types of individuals who are likely to vote or not to vote.

The Influence of Laws on Voter Turnout. We discuss voter eligibility laws as a factor accounting for a small proportion of nonparticipation of adults in public elections. Changes in the voting rights of black people are discussed as an example of changing the law in an orderly lawful manner.

Non-Legal Factors That Influence Voter Turnout. A multi-factor explanation of extra-legal factors associated with tendency to vote or not vote is presented.

Is Participation Worth It? Costs and benefits of participating in electoral politics are discussed.

Who Ought to Participate in Public Elections? Students are presented with a normative discussion about participation in public elections. They are required to evaluate this discussion.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Flanigan, William H. *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, Third Edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1975). Review of research about tendencies to vote of different groups in our society. (For Teachers)

Friedheim, Jerry Warden. *Where Are the Voters?* (Washington: The National Press, 1968), pp. 28-52. Discussion of tendencies to vote of different groups in our society. Numerous easy-to-read tables. (For teachers and students)

Murphy, William T., Jr., and Schneier, Edward. *Vote Power: How to Work for the Person You Want Elected* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1974). Guide to effective participation in electoral politics. (For teachers and students)

Napolitan, Joseph. *The Election Game and How to Win It* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1972). Discussion of modern election campaign techniques by a professional campaign manager. Numerous case studies of recent election campaigns. (For teachers and students)

Reynolds, H. T. *Politics and the Common Man: An Introduction to Political Behavior* (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1974), pp. 120-189. This introductory text includes two excellent chapters about research on participation in electoral politics. (For teachers and advanced students)

Suggested Films

The Voter Decides (Xerox Films). 16 min. color. Prepared especially for use with American Political Behavior, this prize-winning film can

profitably be used several times and at various points in Chapters 9-10. Available from Xerox Films, 245 Long Hill Road, Middleton, Conn.

The Young Vote: Power, Politics, and Participation (BFA). 14 min. color. Poses questions about attitudes, values, and issues related to voting and the democratic process. Examines apathetic, idealistic, and partisan attitudes towards the democratic system. Encourages young citizens to examine their feelings about voting.

An outstanding film which depicts three young persons and how and why they decided to participate politically. One participated as a registrar of voters, one as a candidate for public office, and the third non-politically as a drug-abuse counselor.

Campaign (Churchill). 20 min. color. Documentary account of a grass-roots campaign for the office of state senator. Depicts how a young woman of wit, charm, and intelligence emerges from the role of housewife and amateur politician to battle an entrenched incumbent. Shows how volunteers acquire organizational skills such as fund raising, publicity, and persuasion.

Who Participates in Electoral Politics?

Pages 202-206; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can speculate about the percentages of Americans who participate in election campaign and voting activities.

2. Students can speculate about why there are differences in rates of political participation.

3. Students can speculate about the implications for the political process of the rates of political participation of American citizens.

4. Students can hypothesize about the relationship of the following factors to tendency to vote in a public election:

a. sex identity	**d.** racial identity
b. educational attainment	**e.** age group
c. occupation	**f.** income

5. Students can infer the following generalizations about tendency to vote in American elections from data presented on pages 203-206 and in earlier chapters.

a. Tendency to vote increases with socio-economic status.
b. Men are not more likely to vote than women are. (Chapter 6)
c. Tendency to vote increases with educational attainment.
d. Middle-aged people are more likely than young adults or elderly people to vote. Elderly people are more likely to vote than young adults are. (Chapters 3-4)
e. Tendency to vote increases with income level.
f. Professional, managerial, and white-collar workers are more likely to vote than manual workers are.
g. Whites are more likely to vote than blacks are.

7. Students can identify registration laws and disinterest in politics as major barriers to participation in electoral politics.

Suggested Procedures

Period One. Begin the study of this chapter with a confrontation lesson that is based upon the use of *Worksheet 11. Speculating about the Frequency of Different Types of Political Activity* and an accompanying transparency (T-22). Project the transparency of the table which constitutes *Worksheet 11*.

Ask students to estimate the percentage of Americans who participate in each of the activities listed on the worksheet and to write their estimates in the proper column. Next ask students to discuss their estimates. Write the estimates that the majority of students accept in the appropriate lines on the transparency. Next provide the following percentages—to match against the student estimates—and write them in the appropriate column on the transparency. These percentages are taken from page 19 of *Political Participation* by Lester Milbrath.

These percentages are estimates derived from various studies of voter behavior which have been conducted during recent years.

1. Participating in a political discussion, 75%

2. Wearing campaign buttons or displaying stickers, 15%

3. Holding membership in a political club, 2 to 3%

4. Voting in a presidential election, 52 to 64%

5. Talking to others about voting for some candidate, 25 to 30%

6. Writing to a member of Congress, 15%

7. Running for public office or holding an influential political office, 1%

8. Participating actively in a national political campaign, 10%

9. Contributing money to a political campaign, 10%

10. Attending a political rally, 7%

Probably there will be a gap between student estimates of partipation and the percentages listed above. Ask students to speculate about why this discrepancy exists. Ask students to speculate about why large numbers of Americans do not actively participate in politics despite the participatory values that are part of the political culture of the United States.

Conclude this activity by asking students to speculate about the implications for the political process of low or high levels of citizen political activity in election campaigns.

Next, project the base transparency (T-23). On top of T-23 you can overlay one at a time pictures of pairs of individuals which symbolize these variables: sex identity, age group, educational attainment, occupation, income, and racial identity. These transparencies (T-24 through T-29) illustrate these six pairs of types of individuals: (a) Man—Woman, (b) Young man—Old man, (c) College graduate--Non-college graduate, (d) Professional—Manual worker, (e) Wealthy woman--Poor woman, (f) Black man--White man.

Ask students to speculate about answers to the first question which appears under each pair of pictures: "Which individual is more likely to vote?" Conduct a brief discussion of this question after displaying each of the pairs of symbolic types in the transparencies.

Maintain an open-ended posture as leader of this discussion. Do not judge student answers as right or wrong. Rather encourage students to speculate freely. In a subsequent lesson students will have an opportunity to check these speculations against data about American voting behavior.

Conclude the period by asking students to write hypotheses in response to the question about tendency to vote. Encourage students to write their hypotheses formally, in a way that is conducive to testing in terms of data to be presented in subsequent lessons. For example, students should be encouraged to cast their hypotheses in this form: Men are more likely than women to vote in public elections.

Check to see that students have written a complete set of acceptable hypotheses. As homework, tell them to check their hypotheses about tendencies to vote in a public election against the data that are presented on pages 203-206 and in earlier parts of the textbook. In particular, tell students to see pages 84-85 about the relationship of age to participation in electoral politics and pages 135-136 about the participation of males and females. Ask students to decide which of their hypotheses are supported by evidence.

Period Two. Begin by focusing students' attention on the chart on page 202, "Levels of Participation in Electoral Politics." Ask them to discuss the questions about the chart on page 203. Have students tell their reasons for their estimates in question 2.

Require students to make factual judgments about the relationship of participation in electoral politics and these factors: (a) age group, (b) racial identity, (c) sex identity, (d) educational attainment, (e) occupation, (f) income, and (g) socioeconomic status. Have students use the questions following *Tables 1-3* on pages 203-205 to guide their judgments about the data. (Note that students will have to make inferences about socioeconomic status by looking at such factors as income, educational attainment, and occupation.) Correct factual judgments are presented in Objective 5 above. If students make factual judgments other than these, they should justify them with reliable and valid data.

In this discussion require students to substantiate their judgments with evidence. Encourage them to be constructively critical. Encourage them to demand and supply warrants for a proposition before accepting it as accurate.

Move to *Table 4* and questions 6-10 below the table to conclude this discussion. Use these data and questions to discuss reasons for nonparticipation in electoral politics.

You may wish to conclude this lesson by presenting later figures from the *Statistical Abstract* or other sources. Or encourage students to look for more recent data. Students can use the latest available data to determine whether their factual judgments made from Tables 1-4 are still warranted.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 203.* **1.** The evidence in Tables 1-2 rejects all of the stated hypotheses except item c.

2. The hypotheses might be rewritten as follows: (a) At least one-third of American citizens of voting age can be called "apathetics" in electoral politics. (Table 1 shows 62.8 percent as highest voter turnout in a national election since 1930.) (b) Less than 10 percent of American citizens of voting age can be called "activists" in electoral politics. (See items 1 and 2 in Table 2.) (c) There are more "spectators" than "occasional participants" in American electoral politics. (Table 2 shows many more people having "tried to persuade someone"—a mark of the "spectator"—than those having "attended a political meeting or rally.")

3. Updated figures for Table 1 may be found in the most recent edition of the Statistical Abstract (See Index subject: Elections). Occasionally one of the national polls runs a survey on voter participation. Teachers should watch for these and file the stories for later use.

Pages 204-206. **1a.** The data in Table 3 support hypothesis 1. In each column the proportion participating rises as the income level rises.

1b. The data in *Table 3* do not support this statement. We do not know for sure from these data that a particular high-income person is more likely to participate than a particular low-income person. Rather these data support the generalization that higher income people tend to be more active. There are exceptions to the general tendency. (See pages 89-92 in chapter 4 for a discussion of fallacies in making inferences from data.)

1c. Even though upper-income people are more active than others, most of them hardly fit the "activist" category of the chart on page 202. Rather the majority of this group probably fit the "spectator" category.

1d. The majority of the lowest income group probably fit the "apathetic" category on the "Levels of Participation" chart.

2a. The data in *Table 3* support *hypothesis 2.* Students should explain by citing the data.

2b. The data cannot exactly support a prediction about political behavior in 1990. Survey data provide a picture of the way things are at a particular time. The data may provide clues about the future, but exact predictions are hazardous. (See pages 89-92 for a discussion of fallacies in making inferences.)

2c. Most college graduates probably fit the "apathetic" category.

3a. The data in *Table 3* support *hypothesis 3.*

3b. The data do not support factual judgments that extend beyond the population that the data were gathered to describe. This statement is an example of the fallacy of overgeneralization. To determine whether this statement is warranted, one would have to gather data about the political participation of different occupational groups in Mexico. (See pages 89-92 for a discussion of fallacies in making inferences.)

3c. Most professionals probably rank no higher than the "spectator" category of participation.

3d. Most laborers and unskilled workers seem to fit the "apathetic" category.

4a. The data in *Table 3* support *hypothesis 4.*

4b and c. Socioeconomic status differences seem to be a more powerful explainer of variation in participation than do racial differences. Race is slightly related to differences in participation (see *Table 3*). However, differences in income, occupation, and education (SES indicators) are more strongly related to differences in participation than is race.

5. Residency laws and disinterest in politics.

6. Reasons 1 and 6 are associated with voter eligibility laws.

7. Reasons 2 and 3 pertain to attitudes or opinions about politics.

8. Encourage students to provide speculative answers.

9. Use this question to prompt students to search for more recent data.

The Influence of Laws on Voter Turnout

Pages 206-216; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can describe how voter eligibility laws are related to voter turnout.

2. Students can indicate the relationship of culture and socialization to legal requirements for voting.

3. Students can describe how black people have used the law to change their role in elections.

4. Students can make factual judgments about whether particular kinds of people are eligible to vote in their state.

5. Students can make value judgments about whether particular kinds of people should be eligible to vote in their state.

Suggested Procedures

Conduct class discussion of the exercise on pages 212-213. This exercise requires students to make both factual and value judgments. They must decide whether each of five persons would be qualified to vote in their state (factual judgment). They must decide whether each of five persons should be qualified to vote in their state (value judgment). You might wish to consult this source for information about voter eligibility laws in your state: *Registration and Voting Laws and Procedures by States*. This book can be obtained from The League of Women Voters, 1730 M Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Next conduct discussion of the questions on page 216 about the case study, "The Voting Rights of Black People."

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 212.* **A.** Students will need to study the voter eligibility laws of their own state.

B. Mike in Example 1 seems to have no legal impediment to voting– if he would take the trouble to register. The persons in the following examples could NOT vote in any state: 4 (no state has such a short residency period); 5 (all states require American citizenship); 7 (no state provides voting rights for persons under age 18). In Examples 2 and 6, most states provide the absentee ballot. In Example 8, some states require a person to re-register (or notify election officials to keep registration active) if the person has not voted in two years. In Example 3, a news item in 1975 reported that 34 states allowed persons in prison or under sentence the right to vote unless they are disbarred by some other provision.

Page 216. **1.** Voting laws clearly keep some people from voting in public elections: (a) bv setting a minimum age of 18; (b) by excluding persons who have not received their citizenship papers; and (c) by excluding persons who change their residence shortly before an election.

2. Age restrictions are defended on grounds of maturity. Citizenship requirements are defended on the ground that aliens have no business participating in a government to which they do not owe allegience. Residence requirements have been defended on the ground that newcomers need some time to get acquainted with candidates and issues. It is also suggested that outsiders could "invade" a state or locality just before an election and then get up and leave.

3. Blacks have used the law in two main ways to change their role in public elections: (a) bringing court cases to get unfair laws overturned; (b) working for new laws to broaden voting rights.

4. A culture consists of standard beliefs about right and wrong. Beliefs about who should or should not be eligible to vote are part of a culture. Legal requirements for voting reflect these beliefs.

Non-Legal Factors Associated with Voter Turnout

Pages 217-219; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can state the following relationships between voter turnout and personal factors.

a. Individuals who see a connection between voting and some personal gain or loss are more

likely to vote than individuals who are not similarly motivated.
b. Individuals who are interested in politics are more likely to vote than are individuals who are not interested.
c. Tendency to vote is likely to decrease with an increase in political alienation.
d. Individuals with a higher sense of political efficacy are more likely to vote than individuals with a lower sense of political efficacy.
e. Tendency to vote decreases with an increase in social detachment.
f. Individuals who have a higher sense of civic duty are more likely to vote than are individuals with a lower sense of civic duty.
g. Tendency to vote is likely to increase with an increase in sense of personal involvement in politics.
h. Individuals with a strong attachment to one of the major political parties are more likely than individuals without this attachment to vote.
i. Tendency to vote is likely to increase with an increase in socioeconomic status.

2. Students can identify exceptions to the generalizations in the preceding objective and can explain these exceptions in terms of differences in particular situations.

Suggested Procedures

The personal factors affecting tendency to vote (sense of civic duty, degree of political interest, etc.) can be enlivened by getting students to express some typical reasons that people give for voting and not voting. One device would be to divide the class in half and ask one group to think of reasons that people might give for voting and the other group to think of reasons that people might give for not voting. Members of the class might be asked to imagine that they are interviewing voting-age adults on election day to get their responses for voting or not voting.

As students respond, write the reasons for voting and not voting in separate columns on the chalkboard. Then go over the items to see how many can be linked to the personal factors discussed in the text. For example, the response "My vote won't mean anything" suggests a low sense of political efficacy.

Next, conduct a discussion of the questions in the text.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 218.* **1.** One might expect higher SES people to have a higher personal involvement in politics because they generally have more at stake (property protection, for example). They also tend to have more political resources. If their high SES results largely from personal effort, this would suggest that they are easily motivated.

2. Personal factors illustrated: (a) concern with election outcome, (b) political interest, (c) sense of political efficacy, (d) sense of civic duty.

Page 219. **1.** The factors that could be used are a, b, c, and d. Socioeconomic status does not apply because lower status blacks in New Haven and mine workers in West Virginia have a high sense of personal involvement in politics due to their special opportunities for political rewards.

2. The best way to motivate people to vote is to increase their sense of personal involvement in politics. It is unlikely that hortatory advertisements about voting and good citizenship will do much to increase turnout at the polls.

3. Students may express various value judgments in response to this question. Press them to justify their judgments.

As homework, assign pages 219-225. Tell students to answer the questions on page 225. They require thought about the costs and benefits of participating in electoral politics.

Is Participation Worth It?

Pages 219-225; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can assess costs and benefits associated with participating in electoral politics.

2. Students can identify effective participation techniques discussed in three case studies about electoral politics.

Suggested Procedures

Conduct class discussion of the four questions on page 225. These questions pertain to the three case studies.

For the next class session, assign pages 225-227 as homework reading.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 225.* **1.** These case studies suggest that disciplined, well-organized group action can result in the achievement of political influence. Bloc voting for a candidate pledged to support a group's interests can be a very useful political technique. The political canvass also is a useful technique, as shown in Case 2. This technique requires many energetic participants. Young people have made a difference by working as canvassers in several recent elections. Ask your students why canvassing can be an effective campaign technique. If any students have worked as canvassers, ask them to share their experiences with the group.

2 and **3.** It is important to consider costs and benefits associated with participation in electoral politics. Participation takes time, energy, money, etc. Is it worth it? You might have students list costs and benefits associated with participation. Stress these points: If the costs of voting are obviously greater than the costs of not voting, then the individual probably should not participate. For example, voters who are convinced that the government will not be responsive to them no matter who is elected probably ought not invest the resources necessary to participate. But if voters stand to gain important benefits from their influence on an election's outcome, they would be foolish not to participate as fully as possible.

Who Ought to Participate in Public Elections?

Pages 225-227; one class period

Objective

Students can evaluate conflicting statements about political participation.

Suggested Procedures

Ask students to indicate which of the nine speakers on pages 225-227 they agree or disagree with. Require students to indicate their criteria for evaluating the ideas of the speakers. Tell students to strive for consistency in their evaluations. Do not judge student responses as true or false, but rather judge them as more or less reasoned evaluations.

CHAPTER TEN

The Voting Decision

Pages 228-257. Six class periods

Chapter Overview

Three main questions are considered in this chapter: (1) What are the voting choice tendencies of various groups in our society? (2) How can tendencies in voting choice be explained? (3) What is the impact of voting on the making of public policy?

The students are required to evaluate contrasting models of voter behavior and competing hypotheses about the impact of voting on public decisions.

Voting Tendencies of Various Groups in Recent Presidential Elections. Students are asked to make generalizations from statistical data about the tendencies of various groups in our society to prefer Democratic or Republican candidates.

Social-Group Influence on Voting. The relationship of social-group identification to voting and the impact of social cross-pressures are discussed.

The Impact of Campaigns on Voting. Students analyze the extent to which election campaigns affect voting decisions.

The Impact of Voting on Government. The utility of the vote as a political resource is discussed. Examples of using the vote to influence public policy are presented.

Should You Be a Political Partisan? Data about the extent of political partisanship and non-partisanship are presented. Conflicting arguments about the value of being a political independent or partisan are discussed.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Burnham, Walter Dean. "The United States: The Politics of Heterogeneity" in *Electoral Behavior: A Comparative Handbook* by Richard Rose (New York: The Free Press, 1974), pp. 653-725. Insightful analysis of trends in American electoral politics. Concise survey of voter behavior research. One of twelve chapters on electoral politics in different countries. (For teachers)

DeVries, Walter and Tarrance, V. Lance. *Ticket-Splitter: A New Force in American Politics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972). An imaginative discussion of hypotheses about the increasing incidence and importance of ticket-splitting and independence from political party identification. This study challenges some widely held beliefs about voter behavior and will spark lively debate. (For teachers)

Dunn, Delmer D. *Financing Presidential Campaigns* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1972). Discusses the problems of rising campaign expenses and discusses reform proposals. (For teachers)

Flanigan, William H. *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, Third Edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1975). Relationship of social variables to political party preference and voter choices are discussed. Explanations of voter behavior are constructed. (For teachers)

Levy, Mark R., and Kramer, Michael S. *The Ethnic Factor: How America's Minorities Decide Elections* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972). Historical and current commentary about the impact of voting by various ethnic groups in government. Separate chapters on blacks, Chicanos, Jews, Irish, Slavs, and Italians are provided. (For teachers and advanced students)

Lindblom, Charles E. *The Policy-Making Process* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), pp. 43-61. Discusses the impact of the voter on public policy decisions. (For teachers)

Liston, Robert A. *Politics: From Precinct to Presidency* (New York: Dell Publishing Company 1970), pp. 110-155. Easy-to-read journalistic accounts of elections and campaigns. Filled with vivid examples. (For students)

Lopez Y Rivas, Gilberto. *The Chicanos: Life and Struggles of the Mexican Minority in the United States* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973). Historical survey and discussion of current political activities and beliefs of Chicanos. Useful as a supplement to the "Tipping the Balance" case. (For teachers and students)

Nimmo, Dan. *The Political Persuaders* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970). A study of the effectiveness of modern election campaign techniques. (For teachers)

Pomper, Gerald. *Elections in America* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1968), pp. 68-98, 149, 203, 204-266. Social factors that influence voter choice, the impact of the vote on public policy, and the differences between the Democratic and Republican parties are discussed in a scholarly manner. (For teachers)

Ribicoff, Abraham, and Newman, John O. *Politics: The American Way,* Revised Edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974). Very readable discussion of election procedures and political campaigns. (For students)

Roseboom, Eugene H. *A Short History of Presidential Elections* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967) Short descriptions of our presidential elections. (For teachers and students)

Safire, William, and Loeb, Marshall. *Plunging into Politics: How to Become or Support a Candidate on the National, State, or Local Level* (New York: David McKay Company, 1964). A how-to-do-it primer of practical politics. (For teachers and students)

Saloma, John, and Sontag, Frederick H. *Parties: The Real Opportunity for Effective Citizen Politics* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1973). Argument for the value of our two-party system, how to improve the system, and how citizens can participate effectively through the established parties. (For teachers)

Simmen, Edward (editor). *Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today* (New York: A Mentor Book from New American Library, 1972). Commentary and case studies about political goals and activities of various groups of Chicanos and their leaders. Useful as a supplement to "Tipping the Balance" case in Chapter 10. (For teachers and students)

Simpson, Dick. *Winning Elections: A Handbook in Participatory Politics* (Chicago: The Swallow Press, 1971). The author is a political scientist and an "independent" member of the Chicago City Council. He tells how he and others organized and then defeated Chicago's regular Democratic party organization in several local elections. (For teachers and students)

Sundquist, James L. *Dynamics of the Party System: Alignment and Realignment of Political Parties in the United States* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1973). Historical analysis of our two-party system. Development of hypotheses about possibilities for major changes in the social bases of support for the two parties. (For teachers)

White, Theodore H. *The Making of the President: 1960* (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1961), pp. 231-420.

White, Theodore H. *The Making of the President: 1964* (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1965), pp. 309-426.

White, Theodore H. *The Making of the President: 1968* (New York: Pocket Books, 1970), pp. 393-543. Widely acclaimed journalistic accounts of some recent presidential elections. Full of political insights. (For teachers and students)

Suggested Films

Campaign in the City (UMITV). 19 min. b&w. Depicts one Detroit councilman's campaign for reelection. Planning of overall strategy is the first step. Financial support emerges as one of the prime problems, and fund-raising techni-

ques are subsequently discussed. Emphasizes and illustrates the crucial importance of volunteer workers. This film can be used with pages 241-247 of this chapter. It is produced and distributed by University of Michigan TV Center, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Vote Power (FI). 14 min. color. Includes commentary by Mayor Richard Hatcher on the importance of each vote in an election; he asserts that voting is essential to accomplishing change in American society. The power of the vote is reflected by attempts to buy or steal votes or to threaten voters in order to win an election. The film is produced and distributed by Films Inc., 1144 Wilmette, Wilmette, Illinois 60091.

The Voter Decides (XEROX FILMS). 16 min. color. This film has particular relevance for "Social-Group Influence on Voting" and "The Impact of Campaigns on Voting" (pages 230-240) as it examines factors influencing one voter as he tries to decide between two attractive candidates for governor. Available from Xerox Films, 245 Long Hill Road, Middleton, Conn. 06457.

Campaign — American Style (BFA). 39 min. color. Explores in depth a typical political campaign which exemplifies the new "American style." Shows the candidate "packaged and sold" much like a commercial product. Follows the election for Nassau County, Long Island, New York. This film discusses not only the role of Madison Avenue techniques in a campaign but also the role of the party chairman. The party chairman discusses the reasons for selecting the candidate and why businesses and business managers give money to campaigns. The selling of the candidate is presented openly, and the candidate discusses the effect of it on him. A good film to contrast with *True Story of an Election*. (See Suggested Films for chapter 8.) BFA Educational Media, 2211 Michigan Ave., Santa Monica, CA 90404.

Television and Politics (BFA). 25 min. color. Outlines the influences the media have had on elections from 1948 through 1968, focusing on the political television commercial. Explains that television has become a necessity for political candidates and examines the techniques used to produce campaign commercials. Discusses alternative methods of candidate promotion and suggests various controls and reforms which could be initiated. A good film which provides a variety of opinions on the use of TV commercials in politics. Alternatives are offered by both politicians and the TV industry people which can lead to an in-depth discussion on this issue. Narrated by Mike Wallace—a CBS-TV broadcast.

Edge of the Arena—The Story of a Black Candidate (Sterling). 28 min. color. Covers the 1970 campaign of Andrew Young, a black candidate, for a congressional seat from Georgia. Stresses the ultimate victory of the "coalition" over the strictly black or the strictly white campaign. Campaign techniques that are used by Young are clearly presented. A well-produced film which tells it like it was and became. Rediscovery Productions, 2 Halfmile Common, Westport, CT 06880.

Suggested Simulation

Campaign (Instructional Simulations). *Campaign* is a sophisticated and highly realistic simulation game that deals with the American political system. This game is designed to allow senior high school students to participate in decision-making involving the tactics and strategies necessary to produce a winning political campaign. Precinct workers, pressure groups, nominating conventions, political platforms, speech-making, vote switching, and news coverage are among the elements of the political process that are simulated. The game is complex and challenging but can be an exciting and effective instructional device.

Voting Tendencies of Various Groups in Recent Presidential Elections

Pages 228-229; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can hypothesize about the relationship of the following factors to political party preference and/or voter choices in public

elections: (a) sex identity, (b) educational attainment, (c) occupation, (d) racial identity, (e) age group, (f) religious identity.

2. Students can infer the following generalizations from the data presented in *Table 5*, on page 229 of the text.

a. Individuals of upper socioeconomic status are more likely than individuals of lower socioeconomic status to vote for the Republican candidates.

b. Individuals of lower socioeconomic status are more likely than individuals of upper socioeconomic status to vote for the Democratic candidates.

c. Individuals with professional, business, white-collar, and farm occupations are more likely than manual workers to vote for the Republican candidates.

d. Manual workers are more likely than professionals, businessmen, white-collar workers, and farmers to vote for the Democratic candidates.

e. Roman Catholics are more likely than Protestants to vote for the Democratic candidates.

f. Blacks tend to vote for the Democratic candidates.

g. College graduates are more likely than non-college graduates to vote for the Republican candidates.

h. Individuals of lower educational attainment tend to vote for the Democratic candidates.

i. Younger individuals are more likely than older individuals to vote for the Democratic candidates.

j. Older individuals are more likely than younger individuals to vote for the Republican candidates.

k. Farmers are more likely to vote for Republican candidates than manual workers are.

Suggested Procedures

Period One. Project once again transparencies presenting pictures of pairs of individuals which symbolize these factors: sex identity, educational attainment, occupation, income, racial identity, and age group. These transparencies were used as part of a lesson in chapter 9. Ask students to speculate about answers to Question 2, which appears under each pair of symbolic individuals: "Which political party is each individual likely to prefer: the Democratic party, the Republican party, some other party?"

Maintain an open-ended discussion. Do not judge student answers as right or wrong. Rather encourage students to speculate freely. In a subsequent lesson students will have an opportunity to check these speculations against data about the voting behavior of Americans.

Conclude the period by asking students to write hypotheses in response to the question about political party preference. Encourage students to write their hypotheses formally, in a way that is conducive to testing in terms of data to be presented in a subsequent lesson. For example, students should be encouraged to formulate their hypotheses as follows: College graduates are more likely than those who have not attended college to prefer the Republican party.

Check to see that students have written a complete set of acceptable hypotheses. As homework, tell them to check their hypotheses against the data presented in *Table 5*.

Period Two. Require students to make generalizations, on the basis of data presented in *Table 5*, about the relationship of voting choice and these factors: (a) educational attainment,, (b) occupation, (c) racial identity, (d) age group, (e) sex identity, (f) religious identity, (g) political party preference. Correct generalizations are presented in Objective 2 above. Students should note that the data show little or no relationship between voter choices and sex identity. When discussing these generalizations about voter choices, require students to support their conclusions with evidence that appears in *Table 5*. Settle any disputes about correct answers by appealing to the data in the table.

Conclude this lesson by answering the three questions on page 229 that pertain to the three descriptions of individuals. This exercise indicates whether students can apply the relationship between social factors and political party choice, inferred in the preceding exercise, to the interpretation of new information.

As homework, assign pages 230-236 about "Social Group Influence on Voting."

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 229.* **1.** (a) Mr. Pietroski; (b) Mr. Young.

2. (a) Mr. Young; (b) Mr. Jameson.

3. The relationships between social factors and political party choice are tendency statements.

There are numerous exceptions to each of the statements. Stress that these statements only indicate tendencies based on past behavior. Thus it is hazardous to make predictions based on these past performances. New social conditions may emerge that change the relationship of certain social characteristics and voting behavior tendencies. Furthermore, personality always looms as a possible force that influences individual deviation from the trends. Variation in personality is not considered in this analysis.

Social-Group Influence on Voting

Pages 230-236; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can demonstrate their knowledge of social factors influencing the candidate choices of American voters by completing the exercises on page 236.

2. Students can explain in terms of different political party policy positions why different social groups tend to support different political parties.

Suggested Procedures

Conduct a discussion of the questions on page 236. To answer these questions, students must apply what they have learned in this lesson about factors influencing voter choice. When discussing these questions, require students to use pertinent data from this chapter section.

Some students might like to write brief sketches of voters they know (friend or relative, but using a fictional name) like the sketches on page 235. If the student knows how the person usually votes (or that the person generally does not vote), the sketch should end with an analysis of that behavior. Extra credit might be offered to encourage student participation in such an exercise.

For the next class session, assign pages 236-240 as homework reading.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 236.* **1-2.** Emma Jones is likely to vote Democratic due to primary-group influence. Steve Smith is faced with a cross-pressure situation. One way to resolve the cross-pressure is not to vote. However, one group of conflicting influences might be stronger than the other, thus influencing him eventually to disregard one set of influences. In Steve's case it is not clear which group of contradicting influences is the strongest. George Johnson is likely to vote Democratic due to strong primary- and secondary-group interests. Mr. Murphy is not likely to vote or to prefer a political party due to primary-group influences. Sylvia Bender is likely to prefer the Republican party due to obvious secondary-group influences that are described in the case. Presumably primary-group influences, which affect her political party preference, are also present.

3. Students should identify and discuss these limitations of attempting to analyze voter attitudes and behavior solely on the basis of social-group influences.

a. Statements about the relationship of social groups and political party preference are tendency statements. Thus, there are always exceptions to these statements.

b. Statements about the relationship of social groups and political party preferences are about the past. They indicate trends that might persist in the future. But these statements are not absolutely accurate predictors of future events. New situations may occur that alter past relationships.

c. Statements about the relationship of social groups and political party preference disregard personality factors.

The Impact of Campaigns on Voting

Pages 236-240; one class period

Objective

Students are able to make judgments about the likely impact of election campaigns on voter decisions.

Suggested Procedures

Turn to the application exercise on page 240. Students should say that an election campaign is more likely to influence someone like Aurelia

rather than someone like Lucy. Lucy faces a cross-pressure situation. An election campaign might influence the resolution of her cross-pressure situation. In contrast, Aurelia seems to be a very dedicated Republican. Strong partisans are much less likely than weak partisans or political independents to be influenced by an election campaign.

In discussing Question 2, students may need some help from the teacher in recalling the relative calm or social unrest, the chief issues, and the personal appeal of the candidates. Editorial writers and columnists often write post-election analyses of political campaigns. Clip and save such items for use in discussion of this question.

As homework, have students read pages 241-249 on the impact of voting on government.

The Impact of Voting on Government

Pages 241-249; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can identify positive consequences of voting power in public elections in the United States.

2. Students can identify some factors which tend to put limitations on voting as a political resource in our society.

3. Students can select "Elections as Indirect Influencers of Public Policy" as the best of three contrasting models of public elections in American society.

Suggested Procedures

Begin the period by discussing the vote as a political resource in the Tuskegee case.

If time permits, share with students other examples of cases where voters made a special effort to bring about change through the election of a particular candidate or slate of candidates. From time to time, news feature stories about the successes and failures of "reform" administrations appear in print. Begin a collection.

For the next class session, assign pages 250-257 for homework reading.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 248.* **1.** Students should identify the following strengths and weaknesses of voting as a political resource. The strengths can be stated as follows:

a. Through bloc voting a group of citizens can influence public officials to be more responsive to their needs for public services such as garbage collection, street paving, or use of public facilities.
b. Through bloc voting a group of citizens can influence public officials to give more patronage positions in government to members of the group.
c. After electing representatives of their group to dominant positions in government, a group of citizens is likely to be more positively disposed toward their government.

The weaknesses are these:

a. Voting power can win neither short-run social acceptance nor economic advancement for a group.
b. In addition to voting power, continued organized political action must be used to pressure public officials to fulfill campaign promises.
c. Social, economic, and political benefits do not always accrue to a group after it elects its representatives to public office. If the representatives lack political skills, expected benefits may not materialize.
d. Continued antagonism and conflict between competing groups may result from hotly contested elections. This conflict can hamper community progress.

2. Students have to make value judgments. Maintain an open-ended discussion and require students to reveal the grounds for their evaluations and to strive to be consistent in their thinking.

Page 249. **1.** Students should answer that the "indirect influence" model is better than the "mandate" or "ritual" models. The "indirect influence" model, given the available evidence, appears to be the better view of reality.

2. Students have to make value judgments. As usual, you should tolerate variations in responses. Require students to make consistent, reasoned evaluations in terms of clearly specified criteria.

Should You Be a Political Partisan?

Pages 250-257; one class period

Objectives

1. Students are able to make warranted factual judgments about the increase in political independence and the decrease in partisanship among those Americans eligible to vote.

2. Students are able to speculate about the likely impact of a sharp increase in independents on the political party system.

3. Students can identify two different types of political independents: the "apathetic" and the "activist."

4. Students can identify the "ticket-splitters" as an increasing group that occupies the middle ground between the obvious independents and partisans.

5. Students can examine the relationship between cynicism and the trend of growing political independence.

6. Students can consider the pros and cons of political independence or partisanship by examining alternative arguments by political leaders.

7. Students can reflect carefully about whether to be political independents or partisans.

Suggested Procedures

Begin this lesson by conducting a classroom poll about political partisanship and cynicism. Distribute copies of *Worksheet 12* to your students. This worksheet asks students to respond to these questions.

1. In politics do you consider yourself to be a Republican, Democrat, or Independent? Or are you uncertain about where you stand politically?

2. Do you feel that the political party system in this country needs (a) no substantial change? (b) moderate change? (c) fundamental reform? (d) to be done away with?

3. Respond to each of the following statements with one of these answers: Agree, disagree, not sure.

a. Most people go into elective office to help others.

b. Most politicians will use any means—even illegal—to get elected.

c. Many politicians take graft.

d. Only a few people in politics are dedicated public servants.

You may wish to make a transparency of *Worksheet 12* to help tabulate student responses to this questionnaire. Next compare your students' responses to those given by representative national samples to the same questions. Ask students to offer reasons for the similarities or differences between their responses and those of the samples.

The graph on text page 250 shows responses by national samples from 1952-1974 to question 1 about political partisanship.

In response to item 2 in the questionnaire, 64 percent of a national sample of non-college youth said that our political parties need fundamental reform or elimination; 61 percent of a national sample of college youth said the same thing. (See Daniel Yankelovich, *The New Morality: A Profile of American Youth in the 1970's* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974), p. 122.

Next focus on item 3 of the questionnaire. This pertains to political cynicism—an attitude discussed on pages 155-157 of the text. Political cynics would *disagree* with item 3a and *agree* with items 3b, 3c, and 3d.

A Louis Harris national opinion poll taken in October 1973 revealed the following responses to item 3:

a. 38% agree; 47% disagree; 15% not sure

b. 57% agree; 33% disagree; 10% not sure

c. 65% agree; 19% disagree; 16% not sure

d. 67% agree; 27% disagree; 6% not sure

Ask students to speculate about the similarities or differences between their responses and the responses of the national sample. They might also think about possible relationships between political independence and cynicism.

You are now ready to discuss the pros and cons of political independence or partisanship. Focus on the contrasting arguments of Rogers Morton and Dick Simpson.

Summarize this lesson by asking students whether, after reflection and analysis, they consider themselves partisan, independent, or undecided about their political party orientation. The questions that conclude the chapter should help them decide.

Unit Three · Test 2

Objective

Students will be able to complete a test over the material in chapters 9 and 10, making a score of at least 20 out of a possible 25 points.

Suggested Procedures

The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about correct answers. Answers appear on the spirit duplicating masters.

A Special Reminder

A prize-winning film, *The Voter Decides,* is useful throughout Unit III. Prepared especially for the APB course, the film focuses on a particular voter trying to make a choice in the 1972 Missouri gubernatorial election. The voter faces a social cross-pressure situation. See film description on pages 66 and 75 of this Guide.

Teacher's Guide for Book Two — Paperback Edition

Units Four and Five

Two sets of page numbers are used in the remaining parts of this Teacher's Guide. Numbers appearing first are those of the hardcover text. Numbers in brackets [ ] always refer to Book Two of the paperback edition.

For schools using only Book Two as a one-semester course, the authors of *American Political Behavior* have prepared an opening section called "An Introduction to Some Key Concepts in the Study of Political Behavior." It provides students with an explanation of some major concepts developed in Book One and which are then used here and there throughout Units Four and Five.

The amount of time to spend on this introductory section will vary with the maturity of the students and the amount of their exposure to social science methodology in other courses. Teachers using only Book Two ought to have at least one copy of Book One as a reference tool. Some lessons may be devised from Book One in teaching the introductory section of Book Two in particular teaching situations.

For schools using the paperback edition of both Book One and Book Two, the introductory section on Key Concepts can be studied usefully as a review lesson.

An Introduction to Some Key Concepts in the Study of Political Behavior

Objectives

1. Students can define the following terms:

a. conflict	h. culture
b. issues	i. socialization
c. influence	j. role
d. political resources	k. status
e. policy decision	l. socioeconomic status
f. rules	m. personality

2. Students can provide at least one example of the following relationships:
   a. culture and political behavior
   b. socialization and political behavior
   c. personality and political behavior
   d. role, status, and political behavior

3. Students can provide examples of political behavior and can discuss their examples in terms of one or more of these concepts: culture, socialization, personality, status, role.

Suggested Procedures

Period One. Assign pages 2 to 13 and require students to discuss the definitions of key terms listed in Objective 1 above. Definitions for each of these terms are presented in the reading. To spark the discussion, you might divide students into subgroups and arrange a word-definition contest between the groups. As homework, require students to write brief original examples of the relationships of these concepts to political behavior: culture, socialization, personality, role, status.

Period Two. Require students to discuss their original examples of the relationships of culture, socialization, personality, role, and status to political behavior.

Next, ask students to list examples of political behavior that they have directly experienced, heard about, or read about during the past few days. Ask them to discuss their examples in terms of one or more of these concepts: culture, socialization, personality, role, status.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Introduction to the Study of Political Decision-Makers

Pages 260-275 [16-31]. One week

Chapter Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a general introduction to the study of Units Four and Five. As compared to the first three units, which focused on typical American citizens, Units Four and Five are about Americans who devote an unusual proportion of their time and resources to politics. Thus, this chapter establishes the context in which the study of such people will occur; and it introduces students to many of the important concepts they will encounter throughout Units Four and Five.

In the Presence of Government establishes that the American government has a profound influence upon the lives of all Americans. Decisions by the government affect us.

Some Important Rules That Influence Government in the United States sets forth five basic generalizations about the institutional structure of American government. While this course does not feature institutional structures, the roles we shall study occur within the organization context treated briefly in this lesson.

Three Key Concepts for Studying American Government introduces students to three concepts—role, recruitment, and decision-making—that are used throughout Units Four and Five.

Political Decision-Makers and Unofficial Political Specialists informs students about the two categories used to classify roles in Units Four and Five.

In the Presence of Government

Pages 260-262 [16-18]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can list examples of government regulations and examples of goods and services provided by government.

2. Students can demonstrate their understanding of the widespread impact of government by citing ways in which government affects daily activities of Americans.

3. Students are able to offer illustrations to reveal how changing a government policy produces different effects.

Suggested Procedures

Four transparencies are available for use with this lesson. T-30 reveals the rise in taxes per capita since 1950.

T-31 shows that government in the mid-1970s took in direct personal taxes (including Social Security) a somewhat larger slice of the income of the family making around $21,000 than from the family with a $9,200 annual income. The slice of the pie gets larger as income rises because of our graduated income-tax rates. The figures are for typical four-member families having a single wage earner and living in urban areas. The tax slice does not include sales and excise taxes nor property taxes (paid either directly by the homeowner or as part of the rent). Some economists contend that when such taxes are included in the total tax burden, the tax slice is bigger for the lower income family than for those with more income.

T-32 shows that in 1974 about one in every five persons in the civilian labor force worked for government. The transparency also shows the proportion of government workers to the total labor force at each level of government—federal, state, and local.

T-33 is a map showing the total extent of the public domain—lands owned by the federal government. Of course, such a map does not permit the showing of some of the federal government's most valuable property holdings, namely, post offices and other federal buildings, army camps, power plants, and the like. Identifying government properties—federal, state, and local—in your area can add to the impact of this transparency.

As a group, the transparencies support the generalization that government has an enormous influence on our lives. As you show the transparencies to the class, ask students to read the diagrams and interpret the data for the class. This will confirm that students are understanding the lesson.

You may wish to play a game with the class. Divide the students into two groups. Each group should prepare a list of activities that it believes are not affected by government in any way. After each group has completed its list, competition begins by Group A suggesting an activity and any member of group B trying to think of a way in which the government influences the activity. Points are scored as follows: Group A suggests an activity and no member of group B can think of a way that government has an impact on it—Group A gets one point. If group B can think of a way government influences the activity, group B scores one point and group A gains no point and loses its turn. One side continues to suggest activities until it is successfully countered by the other side. The teacher acts as an umpire.

It might be useful to explore the effect that one policy decision by government can have on many Americans. The matter of Daylight Saving Time is one such decision. On the western edges of each time zone, many farmers and outdoor theater owners fight bitterly against Daylight Saving Time. Why would these two groups especially oppose extending the number of hours of daylight in the evening?

Another policy decision with wide effects was made in late 1973: to achieve energy independence by the 1980s. It meant higher fuel prices, the diversion of tax money to energy research, less attention to pollution, etc.

Some Important Rules That Influence Government in the United States

Pages 262-266 [18-22]; one class period

Objective

Students can demonstrate to your satisfaction that they understand the meaning of the following generalizations:

a. The United States has a constitutional government.
b. The United States has a democratic-republican form of government.
c. The United States has a federal system of government.
d. Power is separated among various branches of the federal government.
e. The three branches of the federal government check and balance one another.

Suggested Procedures

The student text sets forth the essential information students require to explain the meaning of the five generalizations stated above. One way that you may check on students' ability to transfer this knowledge while adding interest to class discussion is to ask each student to bring one or more newspaper clippings to class that represent two or more of the generalizations. Some of the illustrations will be easy to support by newspaper accounts (e.g., "federalism" and "checks and balances") while others (e.g., "constitutionalism") may present problems. Ask students to read their illustrative articles to the class and explain how the article supports one of the generalizations. You may also want to ask students how the article might have been different if that characteristic of government did not exist. (For example, in an article illustrating federalism, how might the situation have developed or been resolved differently if the United States did not have a federal system of government?)

Any news item about federal aid to the states, of course, illustrates federalism. Any item on conflict between the President and Congress illustrates separation of powers and the check and balance system.

Three Key Concepts for Studying American Government

Pages 267-272 [23-28]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students will indicate that Units Four and Five focus on people who are engaged full-time in politics and government.

2. Students can identify and provide acceptable definitions of three concepts used in Units Four and Five: role, recruitment, and decision-making.

3. Students are able to use these concepts appropriately in their analysis of the case study, "Crisis at Webster High."

Suggested Procedures

This lesson introduces three fundamental concepts: *role, recruitment,* and *decision-making.* Students used the role concepts in Units Two and Three, and to some extent decision-making was used earlier as well. However, each of these concepts will acquire new and additional meanings in the weeks ahead.

The case "Crisis at Webster Senior High" provides a good opportunity to test students' understanding of *role, recruitment,* and *decision-making.* These questions will help students think about role:

1. Why is Mr. Baxter responsible for making the decision on cheerleader elections?

2. What factors influence the way he has approached the decision?

Asking students to speculate about the kind of person Mr. Baxter is, his prior experience and training, will enable you to determine whether they are able to apply the information given them about the recruitment of high school principals.

The questions following the case are helpful for generating discussion about decision-making. Pay special attention to answers received in Question 1. Students will sometimes think a particular solution would be best but that the principal will choose a different one. You should explore such incongruities as they arise.

If at a particular point during discussion of this lesson it is apparent that students need immediate help in understanding the concept "role," the teacher may hand out *Worksheet 13.* Otherwise the worksheet can be used on the following day.

At the start, students might be asked to write individually what each considers (a) to be several duties of the principal. Encourage students also to speculate (b) on rules governing the performance of each duty and (c) some persons whom the principal is likely to consider or consult. After 10 to 15 minutes of individual work, students might work another 15 minutes in sub-groups. Reports from the various sub-groups could then lead to a further filling out of each student's worksheet.

The lesson, however, ought not to end here. Two methods of validation are suggested: (a) The principal or assistant principal might sit in on the class discussion as a resource person. (b) A committee of two or three students might interview the principal or assistant principal for corrections and additions to the class list.

Out of this experience students should see more clearly that a role is a set of expectations which people have of a person who occupies a particular position in a society. In this lesson the expectations appear as duties, rules (or norms) guiding the performance of the duties and *expected* relationships with other persons.

Political Decision-Makers and Unofficial Political Specialists

Pages 272-275 [28-31]; one class period

Objectives

1. Given a list of positions, students can discriminate between those that are examples of *political decision-makers* and those that are *unofficial political specialists.*

2. Students can provide an acceptable definition of the term *political decision* and are able to link it to the term *accommodational decision.*

3. Students will reveal that they have mastered the material in this chapter by answering correctly the questions at the end of this section.

Suggested Procedures

Write the following terms on the chalkboard:

President of the United States

Newspaper Editor

Municipal Judge

Mayor

State Senator

U.S. Representative

U.S. Supreme Court Justice

President, League of Women Voters

School Board Member

Lobbyist

Governor

T.V. Network News Commentator

State Supreme Court Justice

County Chairman of the Democratic Party

Ask the students to classify as many of the positions as possible by using the concepts *federalism, branches of government,* and *political decision-maker* and *unofficial political specialist.* Notice that nine of the position titles may be listed as many as three times—once under each general category. Answers might appear as shown at the top of the next column.

This exercise will clarify whether students understand the use of the categories *political decision-maker* and *unofficial political specialist.* It will also provide an opportunity to review the related use of the term *federalism* and *branches of government.*

Ask students to review the various alternatives available to Mr. Baxter in the case "Crisis at Webster Senior High." In what sense do each of these choices represent *political decision,* or decisions that are binding on other persons? Students should also point out how Mr. Baxter was faced with making an *accommodational decision.*

The questions at the end of the lesson provide an opportunity for students to review what they have learned in this chapter. Check the answers in class.

Federalism

Local	*State*	*National*
Mayor	Governor	President of the United States
School Board Member	State Senator	U.S. Representative
Municipal Judge	State Supreme Court Justice	U.S. Supreme Court Justice

Branches of Government

Executive	*Legislative*	*Judicial*
President of the United States	U.S. Representative	U.S. Supreme Court Justice
Governor	State Senator	State Supreme Court Justice
Mayor	School Board Member	Municipal Judge

Political Decision-Makers	**Unofficial Political Specialists**
State Senator	Newspaper Editor
Governor	President, League of Women Voters
State Supreme Court Justice	Expert on Drugs
President of the United States	T.V. Network News Commentator
Mayor	County Chairman of the Democratic Party
U.S. Representative	
U.S. Supreme Court Justice	
Municipal Judge	
School Board Member	

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. It is a political decision because the law is binding on others. It illustrates an accommodational decision because it represents a compromise between the contending points of view.

2. a—4; b—5; c—3; d—1; e—2.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Presidential Role

Pages 276-331 [32-87]. Two to three weeks

Chapter Overview

This chapter is about the President of the United States. The treatment is organized around three major concepts: *role, recruitment,* and *decision-making.* After studying this chapter, students should have answers to such questions as: How do we get our Presidents? What kind of people become President? What does a President do? What factors influence presidential decisions?

The chapter is divided into eight lessons. Each lesson should require approximatley one or two class periods. The lessons are sequenced so that students first examine presidential recruitment, then explore the presidential role, and finally look at decision-making. Following is a synopsis of each lesson.

Formal and Informal Rules on Presidential Recruitment teaches about the sifting process that occurs in the recruitment of Presidents. Students will learn that the opportunity to become President is not equally shared in the United States.

An Overview of the Presidential Role provides a general treatment of the presidential role: its complexity, size, and impact.

The Multiple Roles of the President explains eight roles that comprise the overall presidential role. This lesson will help students understand better many of the activities of the President reported in the press.

A Typical Day in the Life of a President requires students to classify typical presidential activities according to the role categories they studied in the previous lesson.

The President as Decision-Maker sets forth a framework within which students can study presidential decision-making. This basic framework is used in subsequent chapters to examine congressional and bureaucratic decision-making.

Building the Annual Budget treats one aspect of presidential decision-making. The role of OMB in helping the President establish program priorities is discussed.

The Cuban Missile Crisis is a case involving presidential decision during a crisis. It provides an opportunity for students to apply the decision-making framework learned earlier.

The President and the Media focuses on the inherent tension between a President and the news media. A case study of the 'Watergate Affair' is used to indicate how the press dug out facts President Nixon hoped to conceal.

What Are the Limits of Presidential Action raises questions about the proper scope of presidential action and the limits or means Presidents may use to advance their policies.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Barber, James David (editor). *Choosing the President* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974). This book of readings contains essays by various authorities on the process by which Presidents are recruited for office. (Primarily for teachers)

Barber, James David. *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972). This book has won wide acclaim for its study of

the influence of personality on the behavior of Presidents. (Primarily for teachers)

Hess, Stephen. *The Presidential Campaign: The Leadership Selection Process after Watergate* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1974). Hess, a former speechwriter for President Nixon, analyzes the process of selecting a President. (For teachers and students)

James, Dorothy B. *The Contemporary Presidency*, Second Edition (New York: Pegasus, 1974). This book describes the changes that have occurred in the way the office of President is conducted. Its growth of power and its changing relationships with other parts of the government and the public are described. (For teachers and students)

Neustadt, Richard E. *Presidential Power: The Qualities of Leadership* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960). This is one of the single best books available on the Presidency by a noted scholar. Reportedly, President John F. Kennedy was much influenced by this book. (For teachers)

Warren, Sidney (editor). *The American President* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967). This book of readings contains material by scholars on the Presidency and by former Presidents. The book is particularly useful for studying presidential role. (Primarily for teachers)

Weingast, David E. *We Elect a President*, Revised Edition (New York: Julian Messner, 1974). This easy-to-read book is especially suitable for students. The focus is on presidential recruitment. (For teachers and students)

A number of books have appeared relating to presidential decision-making. Those cited below are especially recommended.

Divane, Robert A. (editor). *The Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1971). This collection of articles provides a range of perspectives and opinions on the Cuban missile crisis. (Primarily for teachers)

McConnell, Grant. *Steel and the Presidency, 1962*. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963). The author provides an extended treatment of one major domestic crisis that faced President Kennedy and how it was resolved.

Paige, Glenn D. *The Korean Decision, June 24-30, 1950* (New York: The Free Press, 1968). The author provides a detailed analysis of the factors that led to the decision by President Truman to commit American forces in Korea.

Sorenson, Theodore C. *Decision-Making in the White House: The Olive Branch or the Arrows* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963). This book contains an insider's views about factors that influence presidential decision-making. (For teachers and students)

Weintal, Edward, and Bartlett, Charles. *Facing the Brink: An Intimate Study of Crisis Diplomacy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967). The authors report a number of crisis-like policy decisions that have faced recent Presidents. (For teachers)

Suggested Films

Control of a Crisis (NET). 30 min. b&w. Examines the Berlin Crisis of 1961 and the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. Produced by National Educational Television; distributed by Audio-Visual Center, Indiana University.

Making of the President, 1964 (WOLPER). 80 min. b&w. A television program based on Theodore White's best-seller by the same title. This film is useful with the lesson titled "An Overview of the Presidential Role." It is distributed by Wolper Productions, 8489 W. Third Street, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

The 1968 election, as reported and analyzed by Theodore White, appears as four separate films by Films, Inc.

Primaries: Challenge to a President (FI). 20 min. color and b&w.

Primaries: Democratic Party in Transition (FI). 23 min. color and b&w.

Conventions: Process in Crisis (FI). 23 min. color and b&w.

The Election: How Votes Are Packaged (FI). 17 min. color and b&w.

What's the Presidency All About? (Carousel) 25 min. color. Introduces the duties and power of the Presidency. Describes eight aspects of presidential role: Chief of State, Chief Executive, Commander in Chief, Director of Foreign Policy, Political Party Leader, Popular Leader, Head of Executive Branch, and Promoter of Legislation. This film would be useful with the lesson on the multiple roles of the President. Distributed by Carousel Films.

Five Presidents on the Presidency (BFA). 25 min. Statements from each of the Presidents from Truman through Nixon on such topics as executive power, decision-making, relationship to Congress and the press, etc. Would be useful with the final lesson on the proper scope of presidential action. Available from BFA Educational Media, 2211 Michigan Ave., Santa Monica, CA 90404.

Power of the Presidency: Armed Intervention (BFA). 21 min. This film presents an open-ended hypothetical case in which students are asked to play the role of President and decide on the wisdom of armed intervention in a small South American country. Could contribute to some of the objectives in the lesson on the Cuban missile crisis and the final lesson.

Formal and Informal Rules on Presidential Recruitment

Pages 276-285 [32-41]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can list three "formal" rules (see below) affecting the recruitment of Presidents.

2. Students are able to list at least ten "informal" rules (see below) affecting the recruitment of Presidents.

3. Students can apply their knowledge about formal and informal rules to the application lesson on page 285 [41] of the student text.

4. Students can explain why only a small number of people are "available" as presidential candidates in any single election.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson attempts to teach students the formal and informal rules affecting presidential recruitment.

Formal rules, based on the Constitution, are simply that the President must be (1) at least 35 years of age, (2) a natural-born citizen, and (3) a resident of the United States for at least 14 years prior to taking office.

Informal rules, based on custom and political practicalities arising out of the nature of American government (the Constitution), dictate that the opportunity to become President is greatly enhanced if the person:

1. is the nominee of either the Republican or the Democratic party;

2. is well-known and is cited as a presidential contender;

3. has held public office, especially in the Senate or as a governor;

4. is a resident of a large, pivotal state;

5. is a male, not a female;

6. is white;

7. is from northern European ethnic stock;

8. is a Christian, preferably Protestant Christian;

9. has led a moral life;

10. is a member of the upper-middle economic class;

11. has had a college education;

12. has political experience;

13. has been able to avoid taking stands on issues that would alienate a large number of voters;

14. is not tied too closely to any specific economic interest group;

15. is an interesting, exciting speaker.

After reading the lesson, students should answer the questions at the end of the text reading.

An essay, "New Places to Look for Presidents," in *Time*, Dec. 15, 1975 (pp. 19-20), would make a

good oral report. It calls for broadening the search for candidates for President.

A transparency lesson to accompany this chapter section is described on the next page. Even though the calculations in some instances may be challenged, the transparency does help to dramatize the fact that in the race for the Presidency not all persons, not even all men, are equal. It is also clear that the triangle could be reduced much further. You might conclude the lesson by having students contribute other ideas that would cut into the remaining total.

We have also provided a worksheet for use with this chapter section. Each student should choose one of the past American Presidents. By using an almanac or encyclopedia, each student should be able to find enough about the life of his President to complete *Worksheet 14*.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. All the formal rules were undoubtedly followed, but the only one shown by the data is age.

The informal rules followed in each case are those relating to (a) north European ethnic background, (b) male sex, (c) Christian faith, (d) college education, (e) relative high socioeconomic status at time of election as revealed by occupation and education. However, half or more of the Presidents listed in the chart had a family background of lower middle class.

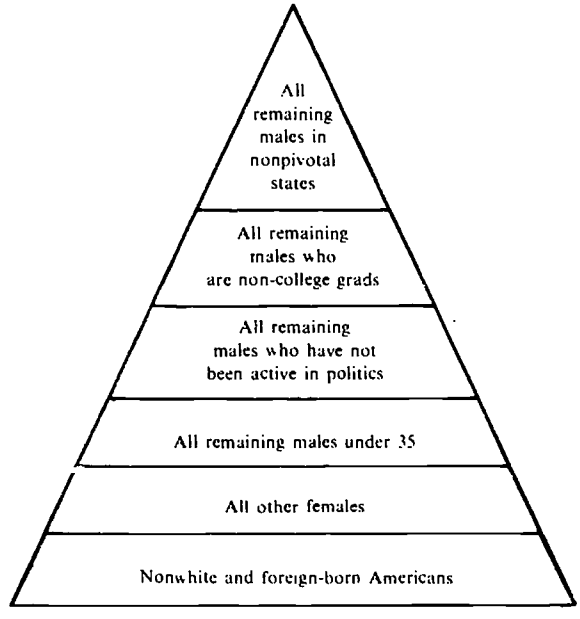
2-3. Coolidge and Kennedy were elected from a moderate-sized pivotal state rather than from a large one. Texas has not been considered a pivotal state, nor has Missouri. But both Truman and Johnson were elected first as Vice-President, and their incumbancy made the "pivotal state" rule largely irrelevant.

John Kennedy's Roman Catholic faith provided an exception to the rule that the President should be a Protestant Christian.

Eisenhower lacked the traditional political experience, but he was a war hero, able military administrator, head of NATO, and had served briefly as a president of Columbia University. Taft and Hoover had not been senators or governors but were known for other work in government.

Transparency Lesson. The triangle on this page represents a transparency (T-34) designed to stimulate class discussions and help students achieve Objective 4. The transparency dramatizes the fact that relatively few people are "eligible" to be President, given the formal and informal rules for recruitment which now exist.

The triangle represents the total population of the United States (1960 data were used for making calculations). The figures for the triangle segments are gross estimates. The printed matter on the triangle shown here does not appear on the transparency, but is to be used by the teacher in the following manner:



1. Project the transparency on the screen and say that it represents the total population of the United States.

2. Using a piece of cardboard about 8" x 10", cover the bottom part of the triangle up to the dividing line 1. Say to the class: "We have now dropped out of the population all persons who are nonwhite or foreign-born." You may then choose to ask: "Why under our present formal and informal presidential recruitment rules do we say that no one from this 'dropout' group is likely to be recruited by either majority party as candidate for President?"

3. Next move the cardboard screen up to dividing line 2 and say, "We have now dropped out all native-born female Caucasians." You may ask students for an explanation, or simply remind them that no major party has yet nominated a woman as candidate for President.

4. Move the cardboard screen up to dividing line 3 and say, "We have now eliminated all native-born Caucasians under age 35." Either ask for, or give, the explanation.

5. Move the cardboard screen up to dividing line 4 and say, "We have now dropped out all remaining males who have not held public office or been active in politics." Follow with explanation or questions.

6. Move the cardboard screen up to dividing line 5 and say, "We have now eliminated any remaining males who have not finished four years of college." Follow with a brief discussion or explanation.

7. Move the cardboard screen up to dividing line 6. Here you may wish to have students speculate on which of the remaining males have just been eliminated. If the answer is not forthcoming soon, explain that this group represents any remaining males living in small, nonpivotal states. Of all the groups this represents the most arbitrary figure. States were considered "small, nonpivotal" if they had fewer than 20 electoral votes. Yet a significant number of major party candidates for President have not come from a large, pivotal state: Carter, Humphrey, Goldwater, Truman, Landon, William J. Bryan, and others.

An Overview of the Presidential Role

Pages 285-290 [41-46]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can demonstrate their understanding of the scope and importance of the presidential role by expressing orally, without prompting, statements that reflect such understanding.

2. Students are able to explain orally the ways in which Presidents learn to play the presidential role.

3. Students can explain the role of the role of the White house Office staff and the general purpose of the Executive Office of the President.

4. Students can list orally and in writing some of the services we provide a President to enable him to play his role effectively.

5. Students can list some constraints on the presidential role.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson serves as an introduction to a study of presidential role. The essential points to be made are:

1. No other role has the impact upon national and international affairs that the presidential role has.

2. The presidential role is enormously complex; there is no wholly adequate training for the Presidency.

3. Presidents learn to play the presidential role:
   a. by listening to their subordinates;
   b. by observing and reading about the actions of previous Presidents;
   c. by following the rules set forth in the Constitution;
   d. by observing carefully the actions of other people as they play their roles;
   e. by drawing upon previous political experience.

4. Since the 1930s a rather sizable bureaucracy has grown up about the White House. This has added to presidential power vis-a-vis the other branches of government.

5. While we expect much, we also offer much to help Presidents play the role successfully. This help is in the form of human assistance, many services, and complex technology placed at their disposal. We try to make it possible for them to focus their entire energy and attention upon being President.

This lesson offers many opportunities for freewheeling discussion (e.g., compare our treatment of Presidents with treatment accorded to kings or prime ministers in other countries). However, the lesson is also simple enough that you might wish to assign it as homework and give it only cursory treatment in class, while moving on to the next lesson. It is not necessary for students to remember such details as the salary of the President, the number of his appointees, etc.

The Multiple Roles of the President

Pages 290-298 [46-54]; one class period

Objective

Students can list and explain eight aspects of the presidential role.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson presents eight aspects of the presidential role. Learning these eight roles should make it easier for students to grasp the complexity of the President's job. Also it will enable students to interpret better the daily activities of the President as reported by the news media.

This lesson provides students with the essential information they need to understand the multiple roles of the President. The next lesson serves as an application lesson for this lesson. If, however, you wish to test your students' understanding of this lesson—and also enliven discussion—you might feed into class discussion some recent news about activities of the current President and ask students to classify them according to the eight roles.

In January, 1971, *Time* magazine published a brief tally of some of President Nixon's activities during his first two years in office. You may wish to read these to students and ask them to speculate about the range of roles that might be covered by these activities:

*Talked with Governors more than 150 times, traveled 185,000 miles, visited 17 foreign countries, signed 776 bills, issued 131 proclamations and 121 executive orders and sent out nearly 6,000 telegrams. The President opened the White House to more than 13,000 guests at 132 dinners. Another 40,000 guests came to breakfasts, luncheons, teas, coffees and receptions. His contacts with businessmen (150) outnumbered those with racial minorities (30), labor (30), campus representatives (50). . . . As for the press, the White House said that in addition to his twelve formal news conferences, the President had "more than 200 personal and telephone contacts"—meaning that Nixon spoke to a reporter on the average of once every 3½ days.**

*Excerpt from "Nixon's Stats" in *Time* Magazine, Vol. 97, No. 2, January 11, 1971. Reprinted by permission from TIME, The Weekly Newsmagazine; Copyright Time Inc.

You should also make certain that students can distinguish among roles called for in the Constitution and roles that seem to have developed as a result of custom and practice.

A Typical Day in the Life of a President

Pages 298-301 [54-57]; one class period

Objective

Students can analyze a typical day in the life of a President and demonstrate their understanding of the various roles played by correctly labeling each of the activities in accordance with the directions that have been provided.

Suggested Procedures

Ask students to read the typical schedule and place letters designating roles according to their analysis of the activity. Students may record their answers on *Worksheet 15*. Since some activities are open to interpretation, you may find it appropriate to accept more than one answer. Our answers, not necessarily all those that might be used, are as follows:

6:30—Probably no label can be assigned for this.

7:00—Difficult to know which news item would be of most interest; almost any label might fit.

7:30—In working with assistants, the person is acting as Chief Executive; in dealing with views of the Congress, may be acting as Chief Legislator. However, the *Congressional Record* often contains items relating to other aspects of the President's role.

7:50—Spouse and Parent

8:15—Probably nearly all roles are touched by this activity.

8:25 Commander in Chief; Chief Executive

8:35 Perhaps a number of roles are involved, but Chief Executive is surely one.

8:53 Chief Legislator

9:20—Head of State

9:35— (1) Difficult to be certain. President may be calling solely as a friend, as a party leader, or as one with legislation in mind. (2) Chief Economic Planner (3) Chief Executive or Chief Economic Planner

10:00—Party Chief

10:20—Chief Legislator and perhaps Chief Executive

10:30—Chief Diplomat

10:45—Head of State; possibly Commander in Chief as well

11:15—Chief Diplomat

11:50—Spouse and Parent

2:00—Chief Legislator

2:40—Chief Economic Planner

3:15—Head of State

3:25—Without knowing the substance of the news conference, it is difficult to be certain. A number of roles might be involved.

3:45—Chief Diplomat, Commander in Chief, and Chief Executive are clearly related.

4:15—Chief Diplomat and Head of State

4:45—This depends somewhat upon the situation, but clearly Commander in Chief role is involved; so too may be Chief Legislator, Party Chief, and Chief Executive roles.

5:00—Chief Executive

5:15—No clear designation of a presidential role.

5:30 and **6:30**- If President is a Republican it may be an example of playing the role of Party Chief. Otherwise, it may be an example of Head of State role.

10:00—No clear designation of a presidential role.

10:45—Chief Executive

11:45—No clear role designation

The President as Decision-Maker

Pages 301-310 [58-66]; two or three periods

Objectives

1. Students can offer illustrations of decisions made by the President that reveal the scope and significance of presidential decision-making.

2. Students can identify the following factors that influence presidential decision-making and can offer at least one illustration of each factor in action.

- **a.** Circumstances of the decision
  - (1) decisions affording long preparation time
  - (2) crisis decisions
- **b.** Individual characteristics of decision-makers
  - (1) personality
  - (2) prior experience
  - (3) personal beliefs
- **c.** Other limitations
  - (1) rules—formal and informal
  - (2) status relationships
  - (3) public opinion
  - (4) available resources
  - (5) external decision-makers

Suggested Procedures

This lesson is relatively long and has a heavy conceptual load. You may decide that the lesson should be divided into two parts, devoting the first day to "circumstances of the decision" and "individual characteristics of decision-makers" and leaving the balance for a second day. It would also be wise to bring current examples of presidential decisions to class—examples from newspapers and news magazines—to illustrate each of the factors. *The Christian Science Monitor* and *The New York Times* are two newspapers that frequently publish detailed treatments of major presidential decisions.

A second way to handle the lesson might be to have students read through and discuss briefly the entire lesson. As a homework assignment they might be asked to find news stories about presidential decisions that seem to illustrate the various factors. In any event, make certain that students understand the factors influencing presidential decision-making before proceeding to

the next lesson. These factors will be used again in examining congressional and bureaucratic decision-making.

Transparency Lesson. We have provided a transparency (T-35) that can be used effectively with this lesson, especially as a supplement to the topic "Status Relationships." Routes to "reaching the President" can be shown with a grease pencil as the class considers several hypothetical situations as described below. Each President has created a staff system for providing information in a form that can be used easily, to screen appointments, and to follow through on decisions.

The transparency is based on a chart that appeared in *Time* magazine on June 8, 1970, pages 15-20. The original chart was used to describe access routes to President Nixon. The transparency is sufficiently general to fit most recent presidential administrations. You may wish to read the *Time* article for further information.

Make certain that your students understand that relatively few people have regular, direct contact with the President. For example, many members of Congress never have a private meeting with the President, nor is it unknown for Cabinet officials to deal almost entirely with presidential aides. The assistants closest to the President are able to determine to a great degree whom the President sees and what issues are brought to his attention.

Project *Transparency 35.* After students have had an opportunity to study it for a few minutes, describe the following hypothetical situations. Ask students to trace possible channels of communication through which each group would be likely to reach the President. You may want to add examples of your own. Read the following descriptions to the class.

1. College professors and student leaders of ten Southern universities wish to petition the President to lend support to increased federal aid to colleges for minority-group scholarships. They have written a 50-page report describing their position on the subject. To whom do they present their report? In what form is this information likely to reach the President?

2. A welfare-rights organization is strongly opposed to the President's new plan for reorganization of the welfare system. The group has been demonstrating in front of the Capitol for several days. A petition with over 200,000 signatures has been brought to the White House protesting the changes. To whom is it presented? What information about this demonstration is the President likely to receive?

3. The executives of the major American steel companies are seriously concerned that the President is about to impose wage-price controls on the steel industry. One of them offers to telephone the White House staff and express their concern. Whom might he talk to?

The following questions may be used to stimulate further discussion. (a) Is an individual private citizen or an organized group more likely to reach the President through these channels? (b) Does the pattern of communication on this transparency seem to encourage a more efficient relay of information than other methods? Do you think that this pattern would in any sense "isolate" the President? (c) Can you suggest other ways a President might want to organize the staff to increase communication? Are there other positions you might add to those on the transparency?

As a culminating activity for this lesson we suggest the use of a transparency (T-36) *and Worksheet 16.* The transparency is simply an outline of the factors in decision-making. After distributing the worksheets, you may wish to project the transparency and show how the various items in the decision-making outline apply to the worksheet. The worksheet enables students to apply the decision-making scheme to a familiar situation: a decision made in a family. This kind of analysis can contribute significantly to student understanding of the factors in decision-making.

If students can complete the worksheet as homework, use part of the next class period to discuss some of their answers. However, since some students may have written about a sensitive family problem, be sure that responses are voluntary.

Building the Annual Budget

Pages 310-315 [66-71]; one period

Objectives

1. Students can explain why the budget process illustrates presidential decision-making in which ample time is available.

2. Students can describe the role OMB plays in assisting the President in the decision process relating to the budget.

Suggested Procedures

A main purpose of this lesson is to illustrate that some decisions the President makes evolve over a long period of time. Building the annual budget may be the most important task a President and his staff undertake each year. The budget contains thousands of program and priority decisions, including judgments about the total state of the American economy and what the government should do about it.

You may wish to order a copy of the annual budget from the Government Printing Office or obtain one from the library. Students can appreciate the complexity of the budget by merely examining a small portion of the document the President sends to the Congress each year.

You can emphasize the amount of time that is invested by OMB in the budget process by discussing the budget-making diagram on page 313 [69] in class. Three phases of the budget process occupy OMB simultaneously: (1) OMB must plan one budget 18 months to 2 years before the money will be spent; (2) OMB must testify before Congress on the budget for the next year; and (3) it must monitor how the departments and agencies are spending the current year's budget. Reports on all three phases are presented to the President from time to time in order that he can make better decisions about the operation of the government.

Perhaps you or one of your students would like to conduct research in the *Congressional Record* on various phases of the budgeting process. Sometime in the spring the Joint Budgeting Committee makes its report to the Congress. Students could observe the way the Congress alters the President's estimates and requests to suit its priorities. Periodically, various committees report to Congress, seeking first authorizations and later appropriations to support specific programs. The debates in Congress usually refer to the President's desires and the Joint Budgeting Committee guidelines.

Often newspapers keep a kind of "box score" on legislation, matching how closely Congress is following the President's budget. These stories and the tables that accompany them can provide further current examples of how the budget process operates.

The Cuban Missile Crisis

Page 315-323 [71-79]; one or two periods

Objective

By answering correctly the questions at the end of this section, students can demonstrate that they are able to apply knowledge of factors that influence presidential decision-making to "The Cuban Missile Crisis" case.

Suggested Procedures

Make certain that all students have read the case and have answered the questions at the end of this lesson. If the films *Control of a Crisis* or *Power of the Presidency: Armed Intervention* are available, you may wish to show one or the other before beginning the discussion of the ten questions.

You will want to lead class discussion about the Cuban missile crisis, asking students to bring into the discussion their answers to the ten questions. While you should allow some variation among student answers, following are some ideas you should expect to receive.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. Although our relations with Cuba had deteriorated over a long period of time, the building of Soviet missile sites came as a surprise. It fits our definition of a decision in the period of a crisis.

2. Approximately three days were devoted to bringing forth alternative plans. This seems to be a reasonable amount of time during crisis circumstances. Nevertheless, more time and the opportunity to consult with more people might have produced a wider range of alternatives. Note also that four of the six alternatives were given relatively little attention.

3. President Kennedy believed that Soviet missiles in Cuba posed a new and disturbing military threat to the United States. He also believed that it represented an aggressive challenge by the Soviet government that had to be opposed.

He might have interpreted the missile build-up as essentially a defensive action. At least one writer (Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3 [September, 1969] 689-718) believes that President Kennedy was especially conscious of criticism from American

organizations that believed he had not been tough enough on communism. Allison thinks that Kennedy was concerned about what backing down in the face of the Soviet challenge would mean to the future of the Kennedy administration and his own reelection.

4. He apparently wanted to maintain the security of the nation while avoiding war. However, he did not place avoidance of war ahead of all other values. It was balanced against the security value. President Kennedy also seemed to value open debate among his advisers in order that he might rationally consider all possible alternatives.

5. He limited the number of people who were in on the discussion. This probably limited the range of alternatives, but it made secrecy and surprise possible. By not participating in the early discussion of alternatives, President Kennedy left the participants more free to argue various alternatives, since they were not forced to line up early on the President's side.

6. Many answers are possible but here are a few that could be cited: The President could not declare war on Cuba, but he had the authority to conduct a blockade. Informal rules required that he brief key members of Congress before announcing his decision and that he inform the American people about the decision.

7. The President had the authority to request any information he required. While he listened to his advisers, he was able to order them to carry out his final decision, even those who preferred an alternative policy. As pointed out earlier, however, he let a variety of views be expressed before making his own choice known.

8. He explained his decision on television. He was also aware of much concern over Cuban-American relations.

9. A decision to mount a naval blockade would be worthless without a large navy to carry out the policy. He also had surveillance resources to keep track of the situation in Cuba.

10. The decision had to be reached secretly to afford opportunities for surprise. An invasion of Cuba would likely have provoked a military response by the USSR. The naval blockade provided time for Soviet leaders to ponder their reactions and to allow them a face-saving escape from confrontation.

The President and the Media

Pages 324-329 [80-85]; one or two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can list at least three reasons why the President needs the media.

2. Students can cite the principal reason the media leaders need the President.

3. Students can explain why there is tension between the President and the media arising from the difference in their respective needs.

4. Students can apply their understanding of this relationship through a discussion of the Watergate case study.

5. Students can demonstrate their understanding of factors prompting tension between the President and the media through the role-play exercise provided with this lesson.

Suggested Procedures

There are three elements to this lesson. First, students learn why the President needs the media, why the media leaders need the President, and why the difference in their needs leads to tension. While some Presidents have gotten along better with the media than others, no President has been fully satisfied with the way he has been treated by the media, and the media representatives are never convinced that they have all of the information they should have.

The second element of the lesson deals with the "Watergate Affair." You may wish to devote more attention to this matter than we have chosen to give in this program. Our focus is mainly on Watergate as an illustration of the President's withholding information the public would like to have and the determination of the media to dig out relevant facts. On the other hand, you may feel that students need to know more about Watergate than we have provided. Perhaps you want them to examine it as one example of the abuse of power by a President or as an example of the checks-and-balances relationships among the three branches of government. In that event you will want to

bring additional information to class to share with students. Hundreds of articles and books have been written about the many facets of Watergate. An excellent chronology of events is provided by two volumes published by Congressional Quarterly: *Watergate: Chronology of a Crisis*, Vols. I and II. These two volumes follow events up through May 4, 1974.

A Role-Play Exercise. A final element of the lesson is a role-play exercise. The setting is a typical daily press briefing run by the President's Press Secretary. Two major purposes are filled by such briefings: (1) The administration tries to get favorable news over the media so as to influence public opinion and other agencies of the government. (2) The media representatives are seeking interesting stories for newspapers, television, and radio.

The first purpose is often served by some opening announcements given by the Press Secretary. He usually hopes that he can focus most of the attention on these items. Usually some time is reserved for general questions from reporters who are probing for other stories. These questions are often unpredictable, and the Press Secretary is left to cope as best he can. Reporters tend to be annoyed by evasiveness and angry when they think they are being deliberately deceived or manipulated. Hence, press conferences are often stormy affairs.

The main purpose of the role play is to place some students in the situation of having to take on the role of one of the actors in the situation in order to learn a little of what it would be like to be a Press Secretary or a White House correspondent. All students should be able to observe some of the tension that arises between the Presidency and the media.

Procedures for the Role Play. There are nine actors in the role play: four representing the administration and five the media. The four people representing the administration are the President, a Domestic Council adviser, a foreign policy adviser, and the Press Secretary. The five people representing the media are two TV commentators and three newspaper reporters. The press conference should be conducted in front of the class. When it is over, the class will offer their reactions to what happened and their estimate about how well the actors performed their roles in the press conference.

Begin the role play by selecting nine students and assigning each of them a role. (Descriptions of each role appear in *Worksheet 17*.) The four people representing the administration ought to be excused from the room to decide how they should approach the press conference. They are best encouraged to discuss a strategy that will enable the Press Secretary to give the best presentation of the administration and to answer all questions as fully as possible within the limits of what is appropriate and politically wise. The Press Secretary is the only administration person to appear before the reporters. The Press Secretary cannot turn to other administration people for help while the conference is underway. The reporters should not be permitted to confer with one another before the press conference. In a sense, each is in competition with the other. Each wants a good story; each would like personal credit for getting a "scoop" from the administration.

The administration team will require about 15 to 20 minutes to prepare for the conference. They must decide what the Press Secretary will announce and how he will handle some predictable and difficult questions. After 15 to 20 minutes, the Press Secretary will begin the press conference. He or she can make any desired announcements; then the reporters may ask their questions. The press conference itself should require about 15 minutes; this will leave about 15 minutes for the class to discuss what they saw and heard and for the role players to report what was indicated on their role cards.

Essentially, the administration has three announcements to make: (1) the President plans a trip to Latin America to confer with leaders there. (2) The United States has just concluded a $300 million dollar arms sale to a Mideast Arab nation. (3) The Secretary of the Interior has tendered his resignation, and the search is underway for a successor. The administration team has a number of ways it can make each announcement so as to put the best face on it. Some of the reporters have been given questions to ask that are likely to embarrass the administration. The Press Secretary will have to cope with these troublesome questions as best he or she can.

The total exercise should build a greater appreciation for the inherent tension that exists between the President and the media. It should demonstrate the crucial position held by the President's Press Secretary in presenting a good image of the administration.

What Are the Limits of Presidential Action?

Pages 329-331 [85-87]; one class period

Objective

Given four case studies, students can make decisions about the proper courses of action and can defend their choices by appealing to values they hold.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson illustrates some of the scope of presidential activity, but more importantly it raises questions about the limits or means Presidents can employ in pursuing their policies. The lesson presents students with four cases that are based on real experience. Students are asked to decide what they would do if they were President.

It is likely that the students will pick different answers. Class discussion should focus on why different alternatives were selected. What justification do students offer for their choices? What values lie behind these choices? What are the implications of situations like these for the abuse of power by the President?

While no effort has been made to make each case a true-to-life situation, each parallels known cases:

Case 1. During the 1964 campaign, President Johnson argued that if Goldwater were elected we would soon be involved in full-scale warfare in South Vietnam. Johnson held out the hope that his election would not result in greater war. All of this time he was aware of Pentagon plans to widen the war immediately after the election.

Case 2. The "Plumbers" were set up in the White House during the Nixon administration to stop "leaks," such as the one described here. Telephone taps were ordered on some reporters as well as White House employees.

Case 3. President Kennedy apparently was informed about plans for the assassination of Diem in South Vietnam. Similar information may have been provided American leaders prior to the murder of President Trujillo of the Dominican Republic.

Case 4. This case is a common occurrence. The tactics chosen are those that fit the situation, but every President has used various devices to influence the votes of members of Congress. The political use of FBI files had been rumored for many years, but only recently has it become known that recent Presidents have sometimes tapped confidential FBI files for political purposes.

Unit Four • Test 1

Objective

Students will be able to complete a 20-item multiple choice exam over the material covered in chapters 11 and 12, answering at least 16 of the 20 items correctly.

Suggested Procedures

The test contains 20 multiple choice questions. The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about correct answers. Answers to each test appear on the spirit duplicating masters.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Congressional Role

Pages 332-383 [88-139]. Two to three weeks

Chapter Overview

This chapter is about members of Congress—both Senators and Representatives. As in the chapter on presidential role, the presentation is organized around three major concepts: *role, recruitment,* and *decision-making.* The chapter is divided into seven lessons. Students first study congressional recruitment; second, congressional roles; and, finally, decision-making.

The Recruitment of Members of Congress presents three "formal" rules and eight "informal" rules that affect the recruitment of members. Three transparencies accompany this lesson to assist class discussion.

Members of Congress Play Many Roles identifies four aspects of the congressional role: lawmaker; ombudsman; political educator and campaigner; and investigator of, consultant to, and lobbyist for the executive branch of the government. All but the first, lawmaker, are treated in this lesson.

The Legislative Role is the most time-consuming and important of the congressional roles.

A Typical Day in the Life of a Member of Congress is an application lesson for the last two sections. Students are provided a schedule of activities for one day in the life of a mythical Representative Smith. They are to categorize the activities according to the role being represented at that time. A worksheet accompanies this lesson.

1964 Civil Rights Act: A Case Study in Legislative Role Behavior is an account of the factors that led to the passage of this law. It provides data for examining congressional decision-making.

Factors That Influence Congressional Decision-Making presents five general factors that can be used to analyze decision-making in Congress. Students are asked to apply these factors to an analysis of the preceding case study.

A game entitled "Bottleneck" has been prepared to teach students factors that affect congressional decision-making. Teachers may choose to use the game at several points in the chapter, but it is especially suitable as a follow-up and application exercise for this lesson. Approximately one class period is required to teach students how to play the game; thereafter, the game can be played easily in one class period.

What Decision Is Best? places students in the position of a mythical Senator who must react to political pressures, his own values, and predictions about the outcomes of various policy alternatives. Students are placed in the role of congressional decision-makers.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

There are many good books on Congress. We have selected just a few from the many that you might wish to add to your library.

Some members of Congress have written first-person accounts about their work. A particularly interesting example of such a book is *Member of the House: Letters of a Congressman* by Clem Miller, edited by John W. Baker (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962). This book takes the form of letters written by Representative Miller to a friend in 1959-1961. Useful for teachers and students.

Several books provide information about how members of Congress play their roles, for example: Roger Davidson, *The Role of the Congressman,*

(New York: Pegasus, 1969); John Bibby and Roger Davidson, *On Capitol Hill: Studies in the Legislative Process,* Second Edition (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972); and Stephen K. Bailey and Howard D. Samuel, *Congress at Work* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1965). Useful for teachers.

Two excellent studies of Congress are Charles L. Clapp, *The Congressman: His Work as He Sees It* (Washington: The Brookings Institution. 1962); and Daniel M. Berman, *In Congress Assembled: The Legislative Process in the National Government* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964). The Clapp book is especially interesting because it was based upon extensive interviews with members of the House of Representatives. Useful for teachers.

Perhaps the best study of the role of Senator is Donald R. Matthews, *U.S. Senators and Their World* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960). The book contains much helpful information regarding the customs and informal rules of the Senate. An enlightening magazine article is "Legislate? What Happens to a Senator's Day" by James Boyd, *Washington Monthly,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (February 1969), pages 44-53.

The lesson on "Factors That Influence Congressional Decision-Making" contains a treatment of four decision-making models—trustee, delegate, partisan, and politico. These are treated in greater detail in a paperback edited by Neal Reimer, *The Representative: Trustee? Delegate? Partisan? Politico?* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1967). A careful analysis of the factors that affect decision-making in Congress may be found in John W. Kingdom, *Congressmen's Voting Decisions* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). Useful for teachers.

A number of case studies of the legislative process are available. Two detailed accounts of the passage of important bills are Daniel M. Berman, *A Bill Becomes a Law: Congress Enacts Civil Rights Legislation* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966); and Eugene Eidenberg and Roy D. Morey, *An Act of Congress: The Legislative Process and the Making of Education Policy* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1969). Useful for teachers.

Finally, an easy book for students who have trouble finding understandable books on Congress is David Lavine, *What Does a Congressman Do?* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1965). The book is a bit elementary for those who have studied this course, but it may help some weak students.

Suggested Films and Filmstrips

The Congress Second Edition (EBF). 19 min. b&w. Treats the problem of flood control and how a Representative secures passage of a bill to aid his constituents. Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation.

Congressman at Work (NBCTV). 22 min. color/b&w. Presents the varied activities of Congressman Olin Teague of Texas. Distributed by Films, Inc., Wilmette, Illinois.

The Role of the Congressman (CEF). 23 min. color. This film was developed especially for the APB program and can be used at a number of points in this chapter. Through a comparison of two members of Congress, the film treats such topics as congressional role and sub-roles, recruitment, and decision-making. Xerox Educational Films is the main distributor, but it is also available in several film libraries.

Portrait of a Freshman Congressman (Guidance Association). Describes the efforts of Richard Ottinger to represent his New York constituents.

U.S. Government in Action: The House of Representatives (NY Times). Sound filmstrip. Also features Richard Ottinger.

Educational Games

Bottleneck was prepared to accompany the APB course. It helps to teach the factors that influence congressional decision-making. This board game also teaches students some of the procedural aspects of lawmaking. The class is divided into teams, each one made up of Senators and Representatives seeking support for their bill. Each Senator-Representative team competes with the other teams to see which can be the first to get the bill through both houses of Congress and then signed by the President. Students simulate congressional blocking action using game cards that postpone passage with amendments, bury bill motions, filibusters, and vetoes. Available from Ginn and Company, 191 Spring Street, Lexington, Mass. 02173.

Influence is a simulation prepared for the APB course. It is a game about policy-making in the

national government. Players act out the roles of such political decision-makers as President, members of Congress, and bureaucrats. Other players take the roles of such unofficial political specialists as newspaper editorialists, interest-group leaders, and experts. Players work together to make national policy on the issues of domestic welfare, foreign affairs, and congressional reform. In the process of working together, players can see the different influence relationships which develop as democratic governments make policy. Available from Ginn and Company.

Napoli is a game in which students portray the role of a legislator in the fictitious nation Napoli. Many features of Napoli are comparable to the United States. When voting on issues before them, student-legislators must keep in mind the interests of both their constituents and their party. Available from Western Behavioral Sciences Institute, La Jolla, California.

The Recruitment of Members of Congress

Pages 332-337 [88-93]; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can list three "formal" rules that affect the recruitment of members of Congress.

2. Students can list eight "informal" rules that affect the recruitment of members.

3. Students can offer speculative explanations to account for the informal rules.

4. Students will offer judgments about whether the current formal and informal rules are fair.

5. Students can speculate about the effects of the current recruitment system on the political system.

Suggested Procedures

There are at least two ways that you might teach this lesson. One way would be to divide the lesson into two parts. On the first day ask students to read the two case studies at the beginning of this chapter section. Ask them to stop reading when they have finished the second case study. Then use the transparencies (T-37—T-39) that accompany the lesson. Each transparency asks the following question: "Who is more likely to be elected to Congress?" The six pairs of pictures on T-37 through T-39 can then be projected one at a time. As each pair of pictures is projected, students should be asked to answer the question on the base of the transparency.

In this manner the first day's lesson is treated as a confrontation exercise with students speculating about factors that influence the recruitment of members of Congress. The second day could be used for students to check their hypotheses against the reading of the rest of the chapter section.

Another way to teach this lesson is to ask students to read the entire lesson before beginning class discussion. Class discussion could focus on the three sets of text questions. The transparencies then may be used as an application lesson to test student understanding of the informal rules.

Formal Rules That Influence the Recruitment of Members of Congress

Age: A Senator must be at least 30 years of age. A Representative must be at least 25.

Citizenship: A person must have been a citizen for at least 9 years to be elected to the Senate and 7 years to be elected to the House of Representatives.

Residence: Both Senators and Representatives must be residents of the states that send them to Congress.

Informal Rules That Influence the Recruitment of Members of Congress

In the election of members of Congress the political odds favor.

a. males rather than females;

b. Protestants over Catholics or Jews;

c. whites over nonwhites;

d. well-educated people over those with less education;

e. older persons (age 35 to 40 and up) over younger people;

f. people from high socioeconomic status background from those from lower SES background;

g. lawyers over people in other occupations;

h. people who are active in voluntary associations over those who are not active;

i. people with much experience in politics and government over those with little experience in politics.

Note, however, that these are rules that apply over the nation as a whole. The political odds may be different in a particular state or district. For example, the odds would favor a Catholic in a predominately Catholic district.

At the conclusion of this lesson the teacher may wish to use *Worksheet 18.*It provides an opportunity for students to test the formal and informal recruitment rules against one of the current members of Congress. After students have had a reasonable time to make their investigation, have them bring their worksheets to class and be prepared to discuss their findings.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 337* [93]. **1.** The formal rules exist because the framers of the Constitution felt that it was appropriate to have some simple eligibility standards for members of Congress. Some of the informal rules can be explained, in part, by biases in the electorate: racial and religious biases, prejudices against female candidates, etc. People from some groups also learn (are socialized to believe) that their chances for high political office are poor, and they make a realistic judgment not to compete against big odds. Invite student speculation about the various informal rules.

2. This is a value judgment question. Still, you might be able to elicit from students the observation that Congress is full of exceptions to one informal rule or another and that it does already include a rather broad range of people. One doesn't have to be a male, white, Protestant, 45-year-old lawyer to get into Congress—even though in many states and district these credentials might help a little.

3. This is another value judgment question. Hopefully, some students will point out that a preponderance of people in a particular social category—blacks, females, college-graduates, upper SES, etc.—does not mean uniformity of thinking among people in that category. Women both support and oppose equal rights legislation; the well-to-do are not uniformly opposed to social welfare legislation; etc.

Still, it seems quite possible that a broader range of people might well have some effect on legislative programs.

Members of Congress Play Many Roles

Pages 337-342 [93-98]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can describe orally some typical activities that accompany each of the following parts of the congressional role: (a) ombudsman, (b) political educator and campaigner, and (c) investigator of, consultant to, and lobbyist for the executive branch of the government.

2. Given a typical news story about a member of Congress, students are able to identify the role described in the newspaper account.

Suggested Procedures

Assign the lesson for reading by the students. As a homework assignment ask each student to clip at least one newspaper article describing the activity of a member of Congress and bring it to class. During the class hour ask students to read their clippings aloud to the class and invite students to label by role the kind of activity being described in the news account. Be certain to correct any mistakes in labeling and clarify any confusion that may arise concerning the various congressional roles.

If news items about individual members of Congress appear infrequently in the local press, collect items over a period of time. Then hand the items out to individuals or small groups for analysis.

The film *The Role of the Congressman* would be appropriate to show at this time. It was developed especially for this course. It shows how two members of Congress play their roles and engage in decision-making. It is available from Xerox Films and film libraries.

The Legislative Role

Pages 343-355 [99-111]; one or two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can identify six tasks that comprise the legislative role.

2. Students can identify and explain four formal rules that affect the legislative role.

3. Students can identify and explain five informal rules that influence how the legislative role is played.

4. Students can speculate about the infuence of personality on legislative role behavior.

Suggested Procedures

Direct student attention to *Table 1* on page 343 [99]. What activities listed in the table fall under the legislative role? What total percentage of time does a typical member devote to the legislative role?

Ask students to list four formal rules and five informal rules that influence the legislative role. Make certain that they understand each of these rules. Ask students to speculate about how these rules interact with the personality of a member to influence role behavior.

Because this lesson deals with a number of procedures and practices which may require some elaboration by the teacher, it is quite possible that fruitful discussion can extend over two periods.

Transparency Lesson on Seniority. Transparencies T-40 and T-41 are to be used with the explanation of the seniority system in the text. Project T-40. Explain to students that the map identifies chairpersons of standing committees in the Senate for the years 1937-1970. R represents Republican and D Democratic committee heads. A person who chaired a committee for more than one Congress is counted again for each new Congress. For example, the numerous D's in Arkansas on the House of Representatives map stand for Wilbur Mills, long-time head of the Ways and Means Committee.

Begin the lesson by asking students what hypotheses they can construct based upon the data presented on the map. Or if you wish to have a more structured discussion, you may want to ask the following questions:

1. What region of the country seems to have the most committee chairpersons in the Senate? Which political party? Can you identify the states which might be considered "one-party" states based upon the evidence provided by the map?

2. Notice that New York and California, two of our most heavily populated states, had no Senate committee heads. How might this be explained?

3. From what region of the country do Republican committee heads tend to come? Democratic committee chairpersons?

Several points can be made with this lesson: (a) Democratic and Republican committee heads tend to come from different regions of the country. (b) Chairpersons earn positions as a result of longevity on a committee. Thus, they tend to come from "one-party" states or districts, or at least those relatively stable in party preference. (c) They are elected by their constituents—and tend to be like them—but as chairpersons they represent national concerns. (d) Power tends to center in committee chairpersons who represent conservative constituencies, at least more conservative than the nation as a whole.

The text notes that seniority was upset in two cases in the choice of committee heads in the House in 1975. You will want to watch for any further development along this line.

You may want to use these transparencies as an introduction to a classroom debate on the advantages and disadvantages of the seniority system.

Students may also be asked to gather data on the current heads of congressional committees and present their findings to the class. Information may be obtained from the current *Congressional Directory*. You may want to add relevant data to the maps.

A Game on Logrolling. A simple game called "Scratch My Back" may be used to demonstrate the informal rule on *reciprocity*, or *logrolling*. It is played as follows:

1. Cut out the individual cards on *Worksheet 19*.

2. Distribute the cards so that each member of the class receives one. For a class having fewer than 30 students, start by eliminating one

category, such as the horizontal "bars." For example, for 29 students drop the "for stripes" card that is "against bars." For 28 players also drop the "for bars" card that is "against stripes." For 20 players you will have removed all the "for bars" and "against bars" cards. To add to the number of players, move in a reverse way. For example, for 31 players add a "for stripes" and "against bars" card.

3. Tell students that the cards represent the majority view of constituents on five bills: a "stripes" bill, a "stars" bill, and a "checks" bill, etc. Each card is "for" one bill and "against" another bill. One card, for example, favors "stripes" and opposes "stars." The person who has this card knows that constituents want the bill favoring "stripes" to pass and the one favoring "stars" to lose. In this case, a legislator is expected to vote the wishes of his or her constituents in order to win their favor and be reelected.

In some cases the constituents have no strong opinion. For example, the legislator favoring "stripes" and opposing "stars" is not informed by constituents whether to favor or oppose "checks," "circles," or "bars." Thus, the member is free to vote on these measures as he or she wishes without offending constituents.

The strategy for each legislator is to build up as much support as possible for the bill he/she favors, as much opposition as possible for the one he/she opposes, and to lend support on the other bills as tactics to gain support for the two bills that concern him/her. This is what "logrolling" is all about.

4. After each student has a card and understands the rules, allow about 20-30 minutes for students to move about the room and bargain for support.

5. At the end of about 30 minutes, call the "house" to order and call for votes on each of the bills. You can do this by simply asking, "All those in favor of passing the bill on 'stripes,' raise your hand." (Record the vote.) "All those opposed, raise your hand." (Record the vote and announce the result.) Do the same for "stars," "checks," "circles," and "bars."

6. Then tell students that they should judge their success as follows:

a. you are a distinguished legislator and sure to be reelected if the bill you favored was passed and the one you opposed was defeated.

b. You are a good legislator and are likely to win reelection by a narrow margin if either the bill you favored passed or if the bill you opposed failed.

c. You are a poor legislator and certain to lose your seat if the bill you favored lost and the bill you opposed passed.

The breakdown on logrolling cards is as follows:

10 stripes "for" cards
3 against stars, 2 against checks; 3 against circles, 2 against bars

6 stars "for" cards
2 against stripes; 2 against checks; 1 against circles; 1 against bars

5 checks "for" cards
2 against stripes; 1 against stars; 1 against circles; 1 against bars

5 circles "for" cards
1 against stripes; 1 against stars; 1 against checks; 2 against bars

4 bars "for" cards
1 against stripes; 1 against stars; 1 against checks; 1 against circles

A Typical Day in the Life of a Member of Congress

Pages 356-358 [112-114]; one class period

Objective

Students can analyze a typical day in the life of a Representative and demonstrate their understanding of the various roles she plays by correctly labeling each of the activities in accordance with the directions that have been provided.

Suggested Procedures

Ask students to read the typical schedule and place letters designating roles according to their analysis of the activity. Students may record their answers on *Worksheet 20*. Since some activities are open to interpretation, you may find it appropriate to

accept more than one answer. Our answers, not necessarily all those that might be used, are as follows:

6:30—Probably no label can be assigned for this

7:45—Hard to tell but probably legislator

9:00—More than one role could apply, but ombudsman is a likely choice

9:45—Ombudsman

9:55—Political educator and campaigner

10:00—Legislator

10:45—Ombudsman

11:00—This could be either legislator or investigator of the executive branch

12:00—Political educator and campaigner

12:30—Ombudsman

1:45—Legislator

2:00—Legislator

2:30—Legislator

3:00—Ombudsman

3:20—Legislator

3:45—Political educator and campaigner

4:05—Spouse and parent

4:15—Legislator

4:30—More than one role could apply, but ombudsman is a likely choice

5:30—Ombudsman

6:45—Political educator and campaigner

7:30—Ombudsman

10:30—Legislator

11:45—Spouse and parent

The 1964 Civil Rights Act: A Case Study in Legislative Role Behavior

Factors That Influence Congressional Decision-Making

Pages 358-377 [114-133]; three to five periods

Objectives

1. Students can identify the following main factors that influence the decision-making of a member of Congress:
- **a.** rules
- **b.** status relationships
- **c.** public opinion
- **d.** social situation
- **e.** personality of member

2. Students can state that the most important and typical congressional decisions are decisions about legislation.

3. Students can apply each of the factors in Objective 1 to the case study, "The 1964 Civil Rights Act."

4. Students can discriminate among four models of members: trustee, delegate, partisan, and politico.

These two lessons should be treated together. The first provides a case study that is to be analyzed in terms of the categories provided in the second lesson. Therefore, at least two days are required. Two additional days are needed if the game "Bottleneck" (page 99) is learned and played.

Students will need nearly one class period to read the Civil Rights Act case study. You may wish to have them read it in class, reserving some time at the end of the period to answer the three questions at the end of the case study.

The lesson on "Factors That Influence Congressional Decision-Making" might be assigned for homework reading. Students might be asked to write their answers to the questions on page 377 [133].

Direct student attention to the diagram showing

the passage of the Smith-Jones education bill. Perhaps some student will volunteer to create an imaginary story about the bill, based upon the diagram, and tell it to the class.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 370* [126]. **1.** Among the formal rules that were important to the outcome of the bill were these: (a) An identical bill had to be passed in both houses of Congress; (b) a two-thirds vote of the Senate was required to end the filibuster; (c) members had to accept or reject the entire bill.

2. Some informal rules include the following: (a) Persons for and against a bill are likely to form coalitions. (b) Those in favor of a bill are likely to make some concessions to the opposition to gain more votes. (c) A member who would ordinarily "manage" a bill on the floor will step aside if he/she is not willing to give it strong support. (d) Members use courteous language in addressing one another. (e) Maintaining close and favorable relations with "the other house."

3. Support by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; support by Celler and McCulloch. Other individuals were undoubtedly influenced by their personal beliefs.

Page 377 [133]. **1.** (a) An identical bill had to be passed in both houses of Congress. (b) Two-thirds of the Senate was required to end the filibuster. (c) Members had to accept or reject the entire bill.

2. (a) President Johnson had much influence upon congressional leaders, as did President Kennedy earlier. (b) Senator Everett Dirksen's status as a leader of the Republican party in the Congress influenced the outcome. (c) It might be said that Senator Goldwater's candidacy for President in the Republican party influenced his stand and influenced other Republicans as well. (d) The leaders for the bill were careful to build bipartisan support and to avoid unnecessarily antagonizing the opposition. For example, they gave ample opportunity for the opposition to propose amendments to the bill.

3. (a) Southern members of Congress seemed to be under the most direct pressure from their own constituents. (b) Some members believed that public opinion generally supported the bill and acted accordingly. Others, such as Barry Goldwater, may have interpreted public opinion differently. Perhaps the wisest of all was Everett Dirksen.

4. Certainly the events in Birmingham led to President Kennedy's action. His death probably impelled the passage of the bill.

5. (a) Senators Humphrey and Kuchel were coleaders for the bill. They tried to maintain good relations with all of the Senators and shared credit for the bill's passage. (b) Senator Dirksen drew upon his reputation as a conservative to build support for the bill ultimately.

Transparency Lesson. An additional resource for illustrating why so few bills become law is provided by two transparencies (T-42, T-43). The transparencies focus attention on the obstacles to enactment of legislation. Proponents of a particular bill must create support among diverse groups, whereas opponents need ony convince one element in the process to succeed in blocking passage. The teacher might ask half the class to adopt the role of a lobby for a current bill on a controversial issue and the other half to oppose it. In discussion they might then indicate strategies involving the various loci of power in the legislative process. The base transparency could be used alone during such a discussion; or the overlay, which demonstrates several possible legislative obstacles, may be used to help emphasize the variety of sources of stopping power.

Obstacles represented in the overlay include:

1. "Member introduces bill" but may not work to insure its passage. Many bills are not seriously considered.

2. House Committee—Amendments may be added that cut bill's effectiveness or change its purpose.

3. House Rules Committee—Majority of committee may simply oppose a bill that House as a whole approves of. Rules Committee can block bill by refusing to schedule it for hearings or by assigning it difficult rules for debate.

4. House—A majority may oppose the bill.

5. Senate Committee—The committee chairperson may refuse to consider the bill.

6. Senate—A filibuster may thwart majority support for bill.

7. Conference Committee—It may not be able to resolve differences between the two houses.

8. President may veto the bill.

9. Enforcement must follow, or the legislation will be left dangling even after passage.

We have prepared a game called "Bottleneck" to accompany this lesson. The transparencies described above can provide a lead-in for this useful game. Students have an opportunity to practice legislative decision-making by playing the game. The rules and materials for the game may be ordered from the publisher of the APB course.

What Decision Is Best?

Pages 377-383 [133-139]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can speculate about the relationship between political pressure on a member of Congress, his or her personal values, and predictions about policy outcomes on congressional decision-making.

2. Students will empathize with members who face difficult decisions.

Suggested Procedures

Ask students to read the story and write down their own decision at each point indicated. When all students have completed this task, discuss their answers. Why did some reach different decisions? Why had some changed their minds during the course of the story? To what extent had they been influenced by *political pressure*, by their own *values*, by their *predictions about outcomes* of one policy as compared to another?

Hopefully, the story will hold sufficient interest for your students that they are able to place themselves in the role of Senator Williams. Perhaps they will acquire greater appreciation of the pressures that sometimes bear upon members of Congress.

RCA Victor has produced a record based upon President John F. Kennedy's book *Profiles in Courage*. The record contains dramatic presentations about three former United States Senators—Oscar W. Underwood, Thomas Hart Benton, and Andrew Johnson. You may wish to play excerpts from this record for your students, asking them to make judgments about the conflicting pressures acting upon each Senator.

Unit Four · Test 2

Objective

Students will be able to complete a 20-item multiple-choice exam over the material covered in chapter 13, answering at least 16 of the 20 items correctly.

Suggested Procedures

The test contains 20 multiple-choice questions. The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about correct answers. Answers to each test appear on the spirit duplicating masters.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Role of Supreme Court Justices

Pages 384-433 [140-187]. Three weeks

Chapter Overview

This chapter applies the three principal concepts—*role, recruitment,* and *decision-making*—to the role of Supreme Court justice. The prior order of treatment has been altered, however, in this chapter. The early lessons focus upon judicial role. As the structure of the role is linked to a particular kind of decision-making, the treatment of judicial role leads to a discussion of the decision-making process in the Supreme Court. Finally, who is on the bench has much to do with the kinds of decisions the Court makes. Therefore, recruitment is described last and is shown to be closely related to the kinds of decisions the President and the Senate want the Court to make.

Case Study: Banning Prayer in the Schools is a confrontation lesson designed to cause students to speculate about Supreme Court justices as political decision-makers. It should stimulate questions to be explored in subsequent lessons.

The Primary Function of the Supreme Court: To Interpret the Law. There is much confusion among students about courts generally and the Supreme Court in particular. This lesson provides the essential backdrop against which students can examine role, recruitment, and decision-making in the Supreme Court.

Some Rules and Procedures Affecting Judicial Decision-Making is partially a treatment of role and partially a decision-making lesson. The two concepts blend in this lesson.

Application of the Law to Specific Cases: A Judicial Norm treats a powerful norm that accompanies the judicial role. But as decision-making is treated as the most salient characteristic of the role, this norm is treated primarily as a powerful influence on judicial decisions.

Stare Decisis: Another Judicial Norm deals with the way justices link current decisions to earlier court decisions. Common law is as rich a source of rules for society as are statutes.

The Influence of Social Forces and Personal Beliefs on Judicial Decision-Making. This lesson treats social factors and personal beliefs and their influence on judicial decision-making. A worksheet is provided that enables students to apply all that they have learned regarding the factors that influence judicial decision-making.

The Appointment of a Chief Justice: Two Case Studies. This lesson describes the failure of President Johnson to get Senate approval of Abe Fortas as Chief Justice of the United States and the successful appointment of Warren Burger to that position by President Nixon. The political factors relating to judicial recruitment are emphasized in this lesson.

Accompanying this lesson is a learning game entitled "Ninth Justice" that will reinforce the relationship between judicial recruitment and decision-making.

Suggested Readings for Teachers

Becker, Theodore L., and Feeley, Malcolm M. (editors). *The Impact of Supreme Court Decisions: Empirical Studies,* Second Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). Becker and Feeley have collected a number of studies about the impact of Supreme Court decisions on the President and Congress, on lower courts, on state and local government, and on public opinion.

Chase, Harold W. *Federal Judges: the Appointing Process* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972). This book treats the process of judicial recruitment to the federal courts. Special attention is devoted to the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson years.

Danelski, David J. *A Supreme Court Justice Is Appointed* (New York: Random House, 1964). This book is a detailed treatment of the appointment of Pierce Butler to the Supreme Court by President Warren G. Harding.

Fribourg, Marjorie G. *The Supreme Court in American History* (Philadelphia: Macrea Smith Company, 1965). Examines ten landmark cases.

Goldman, Sheldon, and Johnige, Thomas B. (editors). *The Federal Judicial System: Readings in Process and Behavior* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968). This collection of readings contains many useful background articles for teachers. Especially appropriate for this course are articles on judicial norms, decision-making, and the recruitment of judges.

Jacob, Herbert. *Justice in America: Courts, Lawyers, and the Judicial Process,* 2nd Edition (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972).

Krislov, Samuel. *The Supreme Court in the Political Process* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965). This is an excellent treatment of the Court for the purposes of this course. Especially useful are the chapters relating to judicial recruitment and decision-making.

Lewis, Anthony. *Gideon's Trumpet* (New York: Random House, 1964). Story of the *Gideon* case used in this chapter.

Schubert, Glendon. *Judicial Policy-Making: The Political Role of the Courts,* Revised Edition (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman & Company, 1974). Schubert is one of the leaders in the use of political behavior approaches to the study of the Supreme Court. This is a difficult but conceptually valuable book.

Westin, Alan F. (editor). *The Supreme Court: Views from Inside* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1961). This book of readings contains accounts by Supreme Court justices regarding various aspects of their work.

Suggested Films

Justice under Law—The Gideon Case (EBF) 23 min. color/b&w. Treats the case *Gideon* v. *Wainwright,* in which the Supreme Court ruled that Gideon had been denied due process of law because the state had not provided a lawyer when he could not afford one. This film is recommended for use with the fourth lesson, which provides a narrative treatment of the Gideon case. Distributed by Encyclopaedia Britanica Educational Corporation.

Bill of Rights in Action—A Series of Films Produced by BFA. Titles include: "Due Process of Law," 23 min. color. "Freedom of Speech," 20 min. color. "The Right to Privacy," 23 min. color. "The Privilege against Self-incrimination," 23 min. color. These films present dramatic court cases. Students are given opportunities to decide what they think should be done.

Bill of Rights Series (Churchill). Titles include: "Justice, Liberty, and the Law—An Introduction," 19 min. color; "Search and Privacy," 22 min. color. These films portray dramatic events that involve judgments about protections afforded by the Bill of Rights.

Case Study: Banning Prayer in the Schools

Pages 384-390 [140-146]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students are able to speculate about the significance of Supreme Court decisions.

2. Students can explain that the courts provide one avenue for resolving political decisions.

3. Students can identify at least three ways in which the process of decision-making in the Supreme Court differs from decision-making in the Congress or by the President.

Suggested Procedures

Students should find this case study interesting. Not only did it involve a high school student, but it also led to a decision that altered a widespread school practice: the reading of the Bible and the reciting of a prayer as an opening exercise in public schools.

The case study should be used as a device for leading students to speculate about the Supreme Court: How does it receive cases? What kinds of cases does it hear? How can decisions in other branches of the government be overturned by the Supreme Court?

Ask students to read the entire case and then discuss, or write out answers to, the four questions at the end of the lesson.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. Mrs. Murray believed that her constitutional rights were being violated. Her failure to receive a satisfactory decision from the lower courts led her to appeal her decision to the highest court in the nation.

2. The effect of the decision was to make illegal all laws that provided for compulsory Bible reading and prayer in school. It also led some public officials to seek an amendment to the Constitution.

3. The American system is one based upon the supremacy of law. The chief law is the Constitution of the United States. All laws must conform to its requirements. The Supreme Court is the final judge in matters involving interpretations of the Constitution. The Supreme Court decides whether an act of Congress or a lower court opinion is counter to the Constitution.

4. Supreme Court decisions differ from those by Congress and the President in the following respects:

a. The Supreme Court can act only upon those cases that are brought to the Court through normal legal processes.
b. The Supreme Court must ground its decisions in the Constitution and precedent.
c. As compared to the President, decisions are reached through a majority vote of the nine justices.
d. Access to the justices is far more ritualized and restricted than to other decision-makers in the government.

The Primary Function of the Supreme Court: To Interpret the Law

Pages 390-395 [146-151]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can distinguish between trial courts and appellate courts.

2. Students can distinguish between criminal and civil cases.

3. Students understand the meaning of the term *adversary system* when it is applied to the American judicial process.

4. Students can explain what is meant by the statement: "The Supreme Court *interprets* the law."

5. Students can explain why Supreme Court justices are *political decision-makers.*

Suggested Procedures

This lesson presents basic information about the judicial process in the United States. Some of the information may be familiar to your students and require little discussion. Nevertheless, they may have a very vague and incomplete notion of the purpose and function of courts.

It is important that you single out the special purposes of the United States Supreme Court. Note that it rarely functions as a trial court; it is nearly always an appellate court only. Make certain that students understand the special relationship between the role of the Supreme Court and the Constitution.

A useful exercise in conjunction with this lesson would be to ask students to bring news clippings to class regarding court trials currently under way in their city or state. Compare these cases with the types of cases that reach the Supreme Court. Some major newspapers provide digests of recent actions of the United States Supreme Court. Following is one such summary that appeared in the *New York Times*, June 23, 1970. You may wish to begin a collection of these.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1970

A Summary of Supreme Court Actions

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 22—The Supreme Court took the following actions today:

Refused to grant permission to Cassius Clay to go to Canada for a title fight with Joe Frazier. The former heavyweight boxing champion is appealing a conviction for refusing to submit to induction into the armed forces (unnumbered, Clay v. United States).

CHURCH AND STATE

Agreed to decide if the Federal program of financial aid to church-related colleges and universities for the construction of academic buildings violates the First Amendment's prohibition against Government support of religion (No. 1809 misc., Chone v. California).

CRIMINAL LAW

Declared unconstitutional, 5 to 3, a New York law that permits courts in New York City to deny jury trials to persons being tried for crimes that carry jail terms of more than six months (No. 188, Baldwin v. New York). Dissenting: Burger, Harlan, Stewart.

Ruled, 7 to 1, that the Constitution's requirement of a jury trial permits the use of six-member juries, and that the traditional 12-member jury is not required by the Constitution (No. 927, William v. Florida). Dissenting: Marshall.

Ruled, 6 to 2, that when a person is arrested outside his house the police may not search the house as an incident to the arrest unless they have a search warrant (No. 727, Vale v. Louisiana). Dissenting: Black and Burger.

Held, 6 to 2, that an accused person is entitled to counsel at a preliminary hearing such as those held in the State of Alabama (No. 72, Coleman v. Alabama). Dissenting: Burger and Stewart.

Held, 7 to 1, that when an indigent defendant meets his legal aid lawyer only a few minutes before the trial and is later convicted, he is not automatically entitled to a subsequent hearing to determine if his counsel was effective, if it appears from the trial record that the tardy assignment of counsel did not affect the outcome of the trial (No. 830, Chambers v. Maroney). Dissenting: Harlan.

Agreed to decide if the rights of a Florida man were violated when he was given a three-year sentence on a car-theft violation after overturning a previous two-year sentence on the same charge. The first sentence was upset when the defendant won a new trial. The second conviction resulted from new information about him that came to the attention of the judge (No. 35 misc., Odom v. United States).

FREE SPEECH

Agreed to consider whether the free speech rights of a California youth were violated when he was convicted of disturbing the peace because he wore a jacket bearing an obscenity that attacked the draft (No. 1809 Misc., Cohen v. California).

Let stand, with three Justices dissenting, the conviction of seven students from East Tennessee State University because they had distributed a pamphlet that criticized the university administration in terms that were considered false and inflammatory (No. 1011, Norton v. The Discipline Committee of East Tennessee State University). Dissenting: Marshall, Douglas and Brennan.

Agreed to decide if the courts of Illinois violated the free speech rights of members of a civil rights organization that was enjoined from distributing leaflets. The leaflets accused a real estate broker of "blockbusting"—attempting to frighten whites to sell their homes by saying that Negroes were moving to the neighborhood (No. 1484, Organization For a Better Austin v. Keefe).

POLICE

Agreed to decide if a person can recover damages against Federal agents who violate the individual's constitutional rights (No. 240 Misc., Bivins v. six unknown agents of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics.

Some Rules and Procedures Affecting Decision-Making

Pages 395-404 [151-160]; one or two periods

Objectives

1. Students can list and explain five "formal" rules that influence decision-making in the Supreme Court.

2. Students can list and explain two "informal" rules that affect decision-making.

3. Students are able to describe five stages by which decisions are reached.

Suggested Procedures

It is unlikely that students will retain detailed information about the rules and procedures described in this lesson. Nevertheless, they should remember the major point that rules and

procedures can be influential. For example, ask them to speculate about what difference it makes that the Supreme Court consists of nine justices, appointed for life, who reach decisions by a majority vote on only "real" cases.

They should also think about the effects that flow from making the Court a special domain for lawyers. In some ways the Court is like a church in which only priests are able to approach the altar. The Court tends to encourage rather than discourage ritual and formalism. One consequence is that the courts are frightening institutions to poor, uneducated people.

Less important, perhaps, are the specific procedures used by the Court. Nevertheless, a study of the procedures reveals a number of interesting features: For example, most cases do not begin with the Court but begin by appeal. Justices try very hard to influence each other; the procedures a justice uses to influence his colleagues are oral debate and opinion writing.

Application of the Law to Specific Cases: A Judicial Norm

Pages 404-410 [160-166]; one class period

Objective

By writing a decision to a hypothetical case, students will demonstrate their understanding that Supreme Court justices base decisions upon law.

Suggested Procedures

The point of this lesson is to teach students that judges base their decisions upon law. Ask your students to read the introductory material and the hypothetical case. They should answer the two questions on page 407 [163]. Tell them to stop when they have answered the three questions. They are not to complete their reading of the lesson until after the class members have compared their decisions about Henry.

During the class discussion ask students to explain their decisions. How have students interpreted the Constitution? Which precedents did they rely upon?

Save approximately ten minutes at the close of the period for students to read the balance of the lesson and to compare their decisions to those rendered in the case *Gideon* v. *Wainwright*.

Stare Decisis: Another Judicial Norm

Pages 411-417 [167-173], one or two periods

Objectives

1. Students will be able to explain the meaning of the term *stare decisis*, orally.

2. Students can explain the statement "A great judge is one who makes great decisions," and can relate it to the influence of *stare decisis*.

3. Students will be able to apply the judicial norm *stare decisis* to the Escobedo case by writing their opinion of how the case should be resolved.

Suggested Procedures

After allowing time for all students to read the case, divide the students into groups of nine. Ask students to discuss the case and make individual and group decisions. Ask students to write their opinions. One can write the majority opinion.

When all the groups have reached decisions, bring the class together to discuss the various decisions. Probably, some groups will have reached different decisions from other groups. Ask students to speculate about why students could reach different decisions working with the same evidence.

Finally, read or distribute to the class the final disposition of the Escobedo case, printed below. They may wish to compare their decisions to that of the Court.

Danny Escobedo, Petitioner, v. Illinois
—US—, 12 L ed 2d 977, 84 S Ct—
(No. 615)
Argued April 29, 1964, Decided June 22, 1964.

SUMMARY

An accused was convicted of murder in the Criminal Court of Cook County, Illinois, after a

trial during which the trial court admitted in evidence incriminating statements made by the accused during police interrogations conducted before the accused was formally indicted, the police, without informing the accused of his right to remain silent, having denied his request to consult with his attorney and having informed him that they had convincing evidence of his guilt. The Supreme Court of Illinois affirmed the conviction.

On certiorari, the Supreme Court of the United States reversed. In an opinion by Goldberg, J., expressing the views of five members of the Court, it was held that under the particular circumstances obtaining, the police investigation having been one focused on the accused as suspect rather than a general investigation, the refusal to honor the accused's request to consult with his attorney constituted a denial of his right to assistance of counsel under the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments, and that the statements should not have been admitted in evidence.

Harlan, J., dissenting, was of the opinion that the judgment of the Supreme Court of Illinois should be affirmed on the basis of Cicenia v. Lagay (1958) and that the majority's conclusion would unjustifiably fetter legitimate methods of criminal law enforcement.

Stewart, J., dissented on the grounds that the right to assistance of counsel should not attach until the formal institution of proceedings by indictment, information, or arraignment, and that the majority's holding would have an unfortunate impact on the fair administration of criminal justice.

White, J., joined by Clark and Stewart, JJ., dissented on the grounds that the majority's decision will be applicable whenever the accused becomes a suspect, rendering admissions to the police inadmissible unless the accused waives his right to counsel, and that the decision approaches a goal of barring from evidence all admissions obtained from a person suspected of crime, thus abandoning the voluntary-involuntary test for admissibility of confessions and rendering the task of law enforcement more difficult.

In treating this lesson you should point out to students that the justices' task is much more difficult than it appears here. We provided only the precedent cases that appeared in the 'opinions' of the Court. The justices not only had to wade through contending precedent cases cited by the opposing lawyers but also had to conduct their own search, rather than relying wholly upon the cases presented to them by the attorneys. Therefore, to some extent, students were "led" to a decision, as we provided only the cases cited by the justices

The Influence of Social Forces and Personal Belief on Judicial Decision-Making

Pages 417-422 [173-178]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students will demonstrate understanding of the influence that social forces have on judicial decision-making.

2. Students can explain some ways that personal beliefs influence judicial decisions.

3. Students will reveal their understanding of the various factors that influence judicial decision-making by correctly labeling ten statements according to the categories provided to them on a worksheet.

Suggested Procedures

In treating *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* and *Brown* v. *Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas,* you may wish to divide the students into small groups to discuss the case and their answers to the questions on page 417 [173]. The point of the case is that "times change." It is useful for you to know that from the time of the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* decision to 1954, the Court held to the principle "separate but equal" but in case after case found *unequal* conditions. Therefore, the Court was able to rule for the plaintiff time and again because the conditions were "*unequal* and separate." Therefore, the significant sentence in Warren's opinion was: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." That conclusion meant that legal segregation of schools could no longer be tolerated anywhere in the United States.

The influence of personal belief on judicial decisions is very difficult to handle. It is clearly a factor, but it is difficult to measure when and to what degree it is operating.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 417* [173]. **1.** By 1954 the American people had become much more sensitized to the unequal treatment of blacks. In 1941 President Roosevelt set up a Committee on Fair Employment Practices. In 1948 President Truman issued an Executive Order breaking down segregation in the armed services. Also in that year civil rights bills began appearing regularly in Congress. As early as the 1930s the NAACP had begun going to court to attack inequality in schools. Clearly, the political culture was different with respect to racial discrimination than it had been ten or twenty years earlier.

2. Justice Brown said that the Fourteenth Amendment could not have been intended "to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality." Chief Justice Warren said that the Court could not turn the clock back to 1896, but "must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life."

3. Answers will vary, but the fact that social forces do influence judicial opinions might lead one to remind the President to nominate justices whose views on "the state of society" are not too divergent from his own. Students might also advise that recruitment "for life or good behavior" is "too long"—that long-term judges may pay too little attention to social forces.

Worksheet Lesson. We have provided *Worksheet 21* for this lesson. It serves as an application lesson for all of the material treating judicial role and decision-making. Answers to the worksheet are:

1. Personal beliefs
2. Formal rules
3. Informal rules
4. Applying the law
5. *Stare decisis*
6. Personal belief
7. Social forces
8. Formal rules
9. Procedures
10. Social forces

After you have discussed student responses to the worksheet, point out that the exercise serves useful analytical purposes but in reality all of these factors are likely to be involved in any judicial decision.

Politicians and the media sometimes describe a particular judge as a "strict constructionist," i.e., someone who sticks strictly to the letter of the law and who believes the meaning of the Constitution can only be changed by amending it. Ask students what their study of factors influencing judicial decision-making has done to influence their acceptance of the notion of "strict construction."

The Appointment of a Chief Justice: Two Case Studies

Pages 423-433 [179-187]; two to four periods

Objectives

1. Students will be able to explain orally that the "politics" of a candidate is perhaps the most important consideration in the recruitment of a Supreme Court justice.

2. Students will demonstrate their understanding of the political nature of Supreme Court appointments by the answers they write to questions at the end of the lesson.

Suggested Procedures

Begin by asking students which of the four candidates for the vacancy on the Supreme Court they would have chosen if they were President and to explain why. Listen carefully to learn whether they justify their choices by the degree of reliability they feel for the appointee's opinions.

The point that students should retain from the Abe Fortas case is not that there was disagreement about the technical qualifications of Abe Fortas to be Chief Justice. Nearly everyone agreed that he "knew the law." Disagreement centered upon his political views that would certainly appear in his decisions in the Court.

Johnson wanted Abe Fortas to be appointed Chief Justice because he endorsed Fortas's views; Thurmond opposed Fortas because he disagreed with many of the recent decisions of the Court and Fortas's views in particular. A related, but secondary issue, was who should choose Warren's successor: Johnson or his successor.

Your students should be able to understand this point, but it must be driven home as this understanding runs against conventional wisdom concerning judicial recruitment. Some students will want to argue that politics should be kept out of judicial recruitment. While you may wish to take advantage of such an opinion to stimulate class debate, students should understand clearly that the political views of judicial candidates have been important in the past and are likely to be so in the future.

When appointing judges to district courts and appeals courts, political considerations are equally powerful. At this level the President is strongly influenced by the Senator of his party from the state in which the judge will serve. Therefore, the Senators have considerable influence over judicial appointments in the lower federal courts. Following is a table you may wish to write on the board that reveals the degree to which political affiliation is important in choosing judges for the various federal courts.

Political Affiliation of Eisenhower and Kennedy District and Appeals Courts Appointees (in Percentages)*

	Eisenhower Appointees		Kennedy Appointees	
Party	District Court	Appeals Court	District Court	Appeals Court
Democratic	7.2	6.7	90.3	95.2
Republican	92.8	93.3	9.7	--
Liberal	—	--	—	4.8
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Finally, you may wish to read to the class the following exchange of letters between Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and President Theodore Roosevelt in September 1906, regarding the nomination of Horace Lurton, a federal judge who had served on the bench for 30 years. Although Lurton was a southern Democrat, Roosevelt, a Republican, liked his political philosophy.

Dear Cabot:

I know how strongly Moody felt about Lurton. . . . Nothing has been so strongly borne in on me concerning lawyers on the bench as that the nominal *politics of the man has nothing to do with his actions on the bench. His* real *politics are all important. . . . Lurton is right on the negro question; he is right on the power of the Federal Government; he is right on the insular business; he is right about corporations; and he is right about labor. On every question that would come before the bench he has so far shown himself to be in much closer touch with the policies in which you and I believe than even White, because he has been right about corporations, where White has been wrong. I have grown to feel most emphatically that the Supreme Court is a matter of too great importance for me to pay heed to where a man comes from.*

Ever yours,
*Theodore Roosevelt**

Dear Theodore:

. . . I am glad that Lurton holds all the opinions that you say he does and that you are so familiar with his views. I need hardly say that those are the very questions on which I am just as anxious as you that judges should hold what we consider sound opinions, but I do not see why Republicans cannot be found who hold those opinions as well as Democrats.

Ever yours,
*H. C. Lodge**

Note that it was not only the party affiliation that was at issue, but even more important were Lurton's political views.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 433* [187]. **1.** Johnson wanted Fortas as Chief Justice because he endorsed Fortas's views. Personal friendship could also have been a factor. His nomination was opposed because his written opinions and votes as an associate justice had antagonized important Senators.

2. Nixon wanted Burger as Chief Justice because Burger's political philosophy seemed close to the President's own views. Burger won confirmation easily because his views seemed close to those of a big majority in the Senate. Also he had a good reputation as a member of the Court of Appeals.

3. Senators and the President decide whether a particular candidate is likely to make great decisions on the basis of whether his/her decisions are likely to agree with their own. Also, many candidates have written appellate decisions which can

*Adapted from Sheldon Goldman, "Characteristics of Eisenhower and Kennedy Appointees to the Lower Federal Courts," in *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 18, December 1965, p. 759. Reprinted by Permission of the University of Utah, Copyright Holder.

*Henry Cabot Lodge, *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1894-1918* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), Vol. 2, pp. 228-229. Used by permission.

be evaluated for style, forceful argument, legal reasoning, etc.

"Ninth Justice" Board Game. This game was designed to go with this lesson. Instructions for participants and teacher and all the game materials are provided in the game package, which may be purchased from the publisher of the APB course. (The package also includes the congressional game "Bottleneck.")

Approximately one class period is needed to teach students how to play the game. Thereafter, at least two and probably three rounds of the game can be played during any single period. The game will dramatize and clarify the significance of political views of the President and the Senate on judicial selection and the impact of judicial appointments upon American society.

Worksheet Lesson. A culminating value-judgment lesson for this chapter is provided on *Worksheet 22*. You can tie this lesson to the one just concluded by reminding students that the social values held by prospective members of the Supreme Court are a chief concern of the President and Senators. Tell them that you are going to give them a set of value judgments to mark *agree* or *disagree*. They represent some of the values that the Court has had to wrestle with in recent years. (Some teachers may wish to give students a chance to use a third mark "U" for *uncertain* or *depends on circumstances*.)

Page 2 of the worksheet requires students to decide which of the sixteen value statements apply to each of four situations which might reach the Supreme Court. Then students are asked to make a judgment about each of the four cases and back up their judgment with reasons.

Before handing out page 2 of *Worksheet 22*, some teachers might wish to lay the groundwork with commentary along the following lines:

"You may have marked 'agree' to most of the statements above. But life is not so simple. The problem for us—and for the Courts—is that these beliefs or values often come into conflict. Supporting one value often threatens another. For example, suppose you believe that people should have the right to hold any religious belief they wish (item 1) and that parents should be free to teach their religious beliefs to their children without interference from the government (items 10-11). Then you learn that a classmate is suffering from a serious but curable disease. If she is not treated soon, she will die. But her parents refuse all medical help because such practices violate their religious beliefs. Would you be willing to have the government remove the child from the parents and provide medical care (as perhaps supported by item 16)? Or would you hold to your belief that this is a matter for the parents to decide?

"A chief job of Supreme Court justices is to resolve value conflicts by balancing one value or set of values against another. Then they must state their opinion and reasons for their decision in order that other courts facing future cases similar in scope may arrive at a similar position. Rarely does this mean giving up a value altogether. Normally it means finding a point at which the two values can co-exist.

"The official sources of American values are the Constitution (especially the Bill of Rights), state constitutions, legislation, and prior court decisions. But values are also found in our traditions, in literature, and in current social practices. Values change over time, requiring courts to reach new decisions and offer new interpretations. When outsiders say the Supreme Court is too 'conservative,' they usually mean that the Court is too reluctant (for their taste) to adjust its decisions to new social realities. Those who charge that the Court is too 'liberal' or too 'radical' usually mean that recent Court decisions are departing too far from the past, and the Court is engaging in reckless experimentation.

"Whatever one's views about the Supreme Court may be, the Court cannot evade value conflicts. It is the Court's job to resolve value conflicts in legal cases and to settle the practical issues that arise from these conflicts.

"So long as there are nine people on the bench, they will often disagree on how to settle a value conflict. Their task is to find common ground on which at least a majority feel comfortable. New cases offering slightly different problems but raising again the same value conflict will appear.

"Becoming a good lawyer requires several years of training and experience. But most people can see a value conflict that might exist in a court case. Here are some cases that can prompt you to weigh the sixteen beliefs stated earlier. First of all, decide which of the beliefs that you marked on the worksheet are relevant to each case. Then write a statement telling how you would decide the case.

"Of course, your 'opinion' will differ from that made by a judge. Judges must base their opinions on the law, not simply on their personal values. Still, your 'opinion' may count with your classmates, so be ready to back up your position with the best reasons you can muster."

Unit Four · Test 3

Objective

Students will be able to complete a 20-item multiple-choice exam over the material covered in chapter 14, answering at least 16 of the 20 items correctly.

Suggested Procedures

The test contains 20 multiple-choice questions. The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about correct answers. Answers appear on the spirit duplicating masters.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Role of Federal Bureaucrats

Pages 432-481 [188-237]. Two weeks

Chapter Overview

Most Americans know the name of the President of the United States, and they can recognize the names of members of Congress and Supreme Court justices. But there are thousands of other federal employees who are unknown to us who make decisions each day that affect our lives. These are officials in the agencies and bureaus of the federal government: federal bureaucrats. They make decisions about many aspects of our lives. As a group, federal bureaucrats daily make more decisions that affect our lives than do Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court together. This unit is about these people: who they are, what influences their behavior, the kinds of decisions they make.

The United States Office of Education as a Bureaucracy is a confrontation lesson designed to encourage students to speculate about the nature of bureaucracy. By studying an organization chart of the United States Office of Education, students are led to state hypotheses about the nature of bureaucracy.

Characteristics of Bureaucracy and Bureaucratic Role defines the term bureaucracy and provides some information regarding the size and pervasiveness of governmental bureaucracy in American life.

Some Features of the Bureaucratic Role discusses four factors that influence the behavior of bureaucrats: chain of command, formal and informal channels of communication, elaborate rules, and cross-pressures situations.

Recruitment of Bureaucrats provides evidence about the kinds of people who are recruited for federal service.

Bureaucrats as Decision-Makers identifies the factors that influence bureaucratic decisions and presents a case study about ham that illustrates these factors in operation.

Aircraft Noise: A Problem for Bureaucratic Decision-Makers is an extended case study about the Federal Aviation Administration and its efforts to promote and to regulate civil aviation in the United States. The particular issue in this case is what is an acceptable level of noise from aircraft. Documentary material on the FAA's airplane noise rule provides data for applying the factors in decision-making.

Some Value Conflicts in the Bureaucratic Role consists of five case studies that place students in the roles of federal bureaucrats facing value choices in the performance of their duties.

Suggested Readings for Teachers

Blau, Peter M. *Bureaucracy in Modern Society* (New York: Random House, 1956). This brief paperback is a very useful introduction to the study of bureaucracy. Chapter 6, "Bureaucracy and Democracy," is especially useful for this unit.

Downs, Anthony. *Inside Bureaucracy* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967). This is a very valuable book for the teacher or advanced student who wants to continue his study of bureaucracies and how they function.

Fritschler, A. Lee. *Smoking and Politics: Policymaking and the Federal Bureaucracy* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Meredith Corporation, 1969). Fritschler has written an excellent case study of the efforts of the federal agencies, especially the Federal Trade Commission, to pass regulations relating to cigarettes.

Stanley, David T. and others. *Men Who Govern: A Biographical Profile of Federal Political Executives* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1967). This book describes the careers of the top officials in the federal bureaucracy from the beginning of the New Deal to the early years of the Johnson administration. This book treats only the top 180 positions at the Secretary, Assistant Secretary level. All of these positions are filled by political appointments.

Warner, Lloyd W., and others. *The American Federal Executive: A Study of the Social and Personal Characteristics of the Civilian and Military Leaders of the United States Federal Government* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962). This excellent book treats the recruitment of federal bureaucrats—both civilian and military. In addition, it provides some insights into the nature of the bureaucratic role.

Woll, Peter. *American Bureaucracy* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963). This is a good introduction to the study of the federal bureaucracy. Woll treats the relationship between bureaucracy and the President, bureaucracy and the courts, bureaucracy and Congress.

Suggested Film

The Selling of the Pentagon (Carousel). 54 min. 2 reels, b&w, color. This was first presented as a CBS "special" on television. It aroused a great deal of controversy at the time, since it showed how the Defense Department uses money to promote its own activities. Another film entitled, *Rebuttal to the Selling of the Pentagon* (Carousel) 22 min. b&w, was prepared to give the government's side.

The United States Office of Education as a Bureaucracy

Pages 434-437 [190-193]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students are able to define the terms *bureaucrat*, *bureaucracy*, and *bureaucratic role*.

2. On the basis of the USOE organization chart, students are able to offer speculations about the following features of bureaucracy:

a. Bureaucracies tend to be large and complex.
b. A bureaucracy is created to perform certain functions.
c. Bureaucracies tend to be organized in a hierarchical manner.
d. Many rules affect how bureaucracies operate.
e. Bureaucrats are sometimes caught in cross-pressure situations.
f. Federal bureaucrats must pay attention to public opinion, especially as it may affect pending legislation.

Suggested Procedures

An organization chart is to a student of government what a piece of pottery is to an archaeologist. From an examination of an organization chart it is possible to draw inferences regarding the functions of a particular agency, how it is organized, and who has more power than others.

You should plan to allow about 30 minutes for your students to read the assignment, study the chart, and write answers to the questions. Indicate that they are to use the chart as data from which to make speculations about bureaucracy. Ask students to answer each question as best they can and not to worry if they cannot find data to support each answer. The primary purpose of the chart is to prompt speculation.

After students have completed their work, begin an open-ended discussion. Do not move for closure in this lesson. The following lessons will teach students the information they need to know about bureaucracy. While some of the questions permit a wide variety of answers, the following examples are illustrations of conclusions one might draw from the chart.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Pages 436-437 [192-193].* **1.** USOE (a) supports programs to train teachers, (b) supports research in education, (c) disseminates information about education, (d) supports teacher-exchange programs, (e) provides fellowships for college students, (f) encourages vocational education and education for the handicapped, for minority groups, and for low-income persons, (g) supports educational building construction, (h) supports library expansion, (i)

conducts public information programs on education, (j) evaluates educational programs, etc.

2. USOE is big, complex, hierarchical.

3. (a) Bureau of School Systems. The Deputy Commissioner. (b) This is a difficult question to answer because much important information is lacking. Ordinarily, one would expect the individual to accept the offer to become head of the "Division of Follow-Through," as that would mean a promotion to division head and represent a move upward in the hierarchy. But it is possible that "Follow-Through" is a very small division and is scheduled to be abolished in the near future while the "Division of Technology and Environmental Education" is large and expected to grow further. It would also depend in part upon whom the clients for each program are. The person may prefer to work with those who are engaged in environmental education. Or the "ideology" of one program may please one more than that of the other. Finally, a rise in rank and pay would likely accompany promotion to a division head. But if it merely meant assuming a new role at the same civil service rank and salary, the person might reject the offer.

If the person assumed the new position, it is likely that a desire to promote environmental education would be less intense than before. He or she would be eager to advocate the importance of the new program and to give it visibility. The person would also have less time to keep up with developments in the field of environmental education. (c) The Director of the Teacher Corps. (d) If the entire Budget was cut by 10 percent, it could mean reducing each program by 10 percent, or programs could be cut by differing amounts, eliminating some altogether. As a staff member of the division it is likely that you would try to resist cuts from your environmental and education division and urge that cuts be made elsewhere. You might undertake a public relations program to demonstrate that your program is very effective. (e) You are caught in a classic conflict. As a supporter of the President, you want to support the President's money-saving policies. But this move would eliminate a program you are committed to as well as your job. It is likely that you would oppose the President's policy.

4. Probably the Commissioner could first contact the Deputy Commissioner for the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped. The Deputy Commissioner in turn would seek advice from the head of the Division of Personnel Preparation, who might seek opinions from one or more people working in the Division. The Commissioner cannot be expected to have detailed knowledge about the specific aspects of individual programs. On the other hand, the Commissioner may wish to approve the final draft of the letter that is sent in his/her name to be certain that he/she agrees with the policy statements it contains.

5. To produce information for the public about the work of the Office of Education; to build support for programs in education.

Characteristics of Bureaucracy and Bureaucratic Role

Some Features of the Bureaucratic Role

Pages 437-444 [193-200]; two periods

Objective

Students accept the following statements about bureaucracy and bureaucratic role as true.

a. The federal bureaucracy is large and complex and touches in some way most human activities.

b. The federal bureaucracy employs people who have very special skills.

c. Bureaucratic agencies tend to develop their own constituencies. The President is often unable to get bureaucrats to behave exactly as he would like if his views run counter to opinion in the bureau.

d. The federal bureaucracy makes and interprets rules as well as administers laws.

e. A bureaucracy tends to be organized in a clear chain of command.

f. A bureaucracy depends upon both formal and informal channels of communication.

g. A bureaucracy is governed by an elaborate system of rules.

h. Bureaucrats are frequently subjected to cross-pressure situations.

Suggested Procedures

These two lessons are treated together because they deal with different aspects of the same phenomena: the factors that affect the conduct of large bureaucracies. Taken together the lessons will require two or three days, depending upon your use of the various activities suggested in the following paragraphs.

One way to present the lesson would be to have students read both lessons before launching a discussion. To help your students understand the basic elements of a bureaucracy, you might wish to ask them whether their school is a bureaucracy. How might they find the answer to this question? Students could examine charts of formal school organization, if any exist. They could determine if the school system has developed a handbook or a guide of rules and procedures for managing the system. They could interview teachers and administrators for information regarding hierarchical relationships, formal rules, channels of communication, and cross-pressure situations. Understanding the degree to which their school is or is not a part of a bureaucratic system will help fix the ideas from the lesson.

On January 11, 1971, *The New York Times* printed a story about the "red tape" that accompanies the New York City bureaucracy. The story pointed out that to employ someone in the Model Cities program required 56 steps in five different agencies. To buy a desk or a truck involved 71 steps.

Transparency 44, which has been modeled on this article, gives a much simpler, yet still involved, series of steps in the purchase of a truck for the Baker Heights Sanitation Department. Read the following steps to the class as T-44 is projected.

1. The Baker Heights Sanitation Department sends request for a truck to the Central Model Cities Office.

2. The request is approved and sent to the Bureau of the Budget.

3. The Budget Bureau approves request.

4. The Central Sanitation Office is notified of the approval.

5. A division of the Budget Bureau prepares a list of requirements for purchasing a truck and sends it to Sanitation Purchasing.

6. Sanitation Purchasing receives list of requirements for buying truck, reviews list, and prepares a purchase order to be sent to the Central Sanitation Office for approval.

7. The head of Central Sanitation approves request and sends it to another city department, the Department of Purchase.

8. The Department of Purchase sends a copy of the request to the Board of Estimates.

9. The Board of Estimates prepares a set of recommendations for the suggested prices of truck and related equipment and sends a copy of its recommendations to the Budget Bureau.

10. The Budget Bureau adds its own recommendations and returns the truck purchasing order to the Board of Estimates.

11. The Board of Estimates completes its recommendations and sends the request to the Department of Purchase.

12. The Department of Purchase sends letters to interested truck dealers asking them to submit bids on the truck.

13. The lowest bid is selected by the Department of Purchase, and the winning dealer is given the contract to supply the truck.

14. The truck dealer delivers the truck to Sanitation Purchasing.

15. The truck is inspected and approved by Sanitation Purchasing and then sent to the Central Sanitation Office.

16. The comptroller in Central Sanitation inspects the truck and purchasing orders and sends the truck to Baker Heights.

17. The truck reaches the Baker Heights Sanitation Department ten to twelve months after the initial order.

You may wish to use this as an illustration of the dangers of too large a bureaucracy with too

many rules and regulations. Ask students to speculate about why such elaborate rules are necessary.

Worksheet 12 is available for use with this lesson—either as a required project or as an optional activity for extra credit. Students individually or in pairs will interview some local person in a large organization who can describe a bureaucratic procedure consisting of several steps. The organization may be the local school system, a branch of the government, or a sizable business firm. From their interviews, students should get a clearer conception of the kinds of rules that exist in a bureaucracy and the reasons for them.

First you will need to have available—as a list on the bulletin board or as a separate handout—a list of possible interviews. Some sample situations follow:

1. Handling of a worker's grievance in a company after a contract with a labor union.

2. Filling a job vacancy in (a) school system, or (b) government agency, or (c) large hospital, or (d) business firm.

3. Dismissing an employee in (a) school system, or (b) government agency, or (c) large hospital, or (d) business firm.

4. Arranging for an out-of-town field trip by a teacher in your school.

5. Arranging for a payroll deduction to pay for an employee's pledge to the United Fund or Community Chest.

6. Getting reimbursement for out-of-pocket expenses by an employee of (a) school system, or (b) government agency, or (c) business firm.

7. At the Public Welfare Department, arranging for (a) replacement of a lost welfare check, or (b) getting a higher allowance because of an addition to the family, or (c) getting a replacement for a worn-out refrigerator.

8. At the highway department, the steps to be taken before starting repavement of a section of the road.

9. At a business firm, the processing of a claim for workmen's compensation as a result of injury on the job.

10. Processing of Medicare or Medicaid claims.

11. Arranging for the purchase of new shelves, tables, etc., at the local public library.

12. Purchase and installation of some new facility in a city, county, or state park.

13. Ordering a new film projector for your school.

14. A group of parents request the city to install a stop light at a dangerous intersection. What are the steps from the receipt of the request to the installation of the stop light?

15. Processing a claim for unemployment insurance at the local State Employment Office.

Encourage students to think of alternate situations. In a number of cases a parent may be able to serve as the respondent in the interview. Make sure that students do not overlook this source of information. On the basis of past experience your list of interview situations should expand from year to year.

Individual students can volunteer to give an oral report on their findings. Or the teacher or a student committee can review the finished worksheets in order to select several to be given as oral reports. Perhaps one or more students can complete the project before the next session of the class. In this case, use the first part of the next class period for reporting and discussion.

To build student confidence in their own interview situation, it would be helpful to have the teacher and a student role-play an interview. The teacher can be the respondent, perhaps describing a bureaucratic procedure in the school and having on hand any forms involved in the procedure.

Recruitment of Federal Bureaucrats

Pages 444-448 [200-204]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students know that federal bureaucrats can be classified into two general categories: career officials and political appointees.

2. Students can explain ways in which the role of political appointee differs from that of career official.

3. Students know that as a group a greater proportion of men than women hold top posts in the bureaucracy, that bureaucrats as a group tend to be better educated than the population as a whole, and that bureaucrats come from all regions of the nation.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson should require very little discussion. You may wish to ask students to read it on their own and ask if there are questions about it. If there are no questions, you could move on to the next lesson.

Watch for news articles on changes in the composition of the federal bureaucracy. Clearly in the last few years there have been increases in the number of women, blacks, and ethnic minorities winning political appointment and civil service promotions to policy-making positions. This would be an appropriate spot to discuss Affirmative Action programs and their effect on the recruitment of bureaucrats.

Bureaucrats as Decision-Makers

Pages 448-461 [204-217]; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students know that federal bureaucrats make a large number of important decisions that affect them.

2. Students can explain various factors that influence bureaucratic decisions, including *circumstances leading to a decision, individual characteristics of decision-makers, status relationships, rules, public opinion, available resources,* and *external decision-makers.*

3. They can apply these factors correctly to the case "When Is a Ham a Ham?" by answering the questions at the end of this lesson.

Suggested Procedures

Students should be able to handle the conceptual part of this lesson easily, as the analytical approach used is nearly identical to that developed to treat presidential and congressional decision-making. Therefore, the lesson in part is further application of an analytical scheme learned earlier.

However, bureaucratic decision-making does have some special features. Status relationships may be more complex, for instance; and bureaucratic decision-making seems more controlled by rules. Nevertheless, political decisions in the bureaucracy as elsewhere are primarily accommodational decisions. It is also important to point out the general rule that the more controversial the issue, the more likely it is that it will be decided by the highest levels of the bureaucracy. The more routine the decision, the more likely it will be decided by more junior, career officials.

One topic you may wish to discuss with your students is a bureaucrat's right and opportunity to dissent and oppose policies he or she believes are wrong. On September 19, 1970, the *New York Times* printed a story by Jack Rosenthal in which he reported the views of Assistant Attorney General William H. Rehnquist (later Supreme Court justice) on this matter. He pointed out that government employees do not have an unrestricted freedom to criticize government policies in public. The relative degree of freedom an official has depends in part upon his or her rank. Rehnquist was quoted:

"In the midst of the debate over whether or not Judge [Clement F.] Haynsworth should be confirmed to the Supreme Court," Mr. Rehnquist said, "it will not do for the Attorney General publicly to state that he now sees that the presidential nomination was a mistake, and that he certainly understands why the Senate will probably reject it.

"If the President is not free to dismiss advisers such as this for such public statements, the executive branch might just as well shut up shop tomorrow."

With officials of lower rank, less close to decision-making authority, and less responsible for carrying out decisions, he said, "the Government's interest in governing becomes lesser in the scale, and the employe's right as a citizen to speak his mind becomes greater."

It is entirely proper for presidential decisions to be debated and criticized in Congress and in

public, he said. But within the executive branch, "the rule must be quite different."

"The President and the Secretary of Defense whom he appoints should be able to push for the funding of an anti-ballistic missile without necessarily obtaining the approval of a majority of the employees of the Defense Department," the Assistant Attorney General said.

If not, he continued, the nation would be governed not by an elected President, "but by a number of temporary tenants of government jobs who have [no] vestige whatever of a popular mandate."*

Do your students agree with this point of view?

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 461 [217].* **1.** (a) M. R. Clarkson. (b) Yes. (c) Specialists reporting to Mr. Clarkson and later to Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman.

2. (a) The meatpackers profited by the first decision at the expense of farmers and consumers. Reversal of the decision reversed the winners and losers. (b) It is possible that the Republican administration listened more to the businesses selling meat. The Democrats may have felt greater affinity to the consumer.

3. There was time to consider alternative policies.

4. It was reported that consumers wanted juicier ham. But this impression did not hold up when water was later added to meat. Then it appeared that consumers did not want to pay for water when they thought they were buying pork.

5. Mr. Clarkson first appointed a task force to examine current regulations. It recommended policies that led to the first rule change. Following the protest the new rule provoked, and after the election of a new President, Clarkson announced a series of hearings to be held in various cities at which people could testify regarding their views on the ham regulations. Following the hearings, the rule was revoked.

6. Clarkson clearly had to be attentive to the Secretary of Agriculture, meatpackers, farmers, and consumers.

7. Public opinion brought pressure on the new Democratic administration and led to the decision to hold a hearing to review the regulation.

8. The first rule probably over-represented the interests of the meatpackers. The second rule seemed to accommodate more people.

9. Congress passed a law providing for the inspection of meat passing across state boundaries in order to protect consumers from adulterated meat. It was left to the Department of Agriculture to set standards for meat inspection and to decide when meat was "adulterated." The question that faced Clarkson was whether watered pork was adulterated. The answer to this question could not be found in the original legislation.

Transparency Lesson. We have also provided a transparency (T-45) that can be used with this lesson. The transparency contains a quotation from the Refuse Act of 1899 relating to regulations aimed at avoiding pollution of water. The transparency is designed so that students can read the quotation from the act while the date of the act's passage is not disclosed until the teacher chooses to reveal it. The transparency should provoke student awareness of the need for systematic bureaucratic procedures for enforcement if legislation is to have significant impact. Passage of legislation is but one step in the effective enactment of public policy.

Present the transparency to the students. Ask them to suggest effects a bill like this would have on the environment. Students are likely to suggest that the bill would be an effective means to preserve the purity of lakes and rivers.

Then reveal that the date of passage of the law was March 1899. Encourage students to explore possible reasons for its lack of effectiveness over the years.

The bill is part of a series of acts dealing with many aspects of navigable waters policy, such as construction on such water, obstruction of flow, shipping, etc. It was not until 1965, under pressure from various environmental lobbies, that a uniform federal standard and conditions for enforcement were established. These procedures involved state and federal agencies and identified steps to be taken with regard to notifying the polluter and eventually applying penalties if pollution were not stopped. In 1970 President Nixon used this act to order appropriate agencies to step-up enforcement of pure water policy.

*"Official Dissent Termed Limited," by Jack Rosenthal. *The New York Times*, September 19, 1970. © 1970 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

Aircraft Noise: A Problem for Bureaucratic Decision-Makers

Pages 462-477 [218-233]; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students should be able to define some of the "social costs" of aircraft noise, e.g., effects on school and hospital operations, real-estate values, cultural events, etc.

2. Students can explain why the FAA's responsibility both to "promote" and to "regulate" civil aviation can result in conflict and cross-pressure situations within the agency.

3. If asked to compare Public Law 90-411 with the provisions of the noise certification standards as described in the FAA news release, students will discern that the law is very general in its prescriptions whereas the FAA standard is very specific.

4. When asked what powers are conferred on the FAA Administrator by the law, students will be able to give an example of discretionary powers conferred by the law.

5. If asked, on the basis of the documents, how the FAA uses Public Law 90-411 to answer critics of the FAA noise regulations, students will be able to point to the repeated use of the phrase from the law: "economically reasonable and technologically practicable."

6. Students should be able to identify illustrative passages from the interview (a) that provide evidence of the rules, norms, and procedures that influence the behavior of officials in this particular governmental agency; (b) that point to the FAA's conception of how the public makes its view known to the FAA; and (c) that illustrate the very practical and political standard by which the FAA can judge its own regulations.

Suggested Procedures

This is an extended case study of one bureaucratic decision. You will probably need two days to teach this lesson well.

The first part of the lesson begins by establishing the problem: aircraft noise. A large proportion of bureaucratic decisions are made to "problems" like this one. You should discuss this section sufficiently to clarify the scope of the noise problem in both its present and future aspects. Review the meaning of decibel levels in order that students will be able to assess the levels established by the FAA regulations.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 469 [225] top.* (1) No. (2) The primary purpose is to authorize the issuance of noise regulations within guidelines prescribed by law.

Page 469 [225] second series. (1) This announcement indicates that the FAA is undertaking the effort to carry out the intent of P. L. 90-411. (2) Decision-making must conform to certain rules and procedures. (3) Aircraft manufacturers, airport authorities, and airline officials.

Page 470 [226]. (1) No firm answer is possible, but the airlines did gain in that little was done to actually reduce the volume of noise around airports. (2) It is clear that the FAA tried to reach a decision that would please partially most of the concerned groups.

Page 473 [229]. (1) Among the interested groups were citizens living near airports, the airport authorities, aviation trade associations, aircraft manufacturers, and aircraft operators. All of these may be considered FAA "constituencies." (2) Citizens tended to want tighter restrictions on aircraft noise; other groups were concerned about the costs involved in the new regulations. (3) The FAA claimed that it sought lowest possible noise levels within guidelines of the law requiring that regulations be economically reasonable and technologically practical.

Page 474 [230]. (1) This was not a crisis decision. (2) Competing values were noise reduction and a healthy aviation industry. (3) At the staff level the officials are engineers, technicians, and other specialists. (4) Rules or procedures include congressional hearings on the law; the enactment of P. L. 90-411; public hearings preceding the writing of the regulations; issuance of various documents; and administration of the regulations. (5) There are status relationships within the agency, between the agency and Congress, and between the FAA and its various "constituencies." (6) The FAA did not bow entirely to public opinion, but did appear to use public opinion to justify putting some pressure on the aviation industry. (7) The FAA was constrained by the

amount of money one could expect the aviation industry to spend to reduce noise and by the level of technology available to control noise. (8) Some of the external decision-makers were state and local officials. It is possible that local governments might adopt more stringent controls than those approved by the FAA.

Page 477 [*233*]. (1) It was primarily a political decision. (2) Writing regulations on noise is a kind of legislative process. The regulations are really an extension of P. L. 49-911. The FAA had to "interpret" the law in order to write the regulations. (3) You should accept a variety of answers, provided that students are able to support their points of view with logic and evidence.

Some Value Conflicts in the Bureaucratic Role

Pages 478-421 [234-237]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students will be able to assume the role of federal bureaucrats in five hypothetical cases, choose among competing decision choices, and justify their decision in each case.

2. Students can explain cross-pressure situations that face federal bureaucrats by drawing upon their experiences in the five cases.

Suggested Procedures

The purpose of this lesson is to place students in situations that will lead them to become more empathetic for federal bureaucrats facing cross-pressure situations. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers to each hypothetical case. Each case represents a realistic circumstance. All of the potential solutions offered in each case are reasonable outcomes and have been adopted at one time or another by people holding these positions. Each can be "justified" in some way.

You should ask students to read each case, choose one of the possible decisions as the best one (or write an additional decision if they prefer), and write a justification for each of their choices. Most of the class discussion should focus on the reasons the students have given for their decision. To further stimulate student reflection on the various alternative decisions, you might wish to pose these questions:

1. Is their decision morally right?

2. Who will be hurt by their decision?

3. What would be the effect on government and society be if everyone behaved as they did?

4. Will their decision contribute to, or detract from, public confidence in government?

5. Would they be proud to have their decision published in the newspaper

Some Comments on Individual Cases. *Case 1* is fairly common in government. New programs rarely achieve as much as their sponsors hoped or promised. What should a program officer do when the program has been shown to have fallen short of its goals? There is a tendency to cover up the disappointments in order to preserve congressional support while continuing to work to improve the program's operation.

Case 2 is based upon the record of Alexander P. Butterfield, a former Air Force official who testified to the Joint Economic Committee in 1968 and 1969 about Air Force procurements, including contracts for the C-5A, a large cargo airplane. His testimony before Congress about cost overruns and other problems with the C-5A got him into trouble with his Air Force superiors, leading ultimately to his dismissal.

Case 3 refers to situations that have reportedly arisen after various election campaigns; the most recent charges were lodged against the Nixon administration following election victories in 1968 and 1972.

Case 4 is based upon Daniel Ellsberg and the "Pentagon Papers" case. While engaged in gathering materials on American involvement in South Vietnam as part of a Department of Defense project, Ellsberg prepared duplicate copies of some of the documents and leaked them to *The New York Times* and to William Fulbright, head of the Seante Foreign Relations Committee. Ellsberg was later arrested and charged with stealing secret government documents. Technical questions surrounding the prosecution's case ultimately led to its being thrown out of court, permitting Ellsberg to avoid punishment.

Case 5 refers generally to House and Senate inquiries into FBI and CIA activities. These inquiries, conducted during 1975 and 1976, caused many FBI and CIA employees to face choices similar to those outlined in this case.

Unit Four · Test 4

Objective

Students will be able to complete a 20-item multiple-choice exam over the material covered in chapter 16, answering at least 16 out of the 20 items correctly.

Suggested Procedures

The test contains 20 multiple-choice questions. The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about the correct answers. Answers appear on the spirit duplicating masters.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The Nature of American State and Local Governments

Pages 484-493 [240-249]. One or two days

Chapter Overview

This chapter consists of a single lesson. Its purpose is to provide a general structural context within which students can examine state and local decision-makers. Students need some information about the relationship between state governments and the federal government, about the number and variety of local governments, and about the relationship of local units to the state government in order to understand fully the roles of governor, mayor, state legislator, etc.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Following are a few books, mainly for teachers and very good students, that provide helpful information about state and local government. They are useful throughout the unit.

The Book of the States (Lexington, Kentucky: Council of State Governments, issued biennially). This is the basic reference book for data about government in each of the fifty states. The book is published biennially on even years. In odd years, two supplements are published: one lists executive officials and legislators at that time; the second lists administrative officials by functions.

Crew, Robert E., Jr. (editor). *State Politics: Readings on Political Behavior* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1969).

Dvorin, Eugene P. and Misner, Arthur. *Governments Within the States* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1971).

Dye, Thomas R. *Politics in States and Communities*, Second Edition (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973).

Jacobs, Herbert, and Vines, Kenneth N. (editors). *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*, Second Edition (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971).

Key, Vladimer O., Jr. *American State Politics: An Introduction* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Book Company, 1959).

Objectives

1. Students will be able to explain the constitutional basis for state and local government.

2. Students can list and describe five types of local governmental units.

Suggested Procedures

The study of state and local government presents some special problems for authors and teachers. When studying the federal government, it is possible to draw upon illustrations and generalizations that are serviceable to teachers and students throughout the country. This is less true when dealing with state and local government because of local variations in rules, customs, and procedures. Nevertheless, throughout this unit we have tried to point out general patterns in state and local government; then we have illustrated some of the most typical features with case studies drawn from different regions of the nation.

Despite the difficulties in reaching generalizations that hold true for all portions of the nation, teachers have opportunities to make state and local government somewhat more real and personal to their students than is often the case with a study of federal government. Teachers can invite local officials to speak to classes; students can conduct studies of local issues and how they are being handled by state and local units of government. Throughout Unit Five teachers should help students apply what they are learning about state and local government generally to the state and community in which their students live.

Chapter 16 treats the structural context of state and local government. Terms such as county, town, municipality, township, school district, and special district are introduced. Teachers should ask local chapters of the League of Women Voters or the Chamber of Commerce for pamphlets that treat local units of government in their states. This will enable students to explore which of these terms fit their local situations. Booklets such as those described above will prove useful throughout Unit Five; they are needed also in order to answer the questions on pages 491, 493 [247, 249].

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Chief Executives in State and Local Government

Pages 494-521 [250-277]. One week

Chapter Overview

This chapter treats two major chief executives: the governor and the mayor. Where possible, an effort is made to apply some of the approaches used in studying the role of the President to an exploration of the role of governor and the role of mayor. While these three roles—President, governor, and mayor—differ in many ways, each must function as chief executive in its domain, thereby making some comparisons possible. Throughout the chapter students face such questions as: What does a mayor or a governor do? And what are the factors that influence their decisions?

The Role of State Governor describes eight aspects of the governor's role. They correspond closely to those of the President, but differences are pointed out. Students also study a month's schedule of activities for one governor to see how he divided his time across the various aspects of a governor's role.

A Governor's Program for Environmental Quality examines the efforts by Governor Tom McCall of Oregon to provide leadership in his state for the preservation of Oregon's natural environment.

City Government and the Role of the Mayor provides general information about how the mayor's role is structured within three types of city government: mayor-council, council-manager, and commission.

Decision-Making in the Mayor's Office first identifies some of the factors that influence decision-making by mayors. Students then have a chance to decide how they would act as mayor in a particular situation.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Allen, David J. *New Governor in Indiana* (Bloomington, Indiana: Institute of Public Administration, Indiana University, 1965). This short book is very good on the day-to-day activities of a governor. Its scope is limited to Indiana more than a decade ago. (For teachers and students)

The American Governors: Their Backgrounds, Occupations, and Government Experience (Lexington, Kentucky: Council of State Governments, 1973). Provides statistical data on state governors and is valuable as a reference book. (For teachers and student reference)

Cunningham, James V. *Urban Leadership in the Sixties* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1970). This book examines four mayors and the ways they exercise leadership. The book is most useful in showing contrasts in mayoral style and utilization of the administrative organs of government. (For teachers)

Curley, James M. *I'd Do It Again* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957). This is an autobiography of one of the last and most popular of the big city "bosses." (For teachers and students)

The Governor: The Office and Its Powers (Lexington, Kentucky: Council of State Governments, 1972). This is a further reference book on state governors; it contains much data on the various constitutional qualifications placed on governors. (Useful for teacher and student reference)

Loveridge, Ronald O. *City Manager in Legislative Politics* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971). This book discusses the policy-making role of city managers. The author analyses nearly sixty city managers in the San Francisco Bay area. (For teachers)

Michaelson, Ronald D. "An Analysis of the Chief Executive: How the Governor Uses His Time." *State Government* 458 (Summer, 1972) 153-160. Author analyzed how Governor Richard B. Ogilvie spent time during the month of June, 1971. Data drawn from this article is used in the first lesson. (For teachers and students)

Ransome, Coleman B., Jr. *The Office of Governor in the United States* (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1956). While the book is rather old, it is probably still the best work on governors in a comparative perspective. It treats governors during the period 1948-1951. (For teachers primarily)

Ruchelman, Leonard I. (editor). *Big City Mayors: The Crisis in Urban Politics* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1970). The book consists of a collection of scholarly and journalistic articles about the problems faced by mayors in large cities. (For teachers and students)

Steinberg, Alfred. *The Bosses* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972). This is an excellent source for a study of big city "machines" that flourished at the end of the 19th and during the beginning of the 20th centuries in the United States. Six "machines" are examined in detail: those of Hague, Curley, Crump, Pendergast, Long, and Talmadge. (For teachers and students)

The Wall Street Journal (January 22 to March 24, 1971). Series of eight articles on city mayors. Includes Pittsburgh, Newark, Chicago, Oakland, Kansas City, Indianapolis.

Suggested Films

Governing the State (McGraw-Hill) 11 min. color. Treats the roles of the governor and the legislature in formulating, discussing, and passing legislation.

The Mayor (EBF) 11 min. color. Presents the local government of San Leandro, California, and its mayor. Describes the operations of various departments in the city government. Would be useful with the third lesson. Distributed by Encyclopedia Brittanica Educational Corporation.

Suggested Simulation

Mulberry by Dorothy Dodge and Jimmie Powell (Paul S. Amidon and Associates, Inc., 4329 Nicollet Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota), 1970. Players take the roles of citizens, city officials, and professional planners of a hypothetical community called Mulberry and try to create a workable plan for urban renewal. Could be used effectively with the fourth lesson.

The Role of State Governor

Pages 494-500 [250-256]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can list seven aspects of the gubernatorial role and cite instances when each aspect is performed.

2. Students can identify at least one way in which a governor's power is more limited than the President's.

3. Students can apply the seven aspects of gubernatorial role to the activities of Governor Richard Ogilvie, depicted in the lesson.

Suggested Procedures

The governor's role can be divided into seven aspects: head of state, chief executive, chief legislator, chief economic planner, commander in chief, party chief, and representative of all the people. You may wish to ask students which of these roles seem less significant for governors to play as compared to the President.

You may wish to ask students to find newspaper clippings that illustrate each of the governor's roles for display on the bulletin board.

Make certain that students understand that governors have less power over other administrative heads in state governments when compared to the President's power in the federal

Cabinet. Since many of the key administrative leaders in state government are elected also, they do not continue in office only "at the pleasure of the governor." They have independent sources of political strength.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 500* [*256*], **1.** Under the heading "public relations" the governor may have been fulfilling several roles. Clearly *head of state* and *party leader* roles are indicated. So, too, may be *representative of all the people.* "Managing state government" probably involved mainly the *chief executive* role, but *chief economic planner* would be involved at least in the budget sessions. "Lesislative relations" clearly draws most heavily on the *legislative* role, while political leadership seems to call for *party chief* performances mainly. "Staff and office management" seems mainly *chief executive.* It is difficult to decide what "personal" might be beyond the governor's additional role of husband and father. The only aspect not clearly indicated is commander in chief.

2. In general all of the activities cited under "managing state government," "legislative relations," and "political leadership" appear to place the governor in situations where he is either making policy or trying to influence others.

3. Governor Ogilvie spent approximately four times as much time with his personal staff as with other executive officials. Some of the personal staff have responsibilities for legislation, for execution of policy, and for political party matters.

4. Much less time would be devoted to legislative matters and political concerns. More time would be devoted to "managing state government."

5. The lieutenant governor might have made a number of public appearances on behalf of the governor.

A Governor's Program for Environmental Quality

Pages 500-507 [256-263]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students will understand more clearly than before how policies of the state government can affect their daily lives.

2. Students will be able to apply two aspects of the gubernatorial role—chief executive and chief legislator—to the career of Governor Tom McCall of Oregon.

3. Students will acquire information about a problem that affects all states: how best to protect and preserve our natural environment.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson is a case study about the activities of Governor Tom McCall in Oregon during the period 1967-1975. Oregon is unique in the sense that this state has led the nation in devising and implementing energy conservation and environmental protection legislation. The case is also useful for showing the kind of leadership an aggressive and imaginative governor can provide.

Begin by having students read the entire case, noting the main problem facing Oregon as outlined in the case and the various ways Oregon attacked the problem. When they have finished reading the case, ask them to answer the questions at the end of the lesson.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. In the role of chief executive, McCall (a) appointed himself head of the State Sanitary Authority and ordered hearings on water quality, (b) appointed a new pollution control administrator, (c) cut back aid to attract tourists, (d) issued an Executive Order halting road construction in coastal zones, (e) appointed a task force on Greenway and later began to buy land to form Greenway, (f) ordered state agencies to conserve power, (g) ordered display lighting to be turned off to save energy.

In the role of chief legislator, McCall (a) introduced new legislation on water quality and land-use planning, (b) helped gain a beach law giving public access to beaches, and (c) encouraged a bill banning flip-top beverage cans.

2. Some examples of the governor's influence on others include (a) getting the legislature to pass new laws, (b) getting members of the executive branch to enforce existing law firmly, (c) appearing on TV to discourage rapid growth, (d) influencing private firms to conserve energy, and (e) convincing the Superintendent of Public Instruction to reduce energy consumption in the schools.

City Government and the Role of the Mayor

Pages 508-514 [264-270]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students are able to distinguish among three main types of city government: mayor-council, council-manager, and commission.

2. Students can distinguish between a "strong mayor" type and a "weak mayor" type of mayor-council organization.

3. Students can list the main aspects of the mayor's role.

4. Students can identify typical restrictions on the mayor's power.

5. Students can explain the terms "political machine" and "political boss."

Suggested Procedures

The purpose of this lesson is to introduce students to the main features of city government. While the ideas should be relatively easy for students to grasp, a good way to make certain that students understand the lesson is to ask them to apply their knowledge to their own city government. Students should examine charts and interview public officials to learn which kind of city government they have and how it operates.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. (a) The mayor serves primarily as titular and ceremonial head of the city in both plans. In the commission form, mayors are likely to have also a primary responsibility for at least one aspect of city government. (b) In the "weak mayor" system the mayor is the chief executive officer of the city but does not have full appointive power nor much power over the council. Such mayors must try to persuade people to act in accordance with their wishes. (c) In the "strong mayor" system, mayors have the power to hire and fire administrative heads, may propose legislation to the council, prepare the budget, and may be able to veto council acts.

2. What cities can do is partly circumscribed by what the states permit them to do. The city charter sets some constraints; legislation may pose further ones. Sometimes city budgets must be approved by state budget committees; the amount and/or kind of taxes that can be levied must also be approved by the state. Cities also are subject to certain restrictions from the federal government regarding how funds can be spent. Some services—e.g., schools—may lay outside the jurisdiction of city government.

Decision-Making in the Mayor's Office

Pages 514-521 [270-277]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students will understand that decision-making is at the center of the mayor's role.

2. Students can apply the factors affecting decision-making learned earlier to decision-making by mayors.

3. Students can distinguish among mayors who are "promoters," "brokers," or "figureheads."

4. Students can assume the role of mayor in a hypothetical decision, can make decisions affecting "their" city, and justify their choices.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson consists of two parts. The first consists of a review of the various factors that influence decision-making: (a) circumstances of the decision, (b) characteristics of the decision-maker, and (c) other factors such as rules, staus relationships, public opinion, available resources, and external decision-makers.

The second part of the lesson presents a hypothetical situation that might face a mayor upon assuming office. Your students are asked to imagine themselves in the role of mayor and to make decisions they deem best given the circumstances. *Worksheet 24* has been provided to help students work with this lesson.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Legislative Bodies in State and Local Government

Pages 522-53? [278-295]. One week

Chapter Overview

This chapter examines legislative bodies at state and local levels of government. The chapter consists of four lessons: two focus on the conduct of state legislatures; the remaining two treat legislative practices in city and county governments.

An Overview of State Legislatures provides general information about the operation of state legislatures and indications of changes underway within some legislatures to make them more responsive to modern demands. Students also have an opportunity to review the stages in bill passage.

The Medical Malpractice Act: A Case Study in Legislative Action describes an act passed in 1975 by the Indiana General Assembly. Special emphasis is devoted to the informal processes that determined the bill's fate.

Legislative Bodies in Local Governments provides an overall treatment of the kinds of issues likely to face city and town councils, as well as various boards and commissions that have policy-making responsibility.

The Case of the Crowded Corral is a case study of how the Beloit (Wisconsin) City Council resolved one of its problems. Focus is on the compromises that are frequently a part of legislative action.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Banfield, Edward C. *Big City Politics* (New York: Random House, 1965). This book contains a good treatment of the politics and structure of government in selected cities: Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, El Paso, Los Angeles, Miami, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Seattle. (For teachers and good students)

Banfield, Edward C. *Political Influence* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1965). This is a theoretical analysis of political influence drawing upon Chicago as evidence for conclusions about the dynamics of political decision-making. One of the classics in the field. (For teachers)

Barber, James David. *The Lawmakers: Recruitment and Adaptation to Legislative Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965). This is a study of the 1959 session of the Connecticut legislature. Barber divides first-term legislators into four types: lawmakers, spectators, advertisers, and reluctants. (For teachers)

Buell, Erwin C., and Brigman, William E. (editors). *The Grass Roots: Readings in State and Local Government* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1968). This reader contains a number of articles by former state legislators reporting on their experiences. (For teachers and students)

Citizens Conference on State Legislatures. *The Sometime Governments: A Critical Study of the 50 American Legislatures* (Kansas City: Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, 1973). This is a report of a 14-month study of state legislatures by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures. Report announces the findings and offers suggestions for ways legislatures need to change. (For teachers)

Jewell, Malcolm E. *State Legislature: Politics and Practice*, Second Edition (New York: Random House, 1969). This is an excellent, short summary of state legislatures. The book contains colorful examples and summarizes recent studies of state legislatures. (For teachers and students)

Mills, Warner E., Jr., and Davis, Harry R. *Small City Government: Seven Cases in Decision-Making* (New York: Random House, 1962). This paperback provides a number of case studies about how Beloit, Wisconsin, met the problems facing its city government. (For teachers and students)

Sayre, Wallace S., and Kaufman, Herbert. *Governing New York City: Politics in the Metropolis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1965). This is one of the best books on metropolitan politics and is considered to be a classic study of New York City. (For teachers)

Vidich, Arthur J., and Bensman, Joseph. *Small Town in Mass Society* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958). This study is a study of a small town in upper New York State. It provides a detailed treatment of small-town politics. (Mainly for teachers)

Suggested Film

Legislative Politics (AMEDFL) 20 min. color. This film follows the life of an air-pollution bill through the state legislature. Good explanation of steps through which a bill passes to become law. This film would be especially useful with the first two lessons of this chapter. Distributed by American Educational Films, 132 Lasky Drive, Beverly Hills, CA 90212.

Suggested Simulation

Pressure: A Simulation of Decision-Making in Local Government by David Rosser. (Interact, Box 262, Lakeside, California 92040). Students play members of a city council experiencing pressure from six groups as the council seeks to reach a decision on a low-income housing project. Would be effective with the last two lessons of this chapter.

An Overview of State Legislatures

Pages 522-529 [278-285];
one or two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can explain the term "citizen legislator" and tell how amateurism has affected the work of state legislatures.

2. Students can identify three types of legislators—leaders, work horses, and spectators—and offer reasons accounting for the three types.

3. Students can list at least four norms that affect the legislative role.

4. Students can describe the formal steps in bill passage.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson provides a general overview of state legislatures. Students learn that the 50 legislatures have many features in common, but they vary across each other also. Students should be asked to compare their state with the other states cited in *Table 6* to learn how their state compares according to name, length and frequency of sessions, salaries for legislators, number of members, and terms of office.

Special attention needs to be given to the question of amateurism in state legislatures. Make certain that students appreciate the relatively modest degree of support we tend to give state legislators as compared to members of Congress.

The lesson also provides information regarding the formal and informal steps entailed in the passage of legislation. *Worksheet 25* is entitled "Legislate!" It is a board game that can be played with two to four players at a time. The game serves to reinforce the rules and procedures involved in passing legislation and further strengthens the view that few bills pass for the many that die enroute.

Tape or paste the two pages of *Worksheet 25* side by side to form the game board.

Rules for "Legislate!"

1. Two to four players can play at one time on each game board.

2. Give each player a marker, such as a paper clip or a button, to keep track of progress in the game.

3. Moves are taken in turn. How far one can move each time is determined by the flip of a coin: "heads" permits the player to move one space forward each turn; "tails" permits a player to move two spaces. Players can move no more than two spaces at a time unless so instructed by their position on the board. No player can move more than once on each turn unless instructed to do so by the square when he or she has landed.

4. The first player to reach square 39 or 41 wins the game.

5. Sometimes a player is asked to wait one or more turns. This means that all other players can take their turns while ignoring the penalized player until the required number of passes has been satisfied.

After the Game. One period might be used to give instructions and to play the game. A second class period might be used to review the various steps—both the formal and informal procedures—that determine one's success in securing a bill's passage.

The Medical Malpractice Act: A Case Study in Legislative Action

Pages 529-532 [285-288]; one class period

Objective

Students can apply their knowledge of the legislative process to a case study concerning medical malpractice legislation passed by the Indiana General Assembly.

Suggested Procedures

This case study illustrates how new legislation can move swiftly through a legislature when there is a recognized need and when it is guided by people familiar with the legislative process. Successful passage of the medical malpractice act required knowledge of both the formal and the informal aspects of bill passage.

Probably you should first ask the students to read the case, answering the questions on page 529 [285] when they have finished. Their answers to these questions may become the focus for discussion. You may also wish to have students find articles about medical malpractice legislation in other states for the purpose of comparing Indiana's law to those passed by others.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. The "authors" were mainly attorneys working on behalf of the Indiana State Medical Association. Only one, Fred Stewart, is identified by name. The point is that the bill was not developed initially by the legislators who introduced it. However, the bill underwent considerable change in the Senate committee under the direction of Senator Adam Benjamin.

2. No initial role at all. Later, legislators were involved in altering and amending the bill as it proceeded through the legislature.

3. Health-care professions, hospitals, insurance companies, and perhaps lawyers. The average citizen profited if the bill served to keep medical costs down.

4. (a) Legislation was drafted by a lobbying organization. (b) Lobbyists found co-sponsors for the legislation. (c) Lobbyists succeeded in having the bill assigned to the "right" committee and brought pressure to bear on the committee chairman. (d) Lobbyists brought friendly witnesses to committee hearings. (e) Lobbyists aroused public opinion on behalf of legislation by stimulating letters and telephone calls to legislators.

5. Student answers will vary. Among the positive contributions that lobbyists can make are to alert legislators to problems that may not be foreseen -to educate legislators on issues and details. Lobbying may bring negative results if lobbyists succeed in getting legislation that is clearly not in the public interest.

Legislative Bodies in Local Governments

Pages 532-536 [288-292]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can explain the ways in which city councils, county councils, and school boards function as local legislative bodies.

2. Students can identify some restrictions that face local legislative bodies that are not shared by state legislatures.

3. Students can indicate ways in which city councils, county councils, and school boards sometimes assume executive as well as legislative responsibilities.

Suggested Procedures

The main point of the lesson is to establish that a variety of councils, commissions, and boards serve "legislative" purposes at local levels of government. It is important to help students distinguish between legislative and administrative functions of government. Note that these functions sometimes become blurred, as for example with the city commission form of government.

One of the best ways to work with the lesson would be to obtain meeting agendas for the county council, city council, school board, or other local legislative body. Discuss the agenda in class, pointing out the range of policy issues that come before these organizations.

The Case of the Crowded Corral

Pages 536-539 [292-295]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can learn about one kind of legislative issue that faces city councils.

2. Students will gain an understanding of the role of compromise in legislative decision-making.

Suggested Procedures

This case study concerns an issue that arose in Beloit, Wisconsin, a few years ago. The issue, a request to alter a zone from "residential" to "business," is a familiar one to city councils. How the city council in Beloit resolved the issue illustrates the political side of legislative decision-making.

Ask students to read the case study and write answers to the questions at the end of the lesson. Class discussion might focus on student answers to these questions.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. (a) Mike knew several of the council members. They had urged him to buy additional parking lots. (b) Herman Schultz opposed Mike's request. One of his friends owned property adjacent to the proposed parking lots. (c) Some people appeared at the council meeting to oppose Mike's request. (d) One of George Blakely's partners took a council member on a drive to show the extent of the parking problem. (e) A letter signed by homeowners and protesting Mike's request was sent to the council. (f) Council members discussed Mike's problem informally outside of the regular sessions.

2. The traffic department provided the council with an estimate of danger that would follow after restoring parking on both sides of Park and Henry streets.

3. (a) Mike's legitimate need for more parking space for customers; (b) the homeowners' legitimate concern to protect the value of their property; (c) the risks entailed by providing parking on both sides of busy traffic arteries.

4. Students responses will vary.

Unit Five · Test 1

Objective

Students will be able to complete a 20-item exam over the material covered in chapters 17 and 18, answering at least 16 of the 20 items correctly.

Suggested Procedures

The test contains 20 multiple-choice questions. The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about correct answers. Answers to the test appear on the spirit duplicating masters.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Courts in State and Local Government

Pages 540-557 [296-313]. One week

Chapter Overview

Few Americans have personal, direct contact with the United States Supreme Court or even the federal trial courts, but a large number of Americans—perhaps a majority—experience one of the many state and local courts sometime during their lives. This chapter treats these various courts whose decisions can affect each of us very directly. Students look at the problem of crowded court dockets and at efforts to reduce backlogs. The chapter has three lessons.

Organization of Courts within a State provides a general overview of how state and local courts are organized and their general responsibilities.

Decision-Making in the Courts describes the judicial process in criminal and civil cases.

Go Ahead, Sue Me! explains how a person with very little money and no knowledge of the law can seek relief through small-claims courts.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Glick, Henry Robert, and Vines, Kenneth N. *State Court Systems* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973). This is an excellent, brief treatment of state courts and contains an especially good chapter on the judicial role. (For teachers mainly)

Jacob, Herbert. *Justice in America: Courts, Lawyers, and the Judicial Process*, Second Edition (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972). This book by Jacob is a brief introduction to the judicial process as a whole. (For teachers and students)

Jacob, Herbert. *Urban Justice: Law and Order in American Cities* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973). This book is a good introduction to the criminal and civil legal process as it operates in American cities. It examines also the police, the urban bar, court personnel, and the disposition of cases. (For teachers and students)

Matthews, Douglas. *Sue the B*st*rds* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1975). Despite the arousing title, this book is a very solid and helpful introduction to the operation and conduct of small-claims courts. Students who become particularly interested in small-claims courts will enjoy this book. (For teachers and students)

State Court Systems: A Statistical Summary (Lexington, Kentucky: Council of State Governments, 1970). This is a useful reference work on state courts. It provides state-by-state information on nearly all aspects of the court system. (For teachers and student reference)

Summers, Robert S., and others. *The American Legal System* (Lexington, Mass.: Ginn and Company, 1974). Five pamphlets explore the operation of courts and explain some basic legal concepts. Similar material at a lower reading level is available under the title *Justice and Order through Law.*

Recent interest in law-related education has led to a rapid growth in materials to teach about courts and the judicial process. Following are three organizations that provide resources for teachers:

Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship, American Bar Association, 1155 East 60th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637. Norman Gross is the executive director. In the

past the "Special Committee" has produced various guides and bibliographies of law-related educational material useful to teachers. One such guide is *Gaming: An Annotated Catalogue of Law-Related Games and Simulations.* Write the Committee about available publications.

Constitutional Rights Foundation, 609 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90017. Vivian Monroe is Executive Director. The Constitutional Rights Foundation publishes a Newsletter that appears twice each year and is appropriate for classroom use.

Law in American Society Foundation, 33 N. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois 60602. Robert Ratcliffe is Executive Director. The Foundation conducts conferences and workshops for teachers and publishes a journal entitled *Law in American Society.*

Suggested Films

Some of the films cited on page 108 of this Guide portray judicial procedures in trial courts and would be appropriate for showing in this chapter as well.

Suggested Simulations

Plea Bargaining. This is a role-playing simulation in which students act out roles of defense and prosecuting attorneys, defendant, and judge. Available from Educational Manpower, Inc., Box 4272F, Madison, Wisconsin 53711.

Innocent Until---. This simulation allows students to play the roles of persons involved in the trial of a driver accused of manslaughter. Available from ABT Associates, Inc., 55 Wheeler Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

Organization of Courts within a State

Pages 540-545 [296-301]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students will be able to distinguish three general levels of state and local courts.

2. Students can speculate about possible remedies to the heavy caseloads now affecting state and local courts.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson provides an overall treatment about the organization of state and local courts. After reading the lesson, students might be asked to investigate the organization of courts in their own state and community. The questions at the end of the lesson can help guide this investigation.

Decision-Making in the Courts

Pages 545-554 [302-310]; two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can distinguish between criminal cases and civil cases.

2. Students will recognize two general types of criminal cases: felonies and misdemeanors.

3. Students can identify the various stages in a criminal trial.

4. Students can explain the meaning of the term "adversary system" as it applies to American court trials.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson is fairly technical. It may be best to divide it into two parts and devote two days to reading and discussion. Following are some terms that are introduced in the lesson that will pose problems for the students: felony, misdemeanor, petty offense, magistrate, preliminary hearing, formal charge, indictment, information, grand jury, arraignment, plea bargaining, change of venue, adversary system, charge the jury, complaint, summons, answer, and plaintiff. You may wish to post these words on the board and ask students to write a definition of each term.

If it is convenient, a good way to help students apply their new knowledge would be to arrange a field trip to a local court and watch a trial in operation. Perhaps a judge or an attorney would

be willing to speak to the class in order to answer their questions and to provide further information about the judicial process.

Transparency Lesson. *Transparency 46* has been provided to supplement this lesson. T-46 treats the various factors that affect judicial role. Since students have studied the "role" concept earlier, much of the information will seem familiar. Nevertheless, some of the points that follow might be helpful as you show T-46.

As indicated by the diagram, "personal variables" influence a judge's behavior. Political and legal socialization refers to the attitudes about the United States, about American politics, and about what a good judge should do that a person acquires by being a part of the American political culture. For example, Americans learn that justice should be "blind"; that is, the courts should not treat people differently because they are poor or rich, black or white, atheist or religious, etc. In addition to the more general socialization experienced by all Americans, judges are products of a specialized, professional training that also seeks to impart attitudes and beliefs about the law and the proper behavior of judges.

Judges also bring to the bench a set of political attitudes that make each judge somewhat different from others and can affect the types of decisions made. For example, one study found that Democratic judges differed from Republican judges by deciding more frequently:

1. For the defense in criminal cases;
2. For the administrative agency in business regulation cases;
3. For the claimant in unemployment compensation;
4. For finding a constitutional violation in criminal cases;
5. For the government in tax cases;
6. For the tenant in landlord-tenant cases;
7. For the consumer in sale-of-goods cases;
8. For the injured in motor vehicle cases;
9. For the employee in employee injury cases.*

*From a study by Stuart Nagel, "Political Party Affiliation and Judges' Decisions," in *American Political Science Review*, 55 (1961), p. 844. Used by permission.

It would appear that whether judges perceive themselves, or are perceived by others, to be "liberal" or "conservative," Democrat or Republican, may have an effect on the types of decisions that are made.

Undoubtedly a judge's personal background and experiences may also be important. The type of family one had; whether punishment as a child was mild or severe; whether self-discipline was valued in self and in others; attitudes toward vice—all of these factors can leave impressions on youth that are carried with them into adulthood. These attitudes can affect the judge's behavior toward people brought into court. A male judge's attitudes about women and their roles in society, formed through his experience with his mother and wife, may subtly affect his attitude toward women who represent alternative roles and life styles.

Political and judicial system variables are also important. The kind of a political system in which a judge is working will affect the role performance. For example, in race relations cases, blacks have generally been more successful in winning state supreme court decisions in northern or border states than they have in states in the deep South. In some states, where "states rights" beliefs are widely held, state judges seem less constrained to follow guidelines emanating from unpopular decisions of the United States Supreme Court than in states where "states rights" notions are weak.

Whether a person was active in politics or whether a person was recruited to a judgeship because he or she represented urban or rural interests may influence the judge's performance of the judicial role. One governor may appoint a person to the court because of long and faithful service to the party; another judge may be nominated because of a record in a lower court for impartial justice. These two people may enter their new assignments with somewhat different beliefs about what the role of a judge should be.

As we learned when studying the United States Supreme Court, the behavior of judges is also influenced by formal rules, procedures, and judicial customs. Certain styles of behavior are dictated by the fact that one is a judge in an American court of law. Moreover, the type of court will affect the judge's behavior. Minor courts, such as traffic courts, tend to be conducted in ways in which justice is determined swiftly as compared to the more careful pace of a general trial court. Appellate courts have more than one judge who must interact with each other in the process of reaching a

decision. This may be compared to a trial judge who is the only judge in the courtroom.

The diagram indicates that the judge's role is affected also by interactions with other positions, including legislators, executive officials, governors, interest groups, political parties, lawyers, and other judges. These interactions are likely to vary depending upon the kind of court it is. Trial judges are usually recruited from the communities in which they serve. They frequently have close personal associations that extend back to the time in which they practiced law. Rarely are these associations ended abruptly. Sometimes, a judge in a minor court will be able to maintain a private law practice on the side. Appellate judges, on the other hand, typically move from their homes to the capital city. Their interactions are with new people. These may include the governor, legislators, and officials in the executive branch.

The diagram indicates that judicial behavior will be expressed in at least two ways: court decisions and activities engaged in by the judge outside the courtroom. The first should be obvious; the second requires some explanation.

Judges tend to have high prestige in American society. Thus, they are often sought to perform roles in the community that inspire trust and confidence. When John F. Kennedy was assassinated, President Johnson asked Chief Justice Earl Warren to direct the inquiry into the assassination. Presumably it was thought that people would place more confidence in a commission headed by the Chief Justice than by ordinary citizens or by lawmakers or executive officials.

Judges are not agreed regarding the amount and type of activities that judges should engage in outside of the court. The opportunities to serve on various boards and commissions are great. But each poses a possible conflict of interest. For example, a bank may wish to have a judge on its board of directors. People's trust in the bank might grow if prestigious people were listed as directors. But what happens if the bank is sued? In this situation the judge could quickly face a conflict of interest.

Many factors affect the way judges will perform their role. No two judges will perceive the judicial role in exactly the same way. The way the role is perceived will affect the performance of the judge in office.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. (a) The defendant may plead guilty. (Defendant and his attorney decide.) (b) The prosecution may decide it lacks sufficient evidence to gain a verdict of guilty. (Prosecuting attorney decides.) (c) The prosecution and defense attorney may engage in plea bargaining, securing a guilty plea to a lesser charge. (Prosecuting attorney, defense attorney, and defendant decide.) (d) The grand jury may decide there is insufficient evidence to charge the accused. (Grand jury decides.)

2. They decide (a) on inadmissability of evidence, (b) on whether proper procedures are being followed, (c) on whether or not a witness can be ordered to answer questions or be held in contempt of court, (d) on how to instruct the jury about the law, (e) on the sentence if the defendant is found guilty. (f) They can give a directed verdict of innocent if the prosecution has presented a weak or faulty case.

3. Often the defendant realizes that he or she will lose and therefore chooses to pay the claim rather than undertake the costs of fighting the case in court.

Go Ahead, Sue Me!

Pages 554-557 [310-313]; one class period

Objective

Students will acquire a basic understanding of the operation of small-claims courts.

Suggested Procedures

This lesson was included because it provides information about how to use one kind of court to solve typical problems that face consumers. Often young people, in particular, feel that they are taken advantage of by landlords and merchants. Small-claims courts exist to help people with little money, no legal training, but a legitimate complaint. They are also used, of course, by landlords and merchants who have complaints against tenants and customers.

If possible, arrange for the students to visit a small-claims court in order to watch how a hearing is conducted. Pick up copies of the necessary forms from the court clerk's office. Invite a judge from a small-claims court to speak to the class in order to explain the court's operation and the types of cases it receives.

CHAPTER TWENTY

State and Local Bureaucrats

Pages 558-572 [314-328]. Five class periods

Chapter Overview

This chapter is about bureaucratic role behavior in state and local governments. The chapter begins with a general discussion of state and local government bureaucracies and the kinds of bureaucratic roles found in these organizations. Next we present citizens' views of bureaucracies. Then we focus on decision-making in bureaucracies with emphasis on the various controls which limit the role behavior of state and local bureaucrats.

An Overview of State and Local Bureaucracies. We define the bureaucratic role and identify various kinds of bureaucrats in state and local governments. The relationships of bureaucrats to chief executives and legislators are described. Data about the growth of bureaucracies in recent years is presented.

Making Decisions in Bureaucracies. Limitations on the decision-making of bureaucrats are discussed in terms of these four categories: legislative controls, judicial controls, executive controls, and community controls.

Decision-Making in a State Welfare Department. A case study about the reform of policies and procedures in the California Department of Public Welfare. This case illustrates the kind of decisions which bureaucrats make and factors which influence these decisions.

Suggested Readings for Teachers and Students

Blau, Peter M. *Bureaucracy in Modern Society* (New York: Random House, 1956). This slim volume provides a summary of the characteristics of bureaucracy. (For teachers)

Daley, Robert. *Target Blue: An Insiders View of the N.Y.P.D.* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1973). A reporter who served one year as a Deputy Commissioner of the New York Police Department tells it as it is from the inside of this complex bureaucracy. (For teachers and students)

Piven, Frances Fox, and Cloward, Richard A. *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Relief* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972). (For teachers and students)

Ruchelman, Leonard A. *Police Politics: A Comparative Study of Three Cities* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1974). Study of the politics of bureaucratic role behavior of police departments in three cities—Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. (For teachers)

An Overview of State and Local Bureaucracies

Pages 558-563 [314-319];
one or two class periods

Objectives

1. Students can identify the kinds of officials who play bureaucratic roles in state and local governments and the kinds of tasks performed by these officials.

2. Students can describe the increase in bureaucracies in state and local governments in recent years.

Suggested Procedures

Begin the class by asking students to read the three examples of news items about bureaucrats on pages 558-559 [314-315]. Ask them to use information in the news items to speculate about answers to the three questions which precede the news items. Conduct an open-ended discussion of the questions.

Students can continue to read this chapter section and answer the questions at the end of the lesson. Some teachers may choose to use questions 2-4 as a springboard for teaching the structure of the government bureaucracy in their own locality. It will be useful to have poster-size charts of city, county, and school district units of government. Charts of large executive departments in a city or county would also be useful.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. *Page 558 [314].* **1.** The bureaucrats in the three news items are (a) James Rochford, the Superintendent of Police in Chicago; (b) Mitchell Ware, a Deputy Superintendent of Police in Chicago; (c) officials of the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department and the Texas Water Quality Board; (d) Jim Toole, biologist for the parks department; (e) John J. Carroll, Commissioner of the Department of Public Works in Massachusetts; (f) Evelyn Murphy, head of the Department of Environmental Affairs in Massachusetts.

2. Bureaucratic agencies in the news items are the Chicago Police Department, the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, the Texas Water Quality Board, the Massachusetts Department of Public Works, and the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Affairs.

3. In the first news item, the Superintendent of Police is reorganizing one part of the Police Department. In the second article, officials of the Texas Water Quality Board and the Parks and Wildlife Department are conducting an inquiry to protect the quality of water and the fish population of the Sabine River. In the third news item, the Massachusetts Department of Public Works is conducting an inquiry about the effects of using salt to make icy highways less slippery. This inquiry is being conducted in response to directives of the Department of Environmental Affairs, which is trying to prevent the polluting of water supplies due to contamination from water drainage of salted highways.

Page 563 [319]. **1.** Bureaucrats on this list are the County Health Officer, the Director of Animal Control, the Chief of Detectives, and the Head of the City Water Department.

2-4. Responses will vary with different local conditions.

Worksheet-Transparency Lesson. Bureaucracies tend to get a "bad press." In June 1975 the magazine *Psychology Today* reported the results of a nationwide study of the public's attitudes toward government bureaucrats. This lesson will give your students a chance to compare their perceptions of the bureaucrats with those of the nationwide sample. Be sure that students can name some types of state or local bureaucrats with whom they have had contact.

Begin the period by having students respond to the questionnaire about bureaucrats in *Worksheet 26*. These questions are similar to those used in the nationwide survey. Tell students not to put their names on their worksheet.

After students respond to the questionnaire, collect the worksheets and shuffle them. Then distribute a copy to each student. Presumably each student will have a copy that was completed by someone else.

Next project *Transparency 47* on the screen via an overhead projector. This transparency has spaces on which to record the number (frequency) of responses to each item on the questionnaire. There also are spaces to record the percentage of those who made each of the three possible responses to each item.

Starting with item 1, ask students how many of them have worksheets with a "yes" response. Count the number of "yes" responses and record this number in the appropriate space on T-47. Next ask students how many of them have worksheets with a "no" response. Record this number in the appropriate space on the transparency. Next ask students how many of them have worksheets with an "uncertain" response. Record this number in the appropriate space on the transparency. Finally, compute the percentage of those making "'yes," "no," and "uncertain" responses to item 1. Record these percentages in the appropriate spaces on the transparency. Continue this procedure until you have recorded the responses to all eight items. Suggest to students that they copy the data on the transparency onto *Worksheet 27*, which is a facsimile of the transparency.

To help the students analyze their responses, put the following table on the chalkboard. It gives some results of the nationwide study.

Opinions about Bureaucratic Services*

	General evaluation	*Own experiences*
1. Overall satisfaction	63%	71%
2. Problem Solution	30%	70%
3. Fairness	42%	80%
4. Consideration	38%	76%

Explain the table by pointing out that item 1 refers to items 7 and 8 on *Worksheet 26*. Answering similar questions, 63% of the national sample agreed that most other people are satisfied with the overall performance of state-local bureaucrats, while 71% said that they were personally satisfied. Have the class compare their own percentages with those of the national sample.

Item 2 on "problem solution" refers to questions 1-2 on *Worksheet 26*. Item 3 on "fairness" relates to questions 3-4. And item 4 on "consideration" refers to questions 5-6. Students should see that the respondents in the national survey regarded their own personal experiences with bureaucrats as exceptionally good. The class can discuss why people might have a rather "bad" view of bureaucrats in general but fairly "good" views about their own personal experiences. The researchers who conducted the national study hypothesized that the public tends to be influenced by the bad image of government bureaucrats presented in the mass media.

As homework, assign the next lesson on "Making Decisions in Bureaucracies."

Making Decisions in Bureaucracies

Pages 564-569 [320-325]; one class period

Objective

Students can describe limits on the authority of bureaucrats which stem from these sources: legislatures, courts, chief executives, citizen advocates, and community pressures.

*Based on graph in "Americans Love Their Bureaucrats" by Robert L. Kahn, Barbara A. Gutek, Eugenia Barton, and Daniel Katz, *Psychology Today*, June 1975, p. 71. Used by permission.

Suggested Procedures

Conduct a discussion of the questions on pages 568-569 [324-325] about controls on the decision-making of our state and local government bureaucracies. This chapter uses a different scheme for analyzing constraints on bureaucrats from that used in Chapter 15 on the federal bureaucracy. Some teachers may wish to review the topic on "Factors That Influence Bureaucratic Decision-Making" on pages 452-457 [208-213] in connection with this lesson.

For the next day's lesson, assign the topic "Decision-Making in a State Welfare Department." Ask students to answer the questions about the case which appear at the end of the lesson.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. The power and authority of bureaucrats can be checked by legislative and judicial branches of state and local governments according to state and local laws. For example, legislatures establish goals and procedures for bureaucracies; they appropriate funds that bureaucrats need to do their jobs; they have power to approve or disapprove of nominations to the top bureaucratic jobs; they can conduct investigations of bureaucracies. The courts can hear complaints against bureaucrats who are breaking laws or who are making errors in judgment. The courts have power to halt bureaucratic behavior that violates the law.

2. Since bureaucrats are part of the executive branch of government, chief executives in state and local governments have overall responsibility for the work of their bureaucrats. However, the chief executive usually is limited by law and custom in the direct control that can be wielded over bureaucracies.

3. Bureaucrats are responsive to the influence of people in communities which they serve. Those with more resources (such as upper SES people) tend to be in stronger positions of influence with bureaucrats. These inequalities have led to demands for more citizen involvement in bureaucratic decision-making. Various kinds of citizen advocate roles have been created in recent years as an attempt to make bureaucracies more respon-

sive to the broad base of citizens whom they are supposed to serve.

4. Students might respond variously to this exercise. Require them to discuss the exercise in terms of relevant ideas that they have studied in preceding lessons.

Decision-Making in a State Welfare Department

Pages 569-572 [325-328]; one class period

Objectives

1. Students can analyze decision-making in a state government bureaucracy in terms of various factors such as legislative controls, judicial controls, influence from the chief executive, and community pressures.

2. Students can identify value conflicts in a case study of bureaucratic decision-making and can make and defend their own value judgments about the issues in this case.

Suggested Procedures

Conduct a class discussion of the case study that comprises this lesson. The teacher (or a student assigned the task in advance) might explain to the class the Public Welfare setup in their own state and locality. A file of up-to-date news items from papers and newsmagazines on welfare costs and problems should be useful.

Suggested Answers to Text Questions. 1. Governor Reagan initiated the reform process by appointing a task force to study state welfare programs. He used the findings of this task force to justify the appointment of a new welfare director, Robert Carleson. Carleson was charged by Reagan with the responsibility of reforming the state welfare department to cut costs and bring about greater efficiency.

2. Legislative controls limited the reforms which Carleson could make. He could only make reforms that were permitted by the law. Thus, he worked to influence the state legislature to change the laws to permit more extensive reforms.

3. Judges may make decisions that limit the decisions which bureaucrats make. This happened when a state judge issued an injunction to stop Carleson's investigations of the incomes of people on welfare rolls. However, a state court of appeals overthrew this decision and permitted Carleson to continue these investigations.

4. Public opinion against waste, inefficiency, and rising costs associated with welfare programs seems to have influenced Governor Reagan to initiate reforms of the state welfare department. The "no work, no welfare" policy formulated by Carleson seems to have been made in response to public opinion. Favorable public opinion also seems to have helped to support continuation of this and related reforms of the California state welfare department.

5. Students may express various value judgments about the need to reform public welfare programs. Require them to justify whatever value judgments they express. You might prompt this part of the discussion by asking their opinions about the "no work, no welfare" reform. You also might ask them to discuss what they believe to be justifiable reasons for granting welfare benefits to people.

Unit Five · Test 2

Objective

Students will be able to complete a 20-item multiple-choice exam over the material covered in chapters 19-20, answering at least 16 of the 20 items correctly.

Suggested Procedures

The test contains 20 multiple-choice questions. The examination will require about 20-30 minutes for typical students to complete. Some students will require more time.

When all students have completed the exam, provide the correct answers and discuss these answers with the students. Answer any questions students may have about the correct answers. Answers appear on the spirit duplicating masters.

Table 1. Distribution of Scores on the Political-Interest Questionnaire

LEVEL	FREQUENCY
LOW	
HIGH	
TOTAL	

Table 2. Distribution of Political-Party Preferences

P P P	FREQUENCY
DEMOCRAT	
REPUBLICAN	
NEITHER	
TOTAL	

Table 3. Distribution of Republican Scores on the Political-Interest Questionnaire

LEVEL	FREQUENCY
LOW	
HIGH	
TOTAL	

Table 4. Distribution of Democrats' Scores on the Political-Interest Questionnaire

LEVEL	FREQUENCY
LOW	_____ _____ _____
HIGH	_____ _____ _____
TOTAL	_____ _____ _____

Table 5. Distribution of Scores on the Political-Interest Questionnaire of Those Preferring neither the Democrats nor the Republicans

LEVEL	FREQUENCY
LOW	_____ _____ _____
HIGH	_____ _____ _____
TOTAL	_____ _____ _____

Table 6. Relationship of Political Party Preference to Political Interest (in percentages)

POLITICAL INTEREST	POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCE		
	DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	NEITHER
LOW	%	%	%
HIGH	%	%	%
TOTAL	%	%	%

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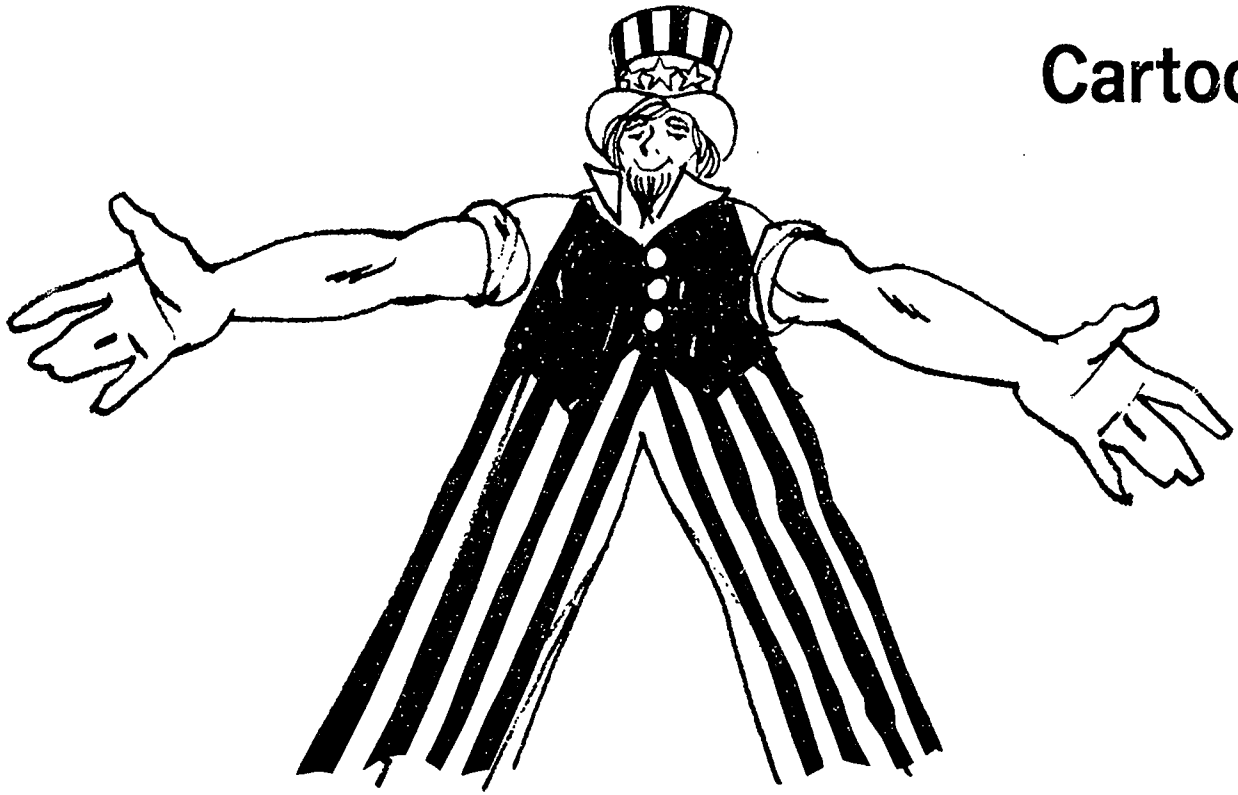
Cartoon 1



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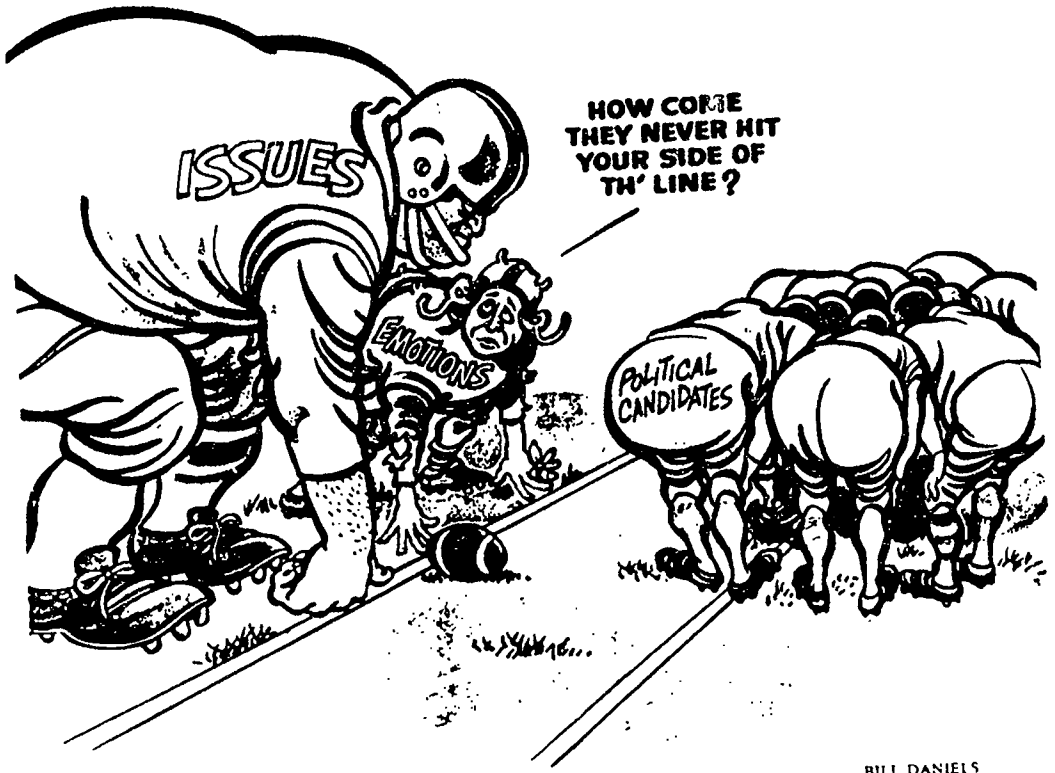
Cartoon 2

" SAM, YOU MADE THE PANTS TOO LONG"

Osrin in the Cleveland Plain Dealer

"LET THEM EAT ISOTOPES!"

Eugene Craig in the *Columbus Dispatch*



BILL DANIELS
Courtesy WSB-TV, Atlanta

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NEWSLETTER 1

PRESIDENT APPEARS FOR LOCAL CANDIDATE

PRESIDENT ENDORSES CONGRESSMAN'S BID FOR RE-ELECTION

TRANSPARENCIES IN AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

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Encouraging a Sense of Identification with a Person or Cause

PLAIN FOLKS:
One of the common people.

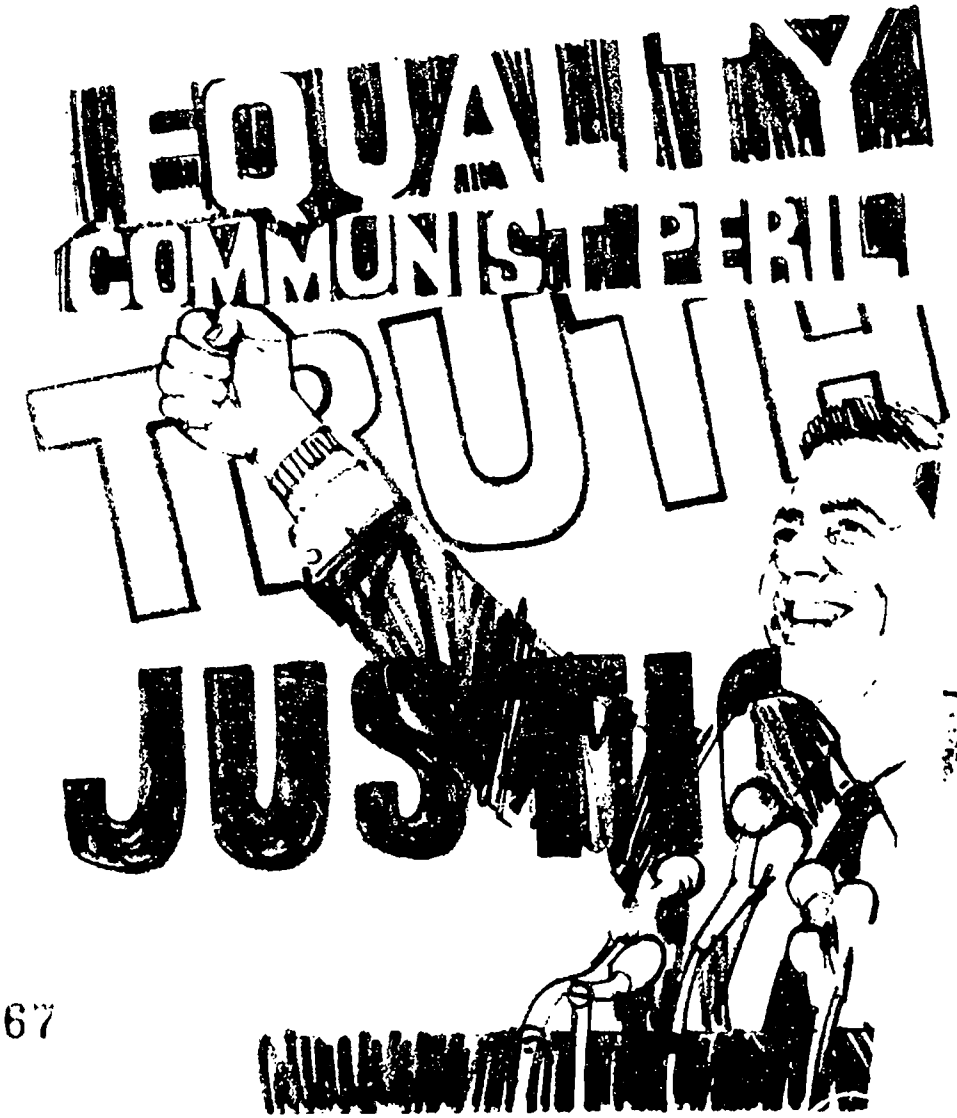
UPI

BANDWAGON:
Everyone is doing it. Why not you?

TESTIMONIAL: An important person supports the cause; you should too.

Michael Mauney
LIFE Magazine © Time Inc.

Using Slogans and Symbols



GLITTERING GENERALITIES: Using broad and vague phrases that make it difficult to understand the meaning of the statement.

UPI

TRANSFER: Associating something respected and approved of with the propagandist's cause to gain acceptance for it.

TRANSPARENCIES IN AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

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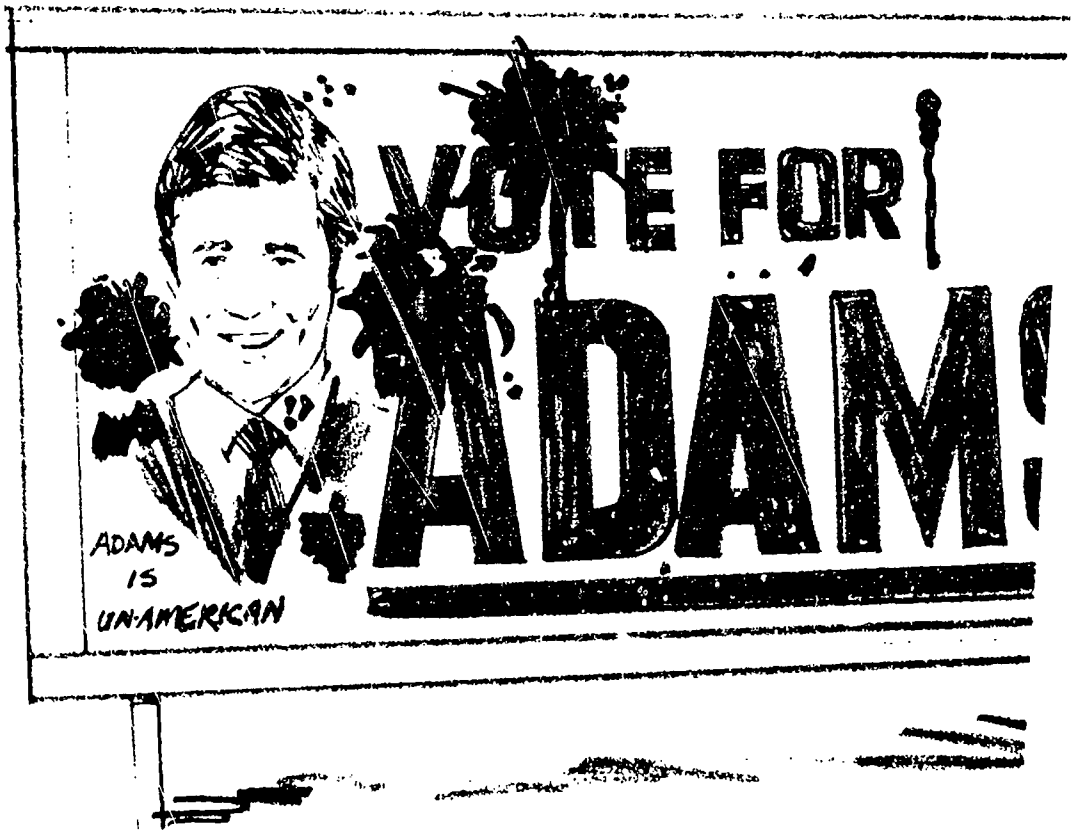
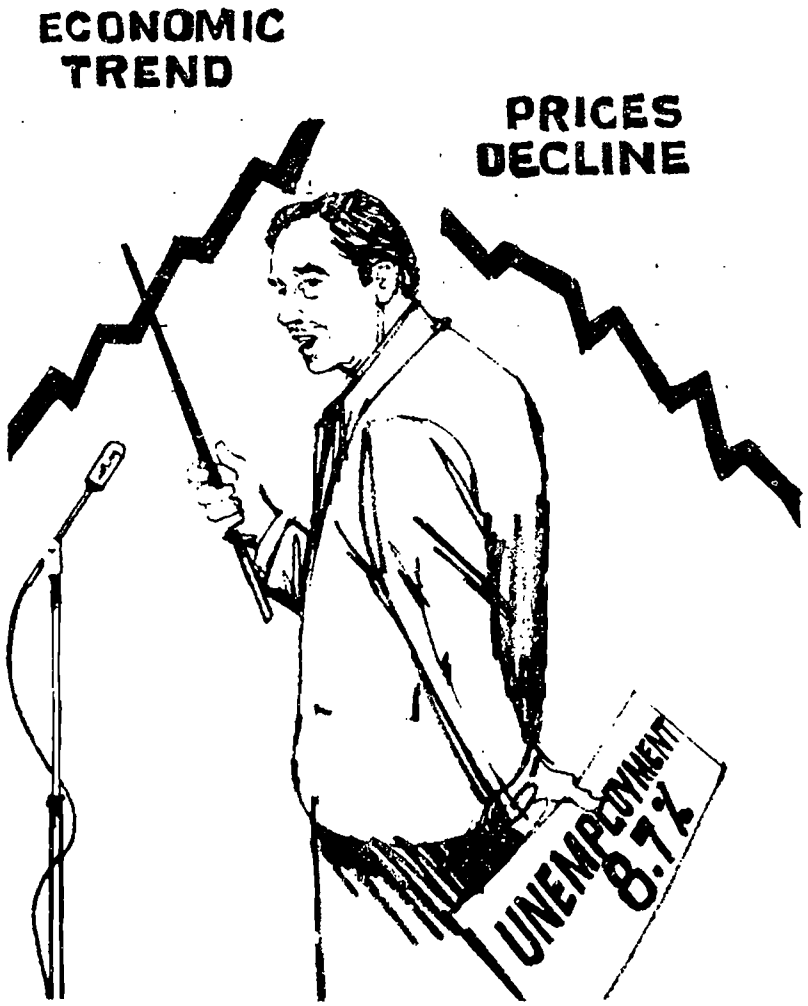
Rejection and Slanted Analysis





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NAME CALLING: Rejecting without discussion of facts; labeling as bad or not worthwhile.

CARD STACKING: Presenting only those facts that are favorable to one's cause.

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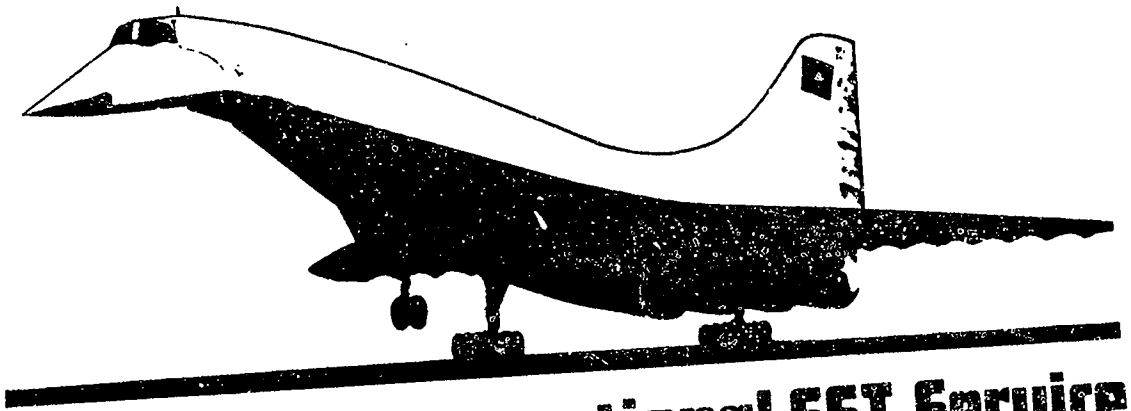

Announcing International SST Service ...the best that rubles could buy.

On October 23, 1971, commercial SST service will begin. The Supersonic Transport shown above will initiate flights between Calcutta and Moscow. The SSTs involved will carry the colors of The Soviet Union.

This announcement by the Soviets comes at a time when both the British and French are well along on their SST programs, too. The British and French have flown their prototype SSTs.

Here in The United States, we have an American SST under development. It's not flying yet. And if it were up to some people, it never will. But it's a better airplane than either the Russian Tu-144 or the British-French Concorde.

It's faster. It's bigger. It's more efficient. And it's more pollution-free.

Government and industry have already invested 12 years of hard work and many dollars in the American SST. We're ready to build and test two prototypes—to make this airplane as effective as permitted by the capabilities of American technology. Scientific studies indicate that our SSTs will not be harmful. In fact, they will establish new environmental standards which the foreign SSTs would have to match. What's more, the American SST will provide jobs for 150,000 American workers. All over the country.

It will establish a revenue tax base worth up to $7 billion. Enough to help fund many of our high-priority social and urban programs. It will produce export sales to foreign airlines of up to $10 billion, to help our balance of payments.

Perhaps more important, the American SST will keep world aviation leadership here in America. Plus provide a base for technological advancements in many fields of applied science.

America needs to build those two prototypes. Now.

If you believe that American dollars can compete with Soviet rubies, write or wire your Congressman today. Urge support for America's SST.

American Labor and Industry for the SST

MEMBER: NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN AMERICAN SST

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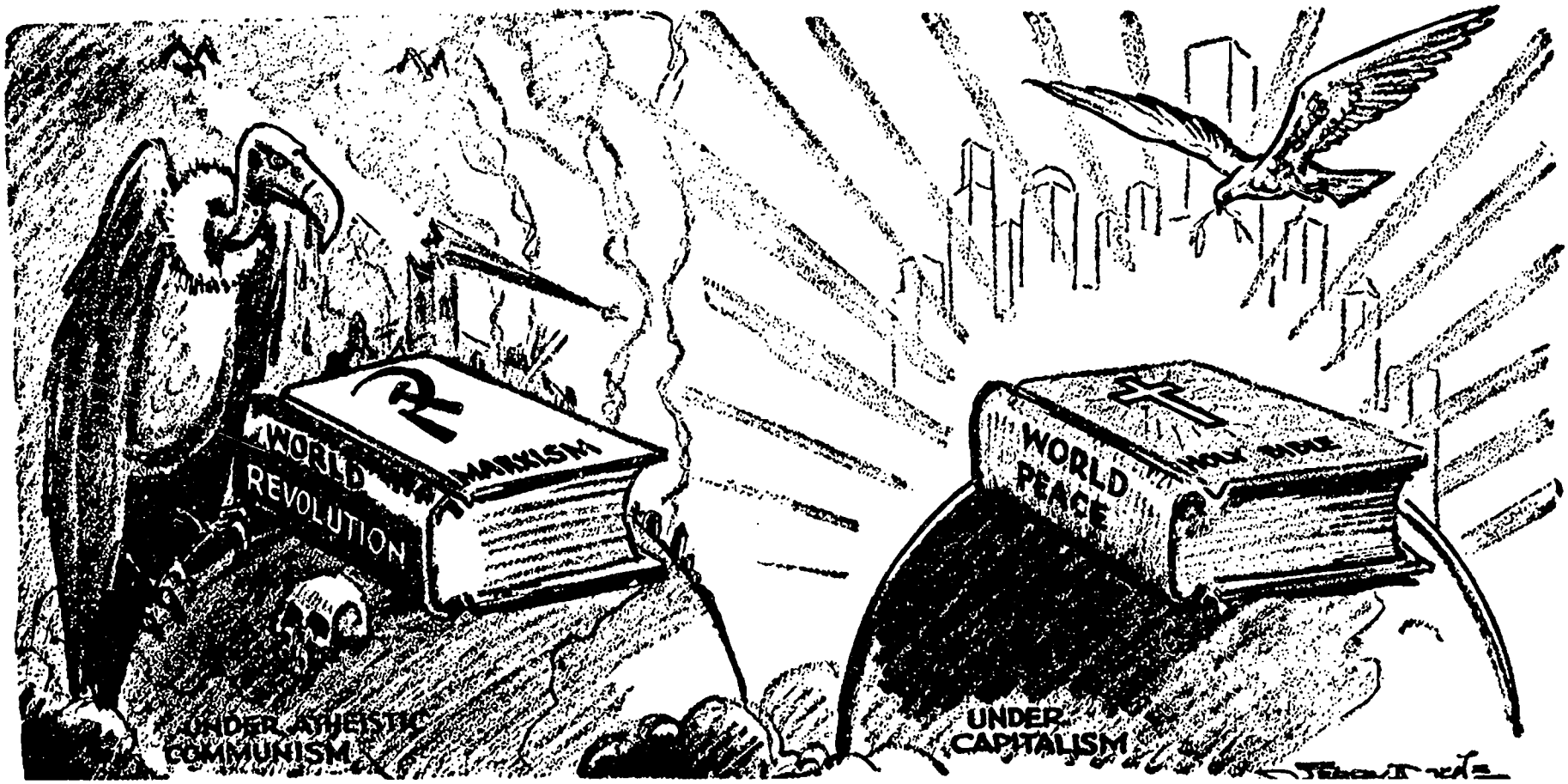
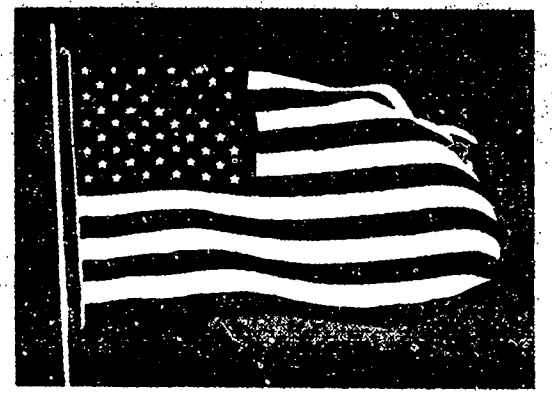


Jerry Doyle in Philadelphia Daily News

Worlds Apart



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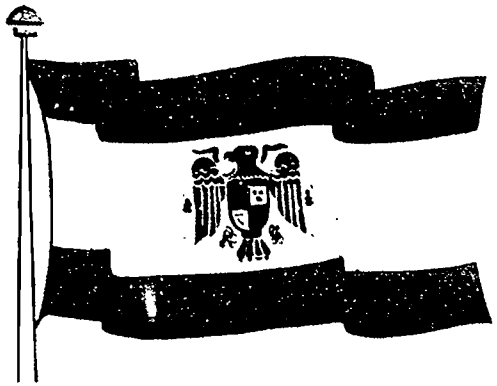

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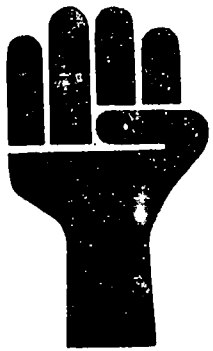

11

12

Table 1. Frequency Distribution of Reactions to Political Symbols

REACTION SCALE					
SYMBOL	VBF	BF	LNF	GF	VGF
1. American Flag					
2. Soviet Flag					
3. Democratic Party Symbol					
4. Peace Symbol					
5. Statue of Liberty					
6. Republican Party Symbol					
7. Spanish Flag					
8. President Ford					
9. Nazi Symbol					
10. Lenin Medal					
11. Black Power Symbol					
12. Presidential Seal					

Table 1. Distribution of ADO Scores in Our Class

SCORE	FREQUENCY
5	
4	
3	
2	
1	
0	

Table 2. Levels of ADO in Our Class

LEVELS OF ADO	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
LOW (0-1)		%
MEDIUM (2-3)		%
HIGH (4-5)		%
TOTAL		%

TRANSPARENCIES IN AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

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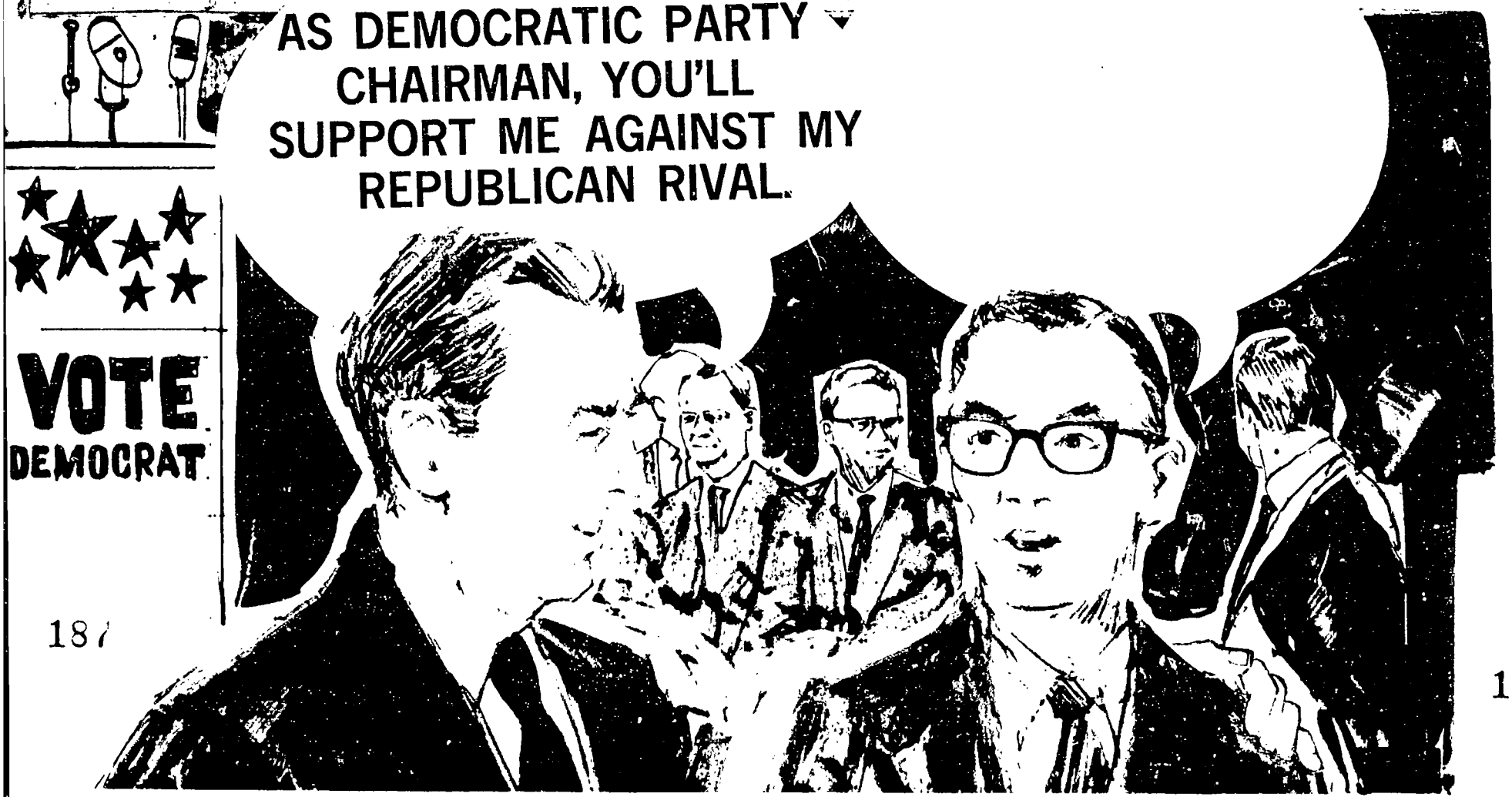
KLEINDORF CONCEDES!



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The People - Watcher Test


A


B


C


D


E


F

G


H

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Table 1. Speculating about the Frequency of Different Types of Political Activity

TYPE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	YOUR ESTIMATE OF PERCENTAGE	PERCENTAGE PROVIDED BY TEACHER
1. Participating in a political discussion		
2. Wearing campaign buttons or displaying stickers		
3. Holding membership in a political club		
4. Voting in a presidential election		
5. Talking to others about voting for a certain candidate		
6. Writing to a member of Congress		
7. Running for public office or holding an influential political office		
8. Participating actively in a national political campaign		
9. Contributing money to a political campaign		
10. Attending a political rally		

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1. Which individual is more likely to vote?

2. Which political party is each individual more likely to prefer? Democratic, Republican, other?

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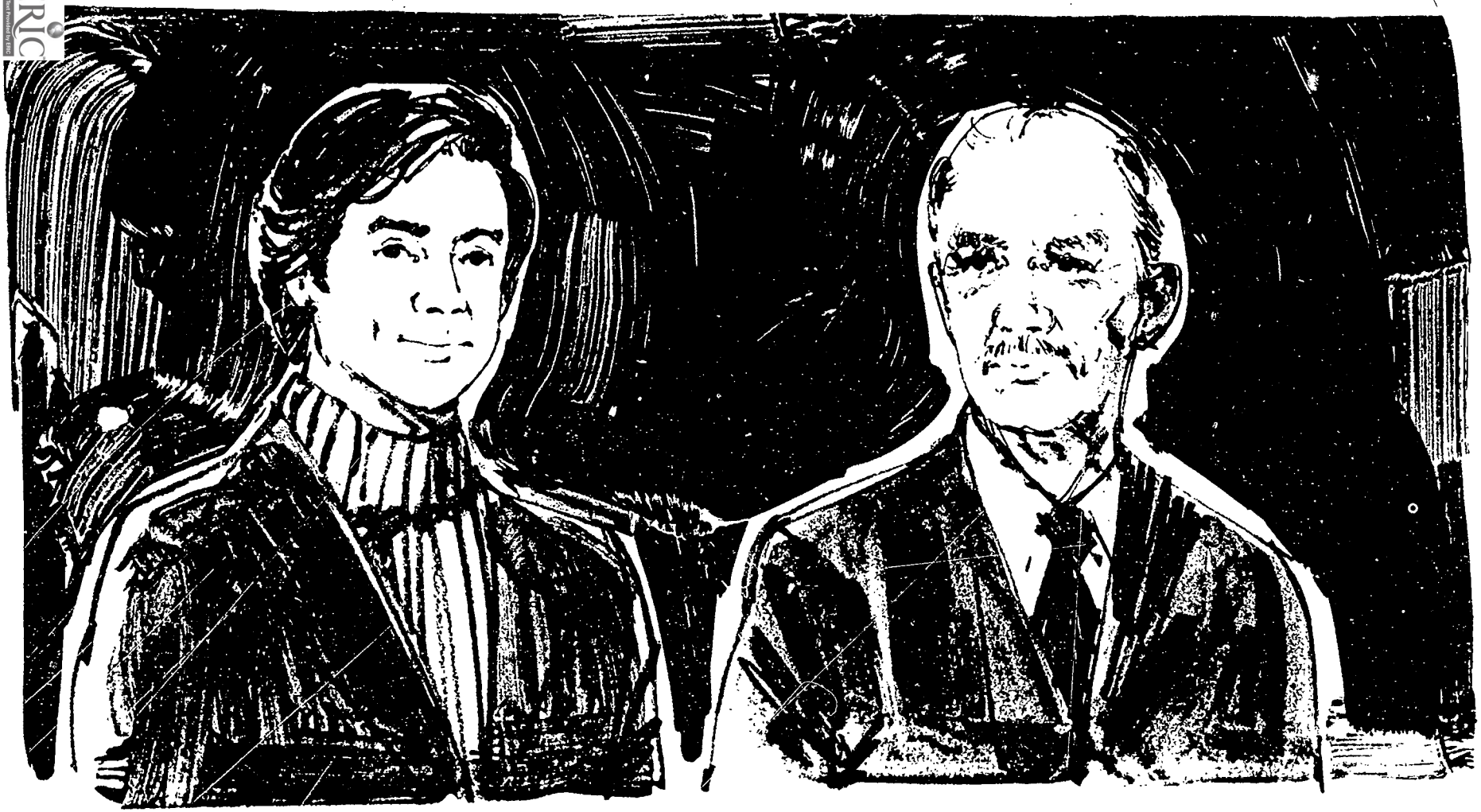

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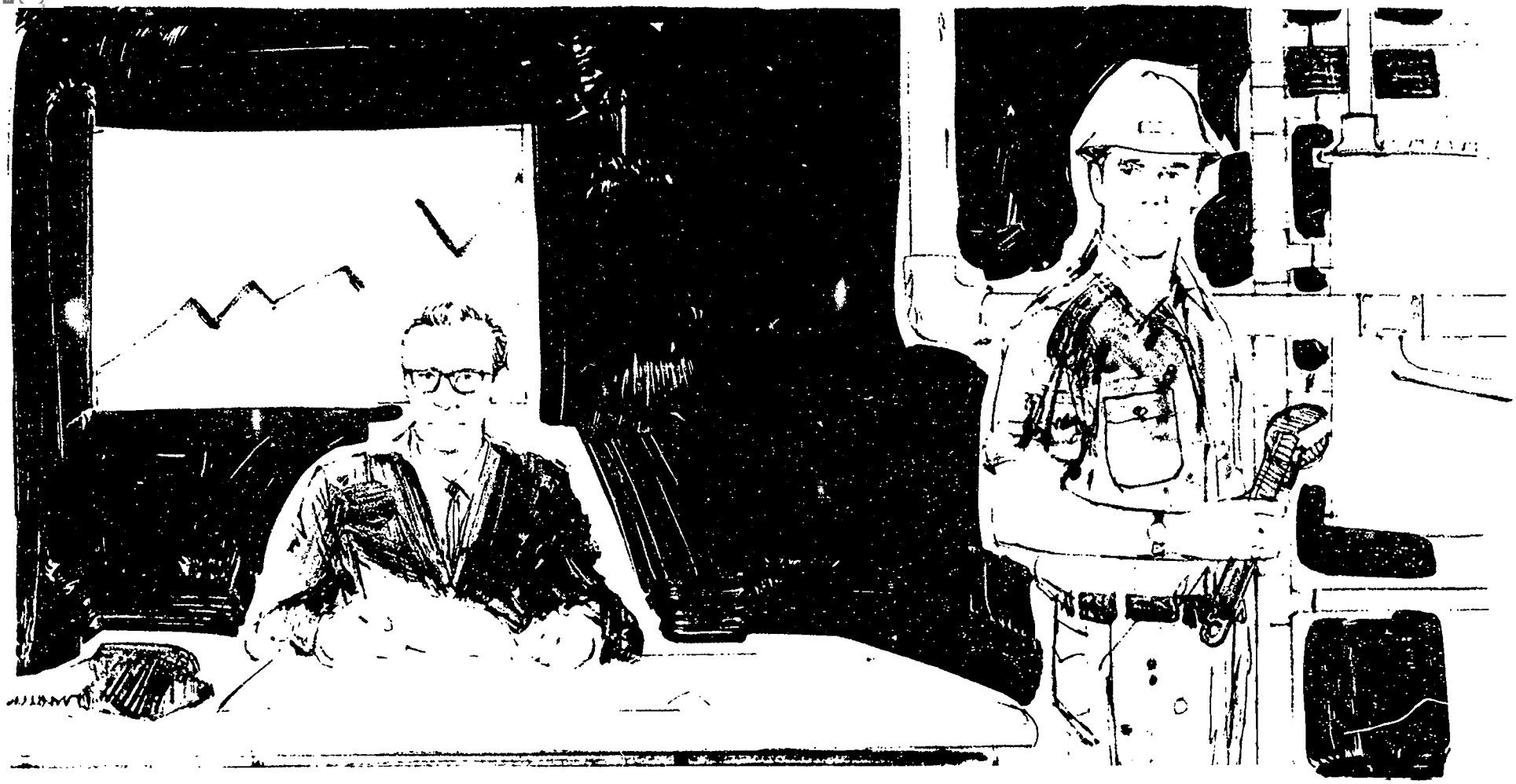

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TRANSPARENCIES IN AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

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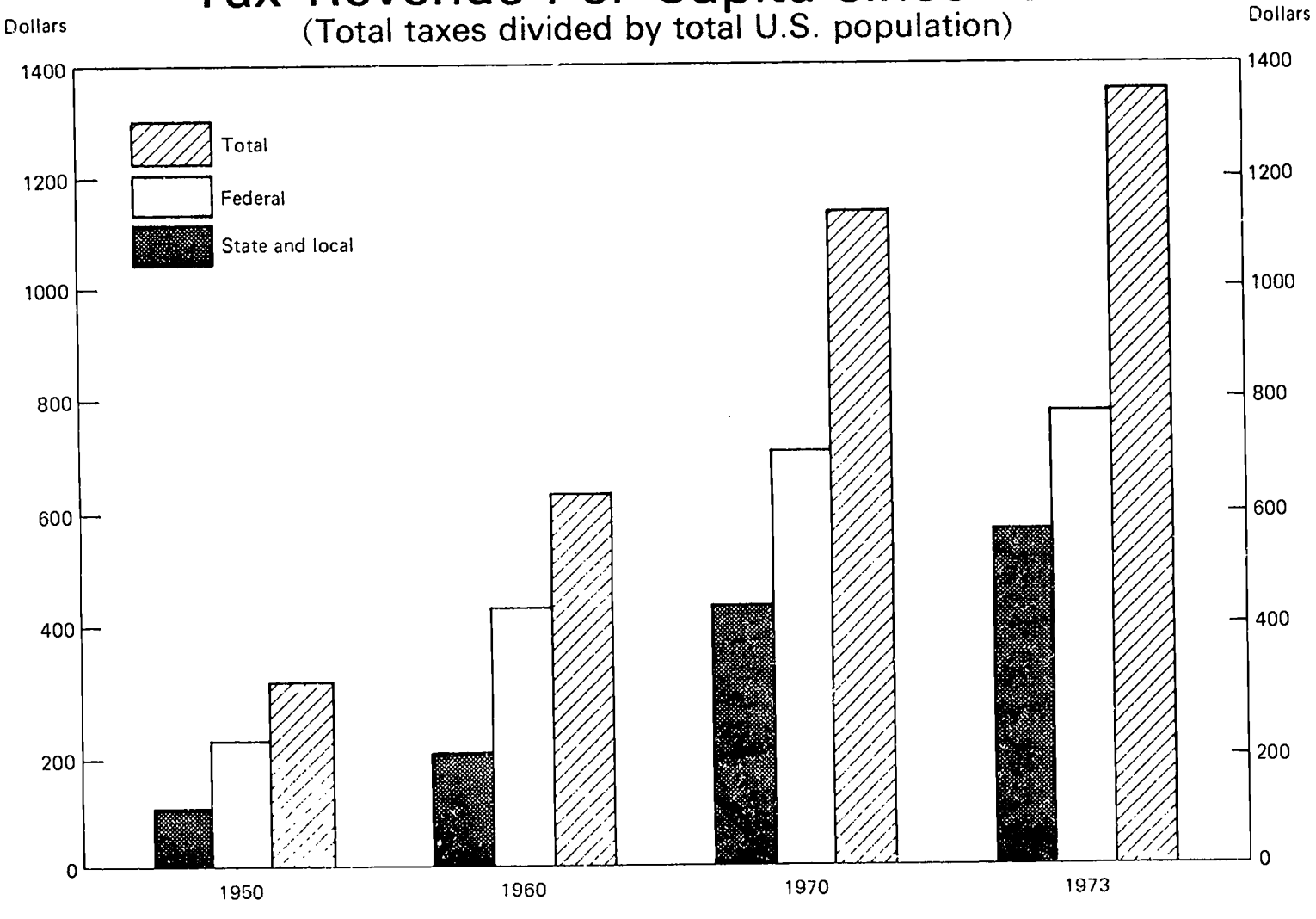
Tax Revenue Per Capita since 1950

(Total taxes divided by total U.S. population)



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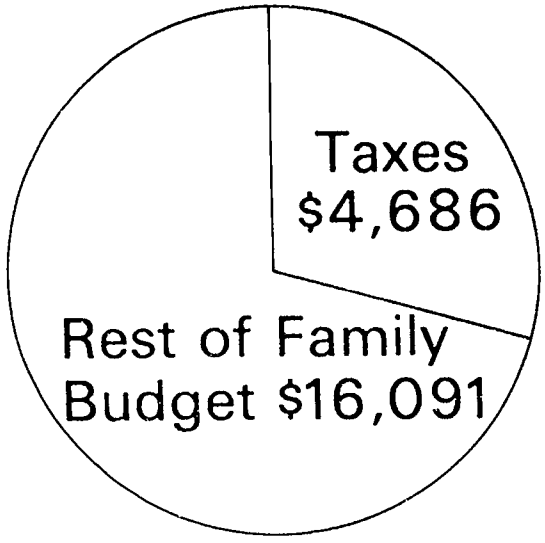
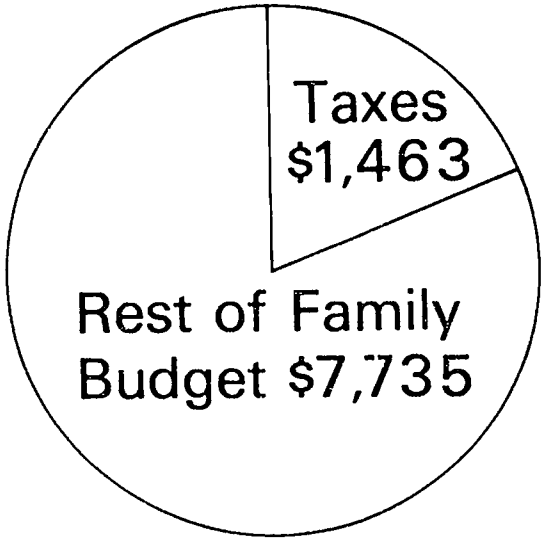
Typical Tax Payment for Urban Families at Three Income Levels--1974

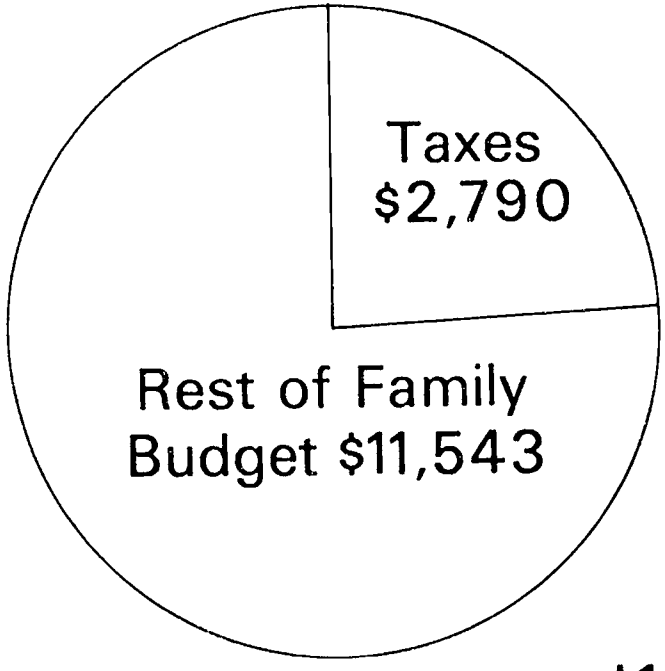
Taxes refer to personal taxes and Social Security tax



Higher Standard
of Living -- $20,777



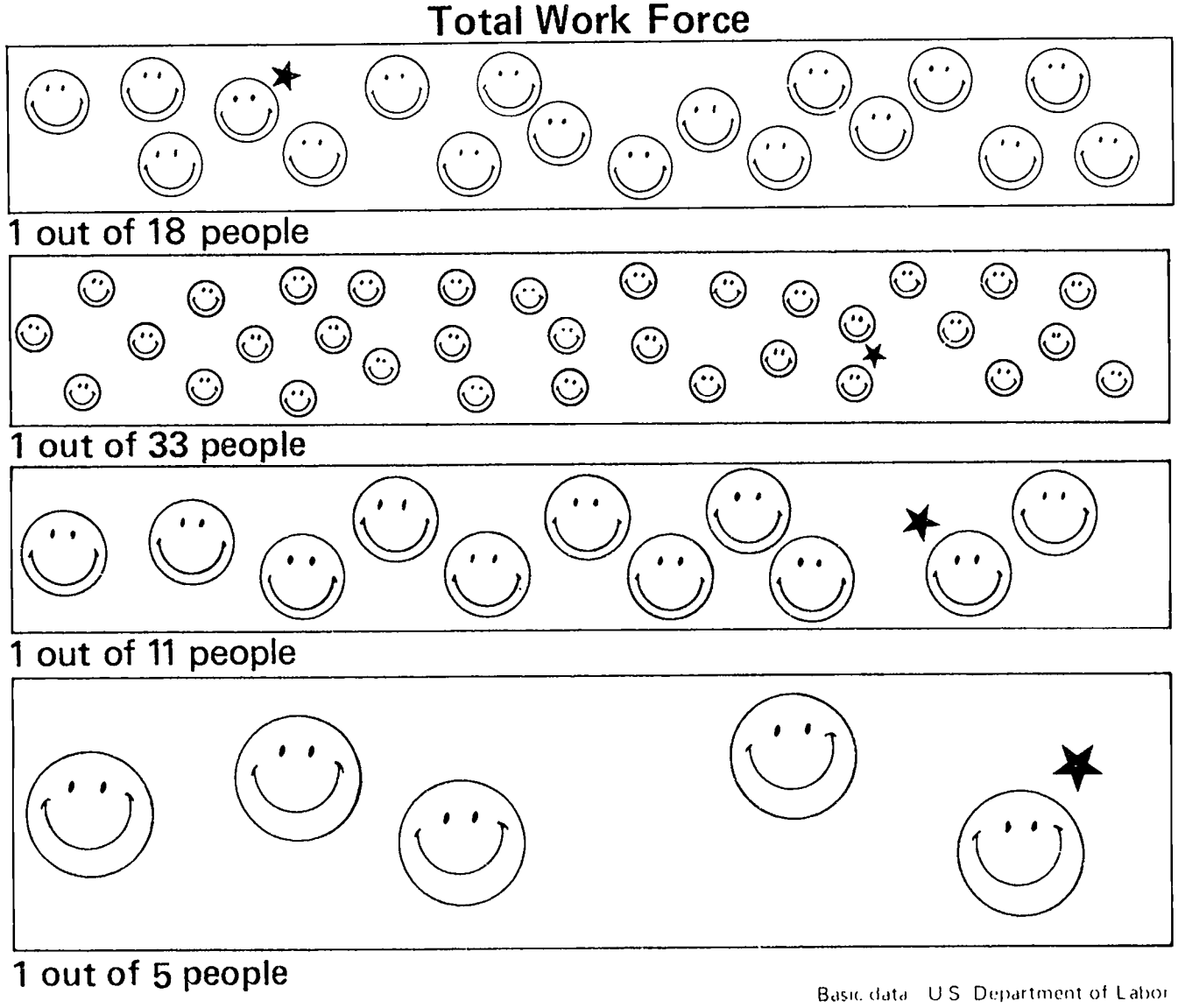
Lower Standard
of Living $9,198



Moderate Standard of Living $14,333

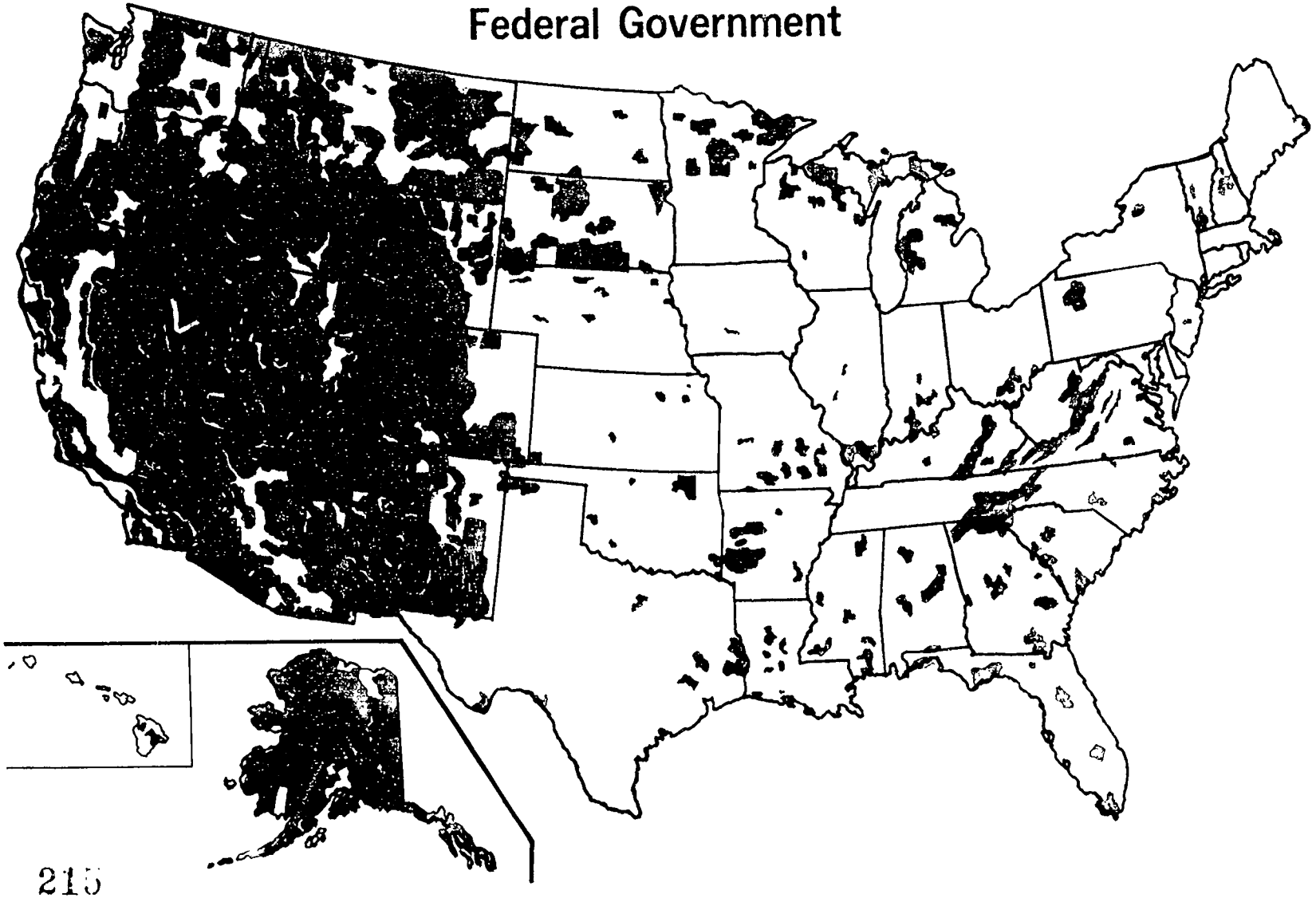
Percent of Government Employees to Total Adult Work Force (1974)

(Includes Active Duty Military Workers)



Basic data U S Department of Labor

Land Within the United States Owned by Federal Government



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TRANSPARENCIES IN AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

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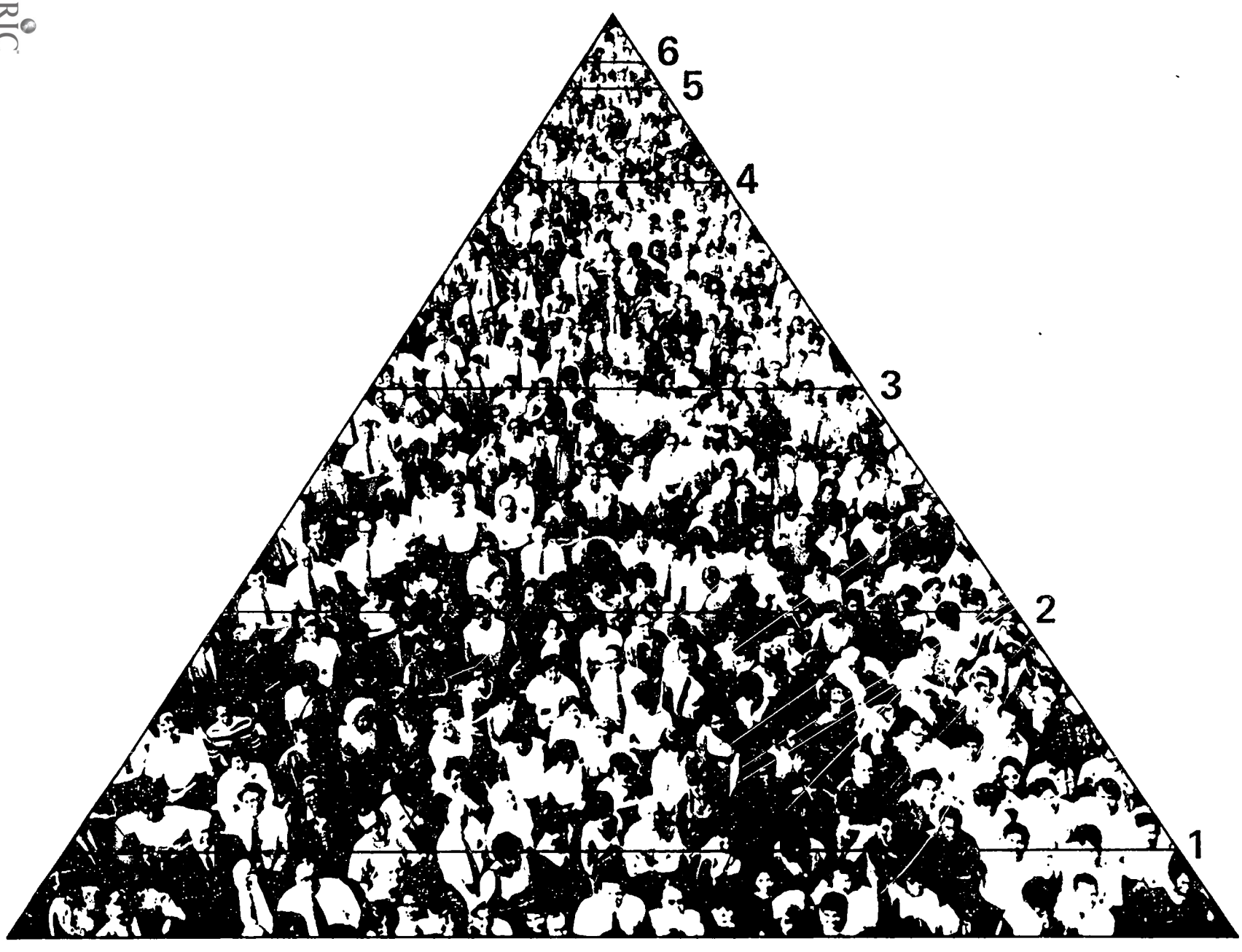

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T – 34
Chapter 12

TRANSPARENCIES IN AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

GINN AND COMPANY
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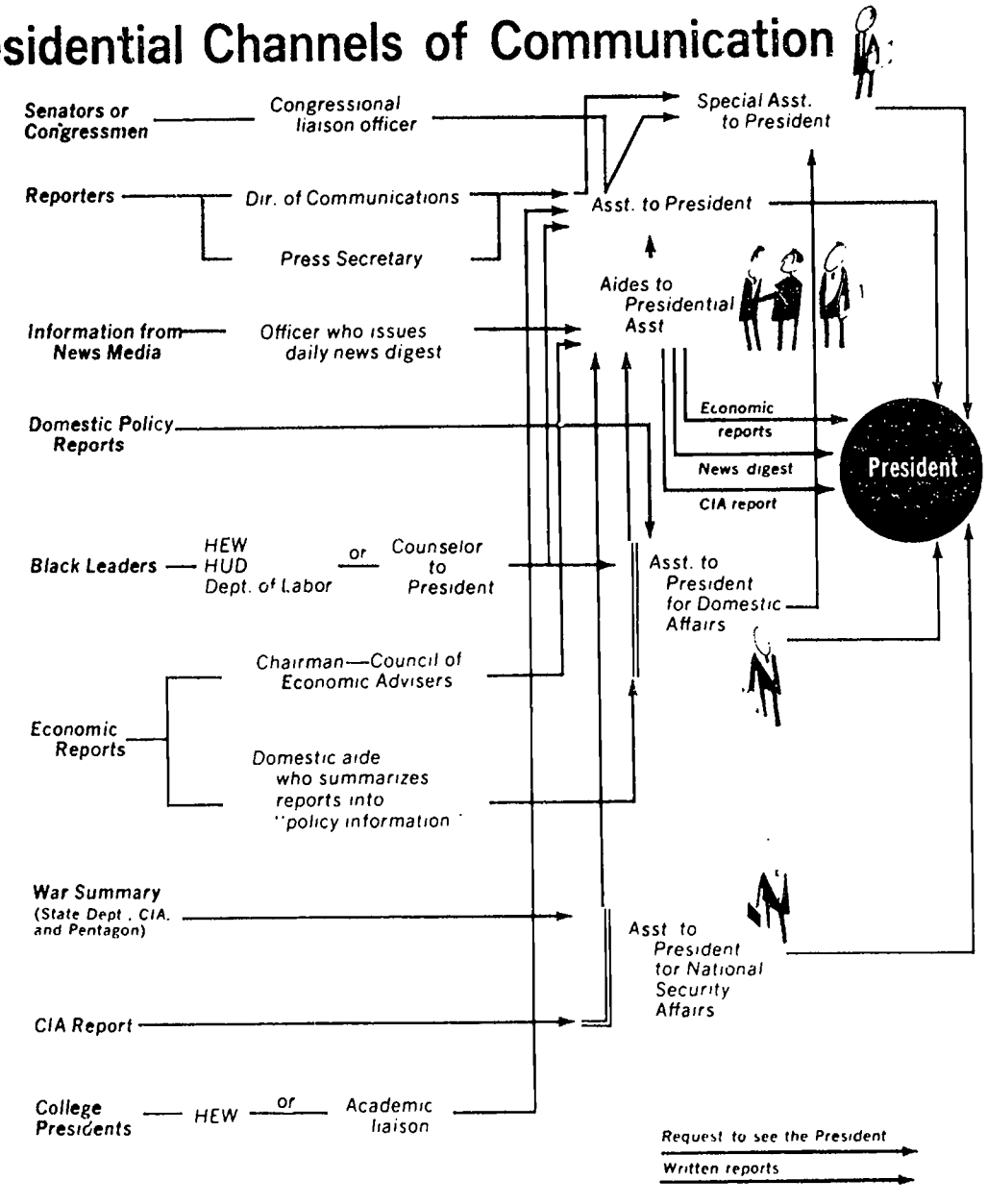
Presidential Channels of Communication



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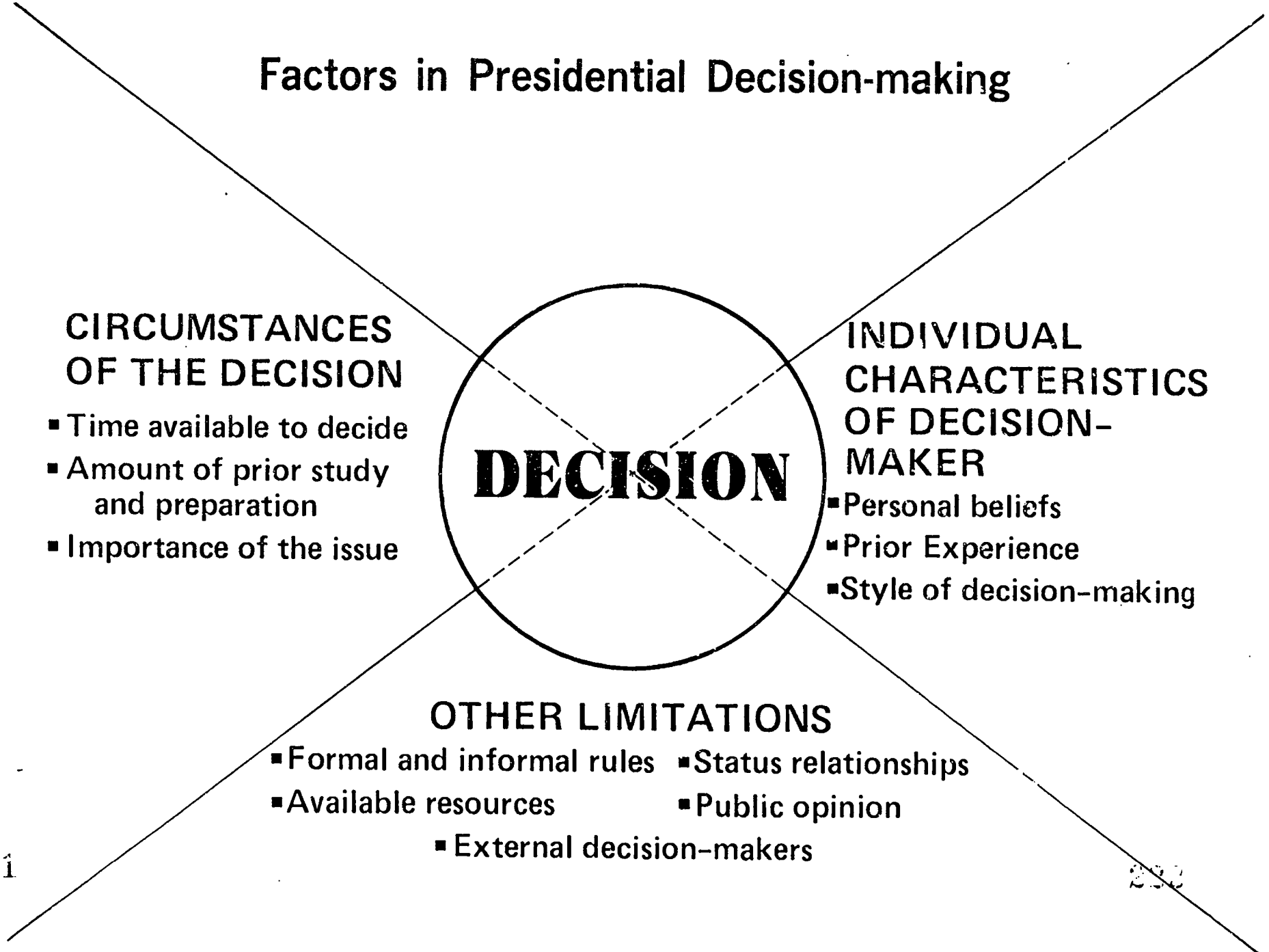
Factors in Presidential Decision-making



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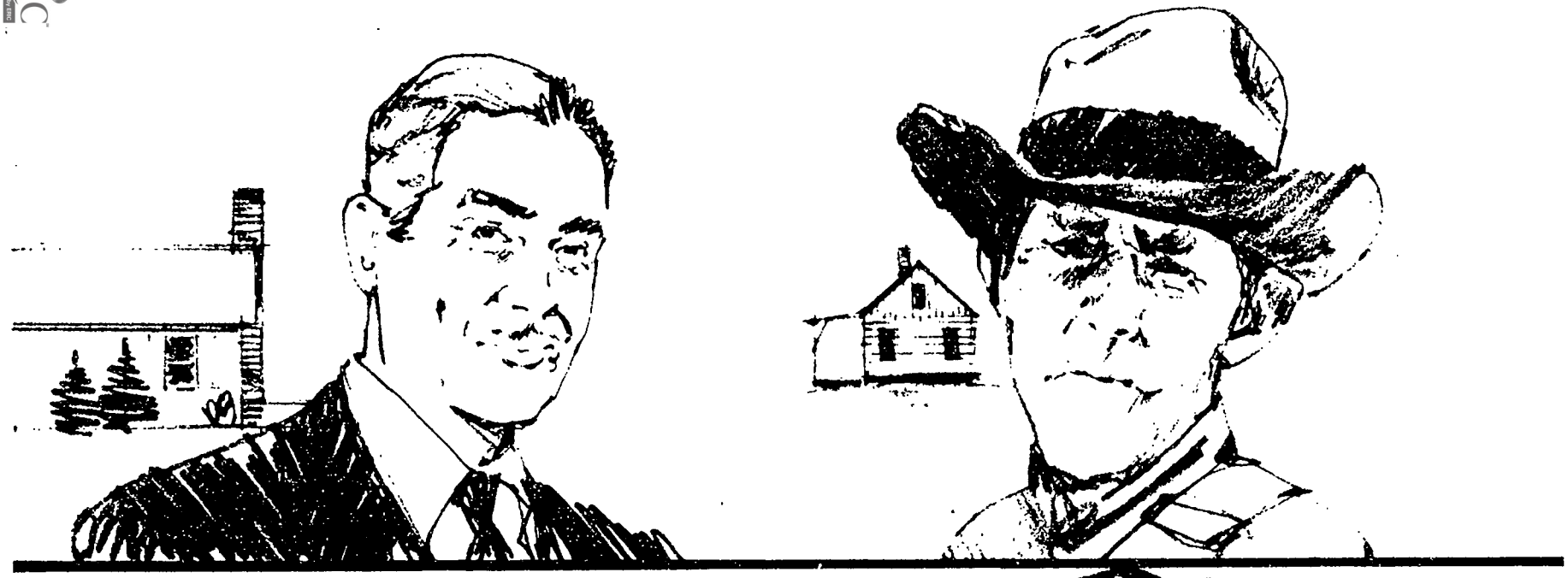
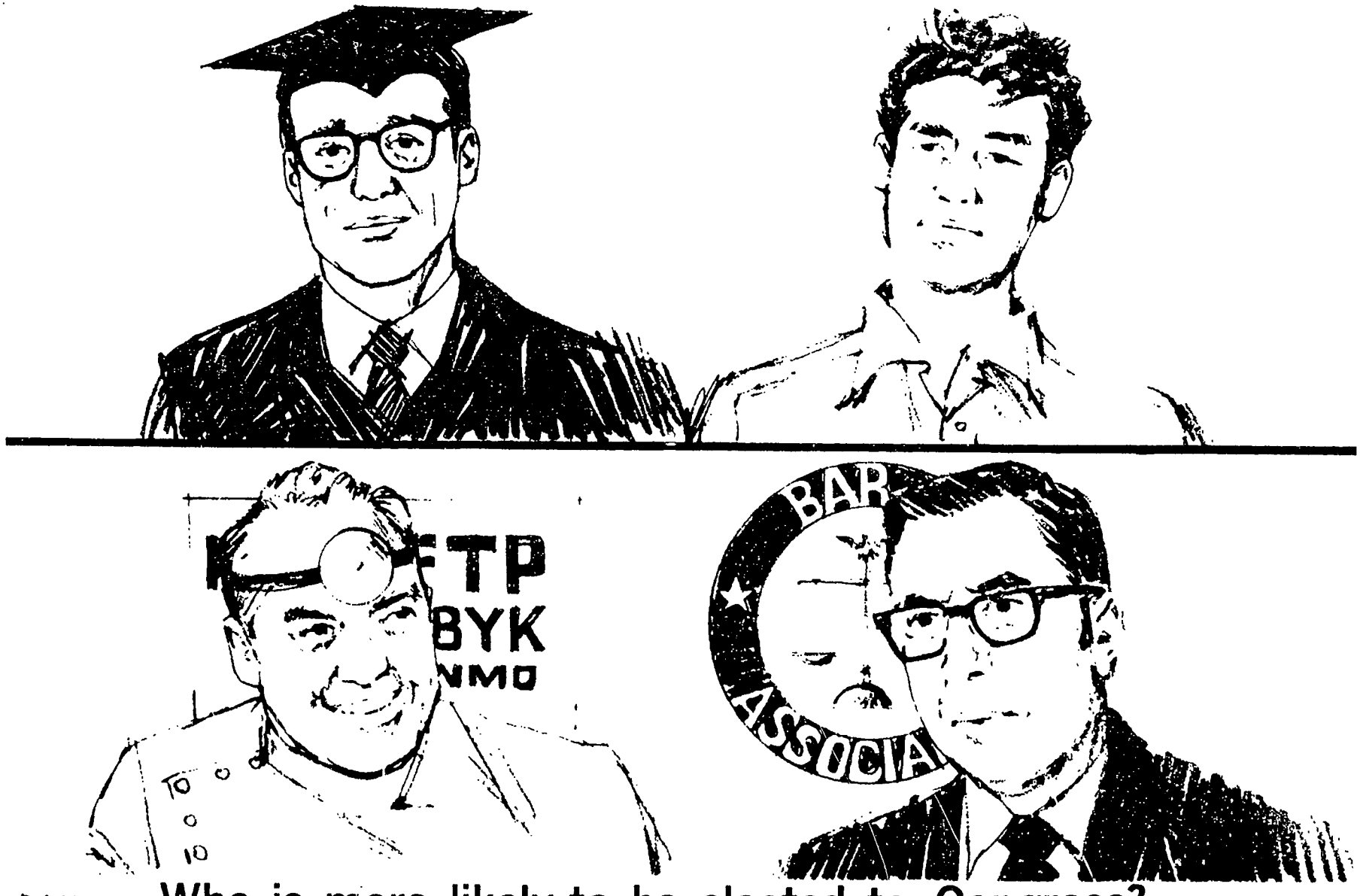


Who is more likely to be elected to Congress?



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Who is more likely to be elected to Congress?

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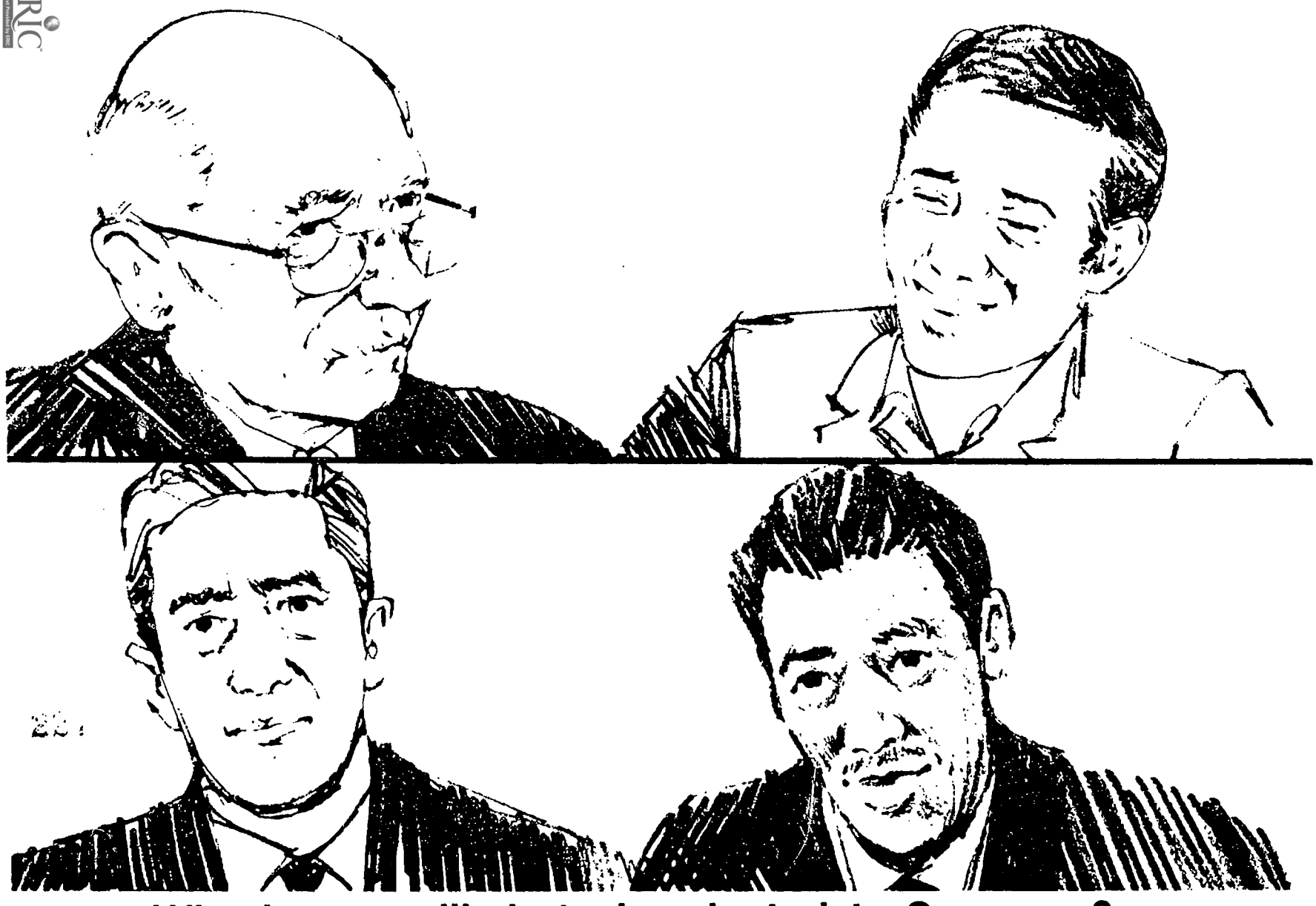

Who is more likely to be elected to Congress?

GINN AND COMPANY
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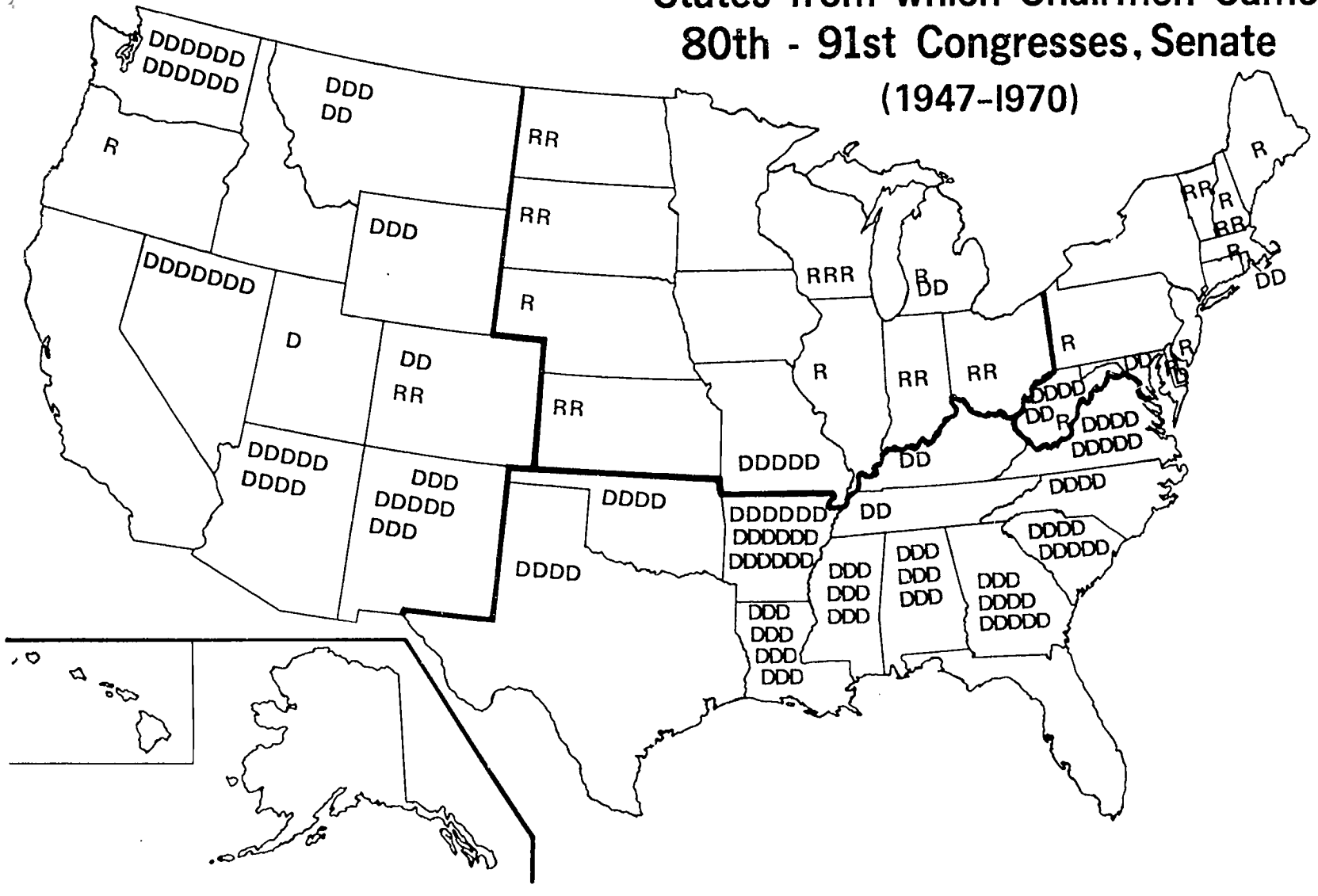
States from which Chairmen Came
80th - 91st Congresses, Senate
(1947-1970)



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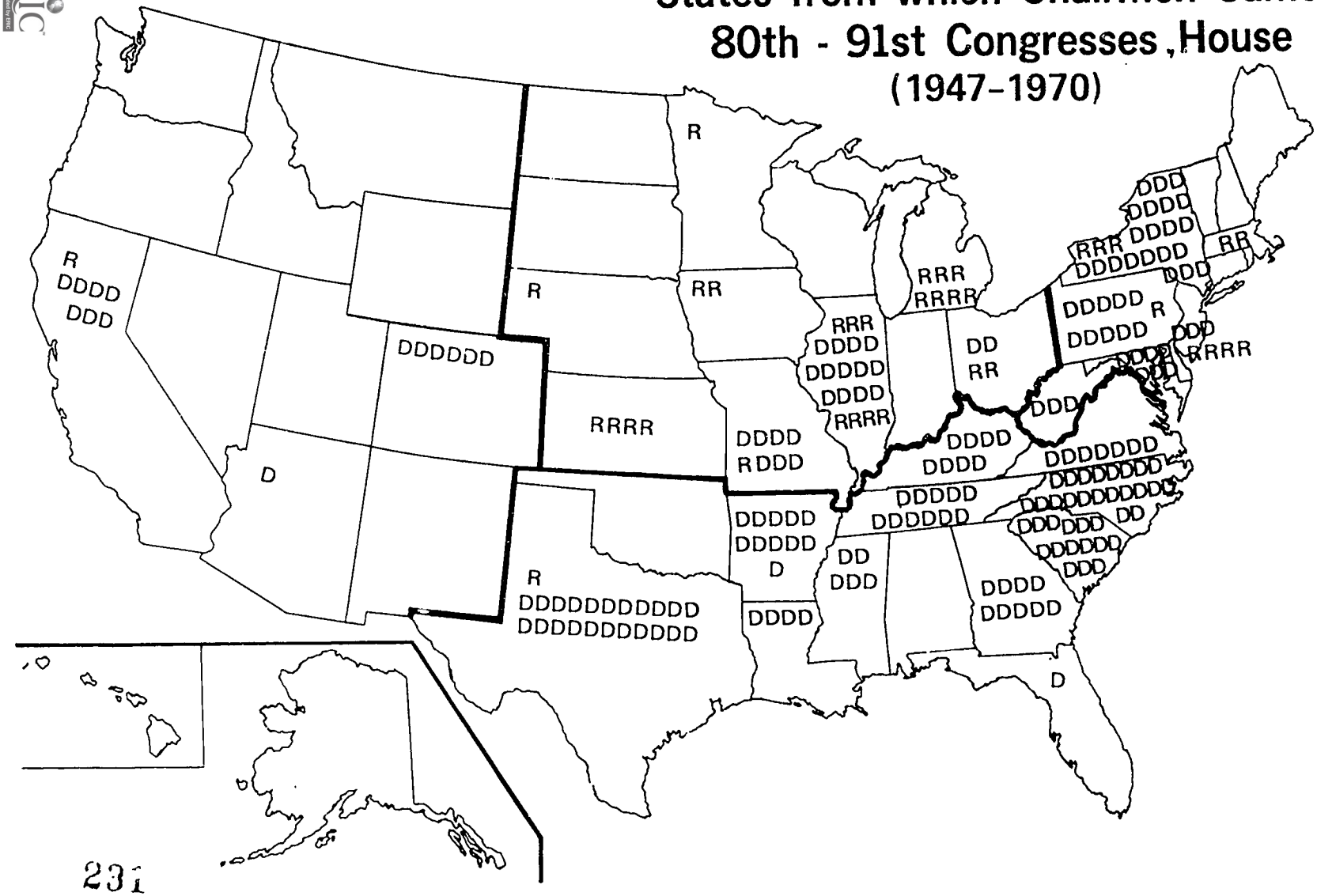
States from which Chairmen Came 80th - 91st Congresses, House (1947-1970)



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GINN AND COMPANY
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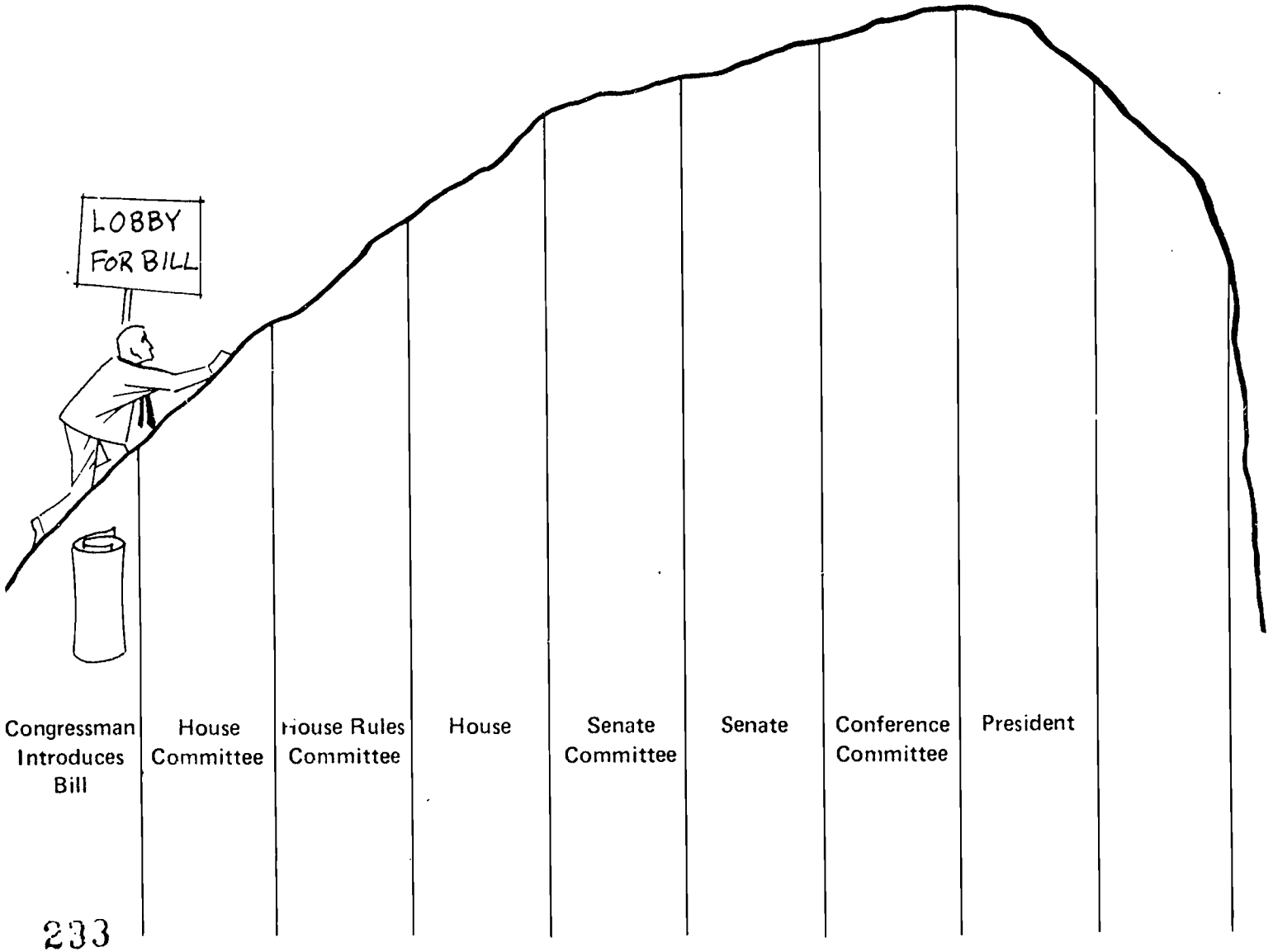

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T – 42
Chapter 13

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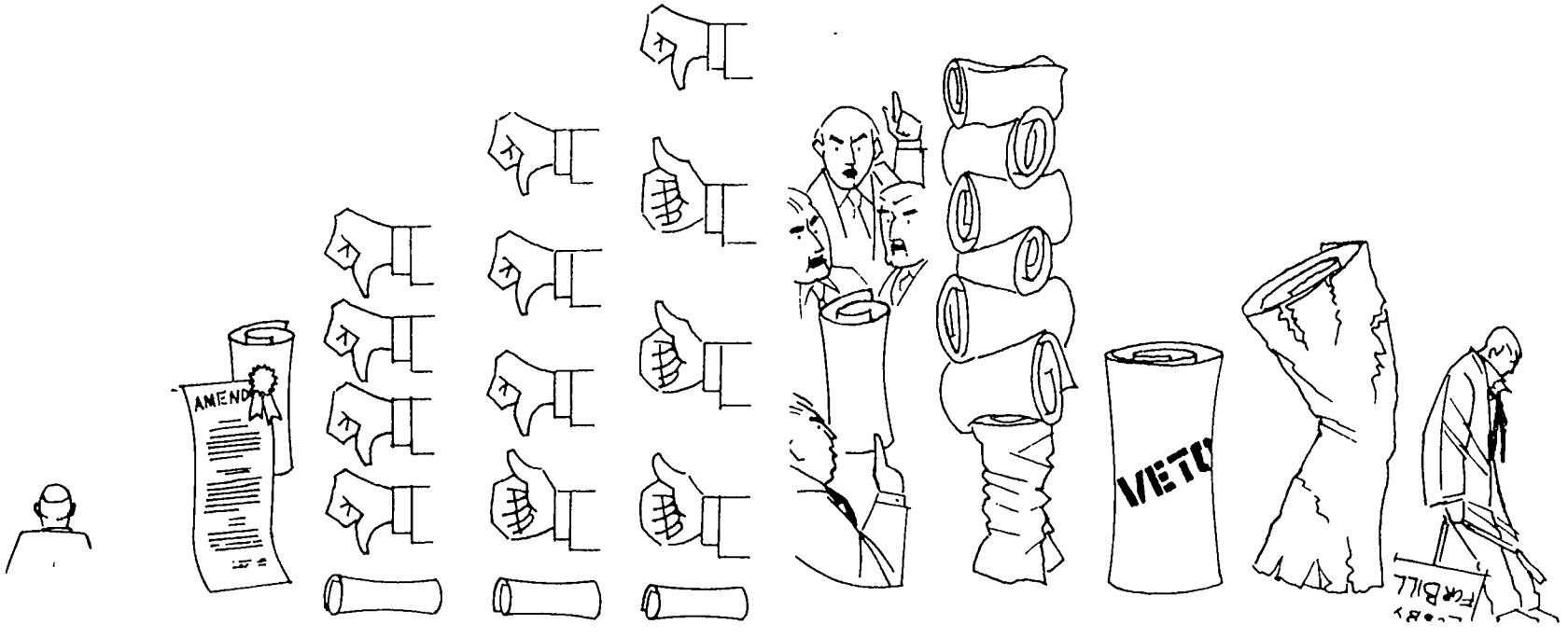

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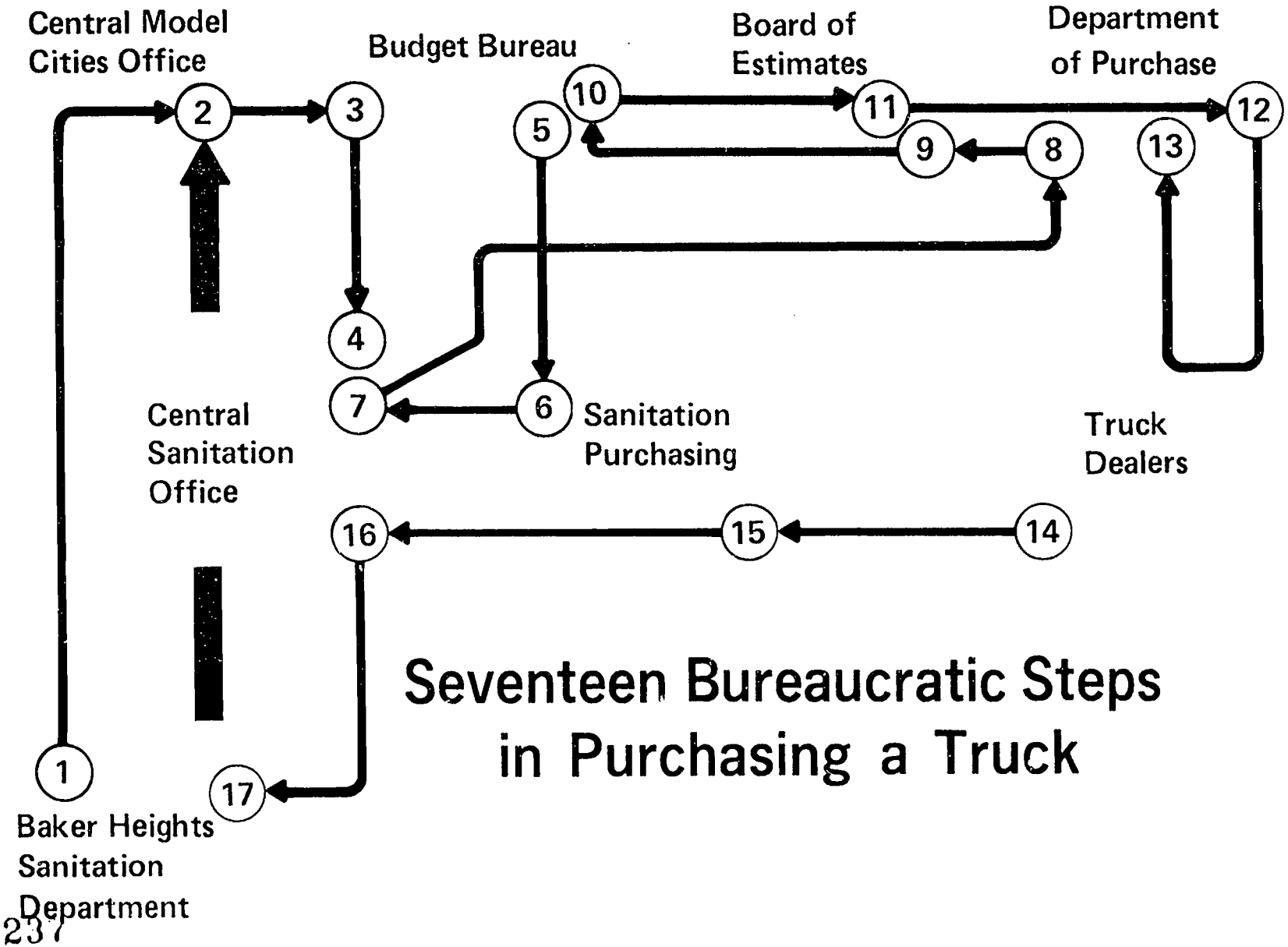
INDIFFERENCE | KILLED BY AMENDMENT | COMMITTEE OPPOSES | MAJORITY OPPOSES | CHAIRMAN OPPOSES | FILIBUSTER | BOGS DOWN | VETO | INDIFFERENCE

GINN AND COMPANY
A Xerox Education Compa

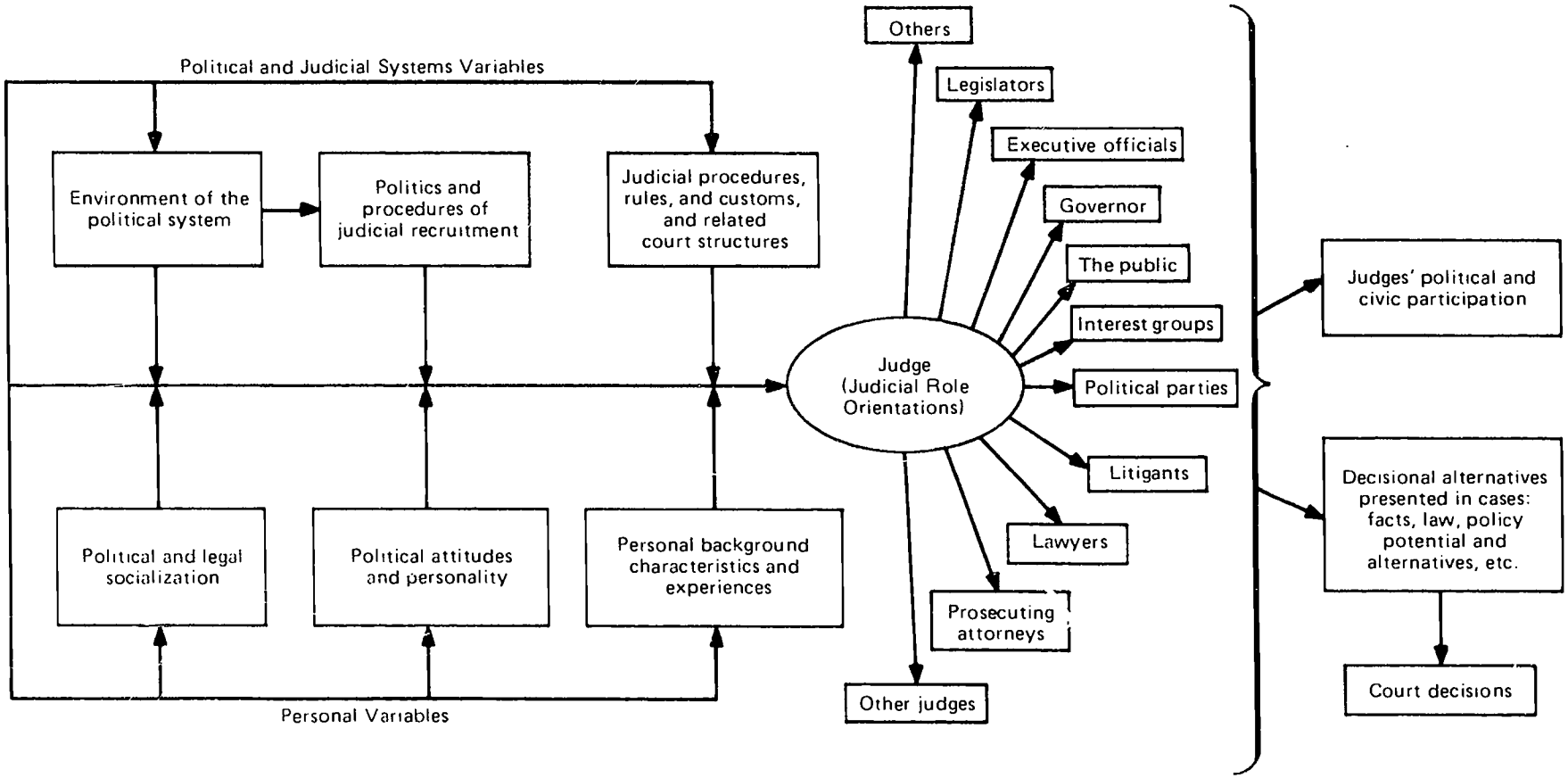


Seventeen Bureaucratic Steps in Purchasing a Truck

407. Deposit of refuse in navigable waters generally.

It shall not be lawful to throw, discharge, or deposit, or cause, suffer, or procure to be thrown, discharged, or deposited either from or out of any ship, barge, or other floating craft of any kind, or from the shore, wharf, manufacturing establishment, or mill of any kind, any refuse matter of any kind or description whatever other than that flowing from streets and sewers and passing therefrom in a liquid state, into any navigable water of the United States, or into any tributary of any navigable water from which the same shall float or be washed into such navigable water.

Some Factors Which Influence Judicial Decisions



Henry Robert Glick, and Kenneth N. Vines, *State Court Systems,* © 1973, p. 55. Reprinted by permission of Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey

Table for Organizing Responses to the Survey of Opinions about State and Local Bureaucrats

Items	Responses						
	Yes		No		Uncertain		
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Totals
1.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
2.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
3.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
4.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
5.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
6.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
7.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
8.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%

worksheet 1

Using Words That Identify Aspects of Political Behavior

A. Sentence Completion. Fill in the blank spaces in the following sentences with the correct word or words.

1. _____ is the exact opposite of law and order.
2. _____ is the ability to control or direct the behavior of others.
3. Time, money, votes, control over jobs, and intelligence may be used as _____ _____.
4. A government has the power to make _____.
5. To avoid a long, costly struggle, people who are having a conflict may settle their differences through a _____.
6. The _____ has more power to enforce rules than any other group in a community.
7. Since people fear _____, they try to settle conflicts according to rules.
8. A _____ is a choice about what should be done to settle a conflict.
9. Political behavior is influenced by _____ that are made by governments.
10. A _____ results when people disagree sharply about what ought to be done in some situations.
11. A disagreement about what is worth doing and what is not is an _____.
12. A _____ is the means one person has to influence the behavior of another.
13. Should a new air-pollution law be passed? This question is an example of an _____.
14. The mayor and city council decided to pass a new air pollution law. This is an example of a _____.

B. Providing Examples. Write an example of each of the following terms or relationships. Try to provide examples that have occurred in your community.

1. Issue: _____

2. Political decision: _____

3. Compromise: _____

4. The relationship of political resources to political influence: _____

5. The relationship of conflict to political behavior: _____

worksheet 2

Organizing and Interpreting Information about Political Interest

Fifty students from one high school responded to the following political interest questionnaire.

Questions about Political Interest

Directions: After reading each question, select the answer that *best* describes your political behavior.

1. How often do you read newspaper articles about public affairs and politics? (A) Almost daily (B) Two or three times a week (C) Three or four times a month (D) A few times a year (E) Never.
2. How often do you read about public affairs or politics in magazines? (A) Almost daily (B) Two or three times a week (C) Three or four times a month (D) A few times a year (E) Never.
3. How often do you talk about politics with members of your family? (A) Almost daily (B) Two or three times a week (C) Three or four times a month (D) A few times a year (E) Never.
4. How often do you talk about politics with your friends outside of class? (A) Almost daily (B) Two or three times a week (C) Three or four times a month (D) A few times a year (E) Never.
5. How often do you watch programs about public affairs, politics, and the news on television? (A) Almost daily (B) Two or three times a week (C) Three or four times a month (D) A few times a year (E) Never.
6. How often do you participate in political activities such as election campaigns, demonstrations, political letter-writing, and meetings of political organizations? (A) Almost daily (B) Two or three times a week (C) Three or four times a month (D) A few times a year (E) Never.

Responses to the questionnaire were scored as follows:

4 points for each "A" response
3 points for each "B" response
2 points for each "C" response
1 point for each "D" response
0 points for each "E" response

Scores could range from 0–24 on this test.

In response to a question about political-party identification, some students said they supported the Democratic party. Other students said they supported the Republican party, and still other students said that they preferred neither the Democratic nor the Republican party.

The scores that the 50 respondents made on the political interest questionnaire are listed below. The political party preference—Democrat (D), Republican (R), or Neither (N)—is also indicated.

Student Number	Score	PPP	Student Number	Score	PPP	Student Number	Score	PPP
1	18	R	18	10	N	35	9	D
2	22	R	19	12	D	36	22	N
3	14	D	20	20	R	37	14	D
4	24	R	21	4	D	38	8	R
5	10	D	22	10	D	39	16	R
6	8	D	23	6	N	40	16	D
7	5	D	24	20	D	41	14	D
8	2	N	25	14	D	42	5	N
9	12	R	26	18	R	43	12	D
10	15	D	27	5	D	44	17	D
11	14	R	28	14	R	45	13	D
12	12	D	29	16	D	46	3	N
13	6	D	30	15	N	47	22	R
14	0	N	31	12	N	48	11	D
15	22	D	32	24	R	49	18	R
16	24	R	33	21	R	50	10	N
17	24	D	34	7	D			

Use the preceding information about the 50 respondents to complete the following exercises.

1. Compute the average score of the 50 students. The average is _____.

2. Pretend that the responses of the 50 students are on separate slips of paper. In the boxes on the right make a tally mark for each respondent who scored "low" in political interest (below the average score) and a mark for each one who scored "high" (above the average score). Then write the totals.

Table 1. Distribution of Scores on the Political Interest Questionnaire

Level	Frequency
Low	
High	
	Total

3. In the boxes in *Table 2,* tally the number of respondents who prefer the Democratic, Republican, or Neither party. Then write the totals.

Table 2. Distribution of Political Party Preferences

PPP	Frequency
Democratic	
Republican	
Neither	
	Total

4. In the boxes in *Table 3,* tally the number of Republican party supporters who scored "low" in political interest (below the average score) and those who scored "high" (above the average score). Then write the totals.

Table 3. Distribution of Republican Scores on the Political Interest Questionnaire

Level	Frequency
Low	___
High	___
Total	___

5. In the boxes in *Table 4,* tally the number of Democratic party supporters who scored "low" in political interest (below tne average score) and those who scored "high" (above the average score). Then write the totals.

Table 4. Distribution of Democrats' Scores on the Political Interest Questionnaire

Level	Frequency
Low	___
High	___
Total	___

6. In the boxes in *Table 5,* tally the number of students marked **N** (Neither) who scored "low" in political interest (below the average score) and who scored "high" (above the average score). Then write the totals.

Table 5. Distribution of Scores on the Political Interest Questionnaire of Those Preferring Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans

Level	Frequency
Low	___
High	___
Total	___

7. Using the frequency tabulations that you have just completed, place the correct percentages in the boxes in *Table 6.*

Table 6. Relationship of Political Party Preference to Political Interest among Fifty Respondents in One High School (in percentages)

	POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCE		
POLITICAL INTEREST	Democratic	Republican	Neither
Low	%	%	%
High	%	%	%
TOTAL	%	%	%

8. What inferences can you make from the data in *Table 6*? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. Following are several statements about political party preference and political interest. Based on the data that has been presented, respond to each statement by writing one of these answers—(C) correct; (I) incorrect.

_____ (A) It is a fact that 44 percent of those who are high in political interest are Democrats.

_____ (B) It is a fact that ten of these respondents have indicated that they prefer neither the Democratic nor the Republican party.

_____ (C) From the information in *Table 6*, one can infer that among high school students in the United States those who prefer the Republican party tend to have a high degree of interest in politics.

_____ (D) It is a fact that there is a direct relationship between political party preference and political interest among these 50 respondents.

_____ (E) From the information in *Table 6*, one can say that among these 50 respondents those who prefer the Democratic party are more likely than those who prefer the Republican party to have a low degree of political interest.

_____ (F) It is fact that 44 percent of those who are Democrats are high in political interest.

_____ (G) It is a fact that 13 percent of those who are low in political interest are Republicans.

_____ (H) It is a fact that 13 percent of those who are Republicans are low in political interest.

_____ (I) Among these 50 respondents, as a whole those who prefer the Republican party have the higher political interest.

worksheet 3

Analysis of Political Cartoons

Directions: Accompanying the political cartoons in Chapter 3 is an explanation of the three main elements of a typical political cartoon. Use this explanation as an aid in analyzing the cartoons which your teacher will show you. The first cartoon provides an introduction to the analysis of political cartoons. As you look at the other cartoons, answer these questions:

Cartoon 2

1. Who or what do the characters represent?_____

_____

2. Are any symbols used to add meaning to the cartoon?_____

_____

3. What label is essential to convey the meaning of the cartoon?_____

_____

4. With what issue does this cartoon deal?_____

_____

5. What seems to be the cartoonist's opinion on this issue?_____

_____

_____

6. What further meaning does the caption give to the cartoon?_____

_____

7. Can you supply an alternate caption?_____

_____

Cartoon 3

1. Who or what do the characters represent?_____

_____

2. Are any symbols used to add meaning to the cartoon? Explain._____

_____

3. What label or labels help to convey the meaning of the cartoon?_____

_____

4. With what issue does this cartoon deal?_____

_____

5. What seems to be the cartoonist's opinion on this issue?_____

_____

6. What further meaning does the caption give to the cartoon?_____

_____

7. Can you supply an alternate caption?_____

worksheet 4

Constructing and Reading Graphs

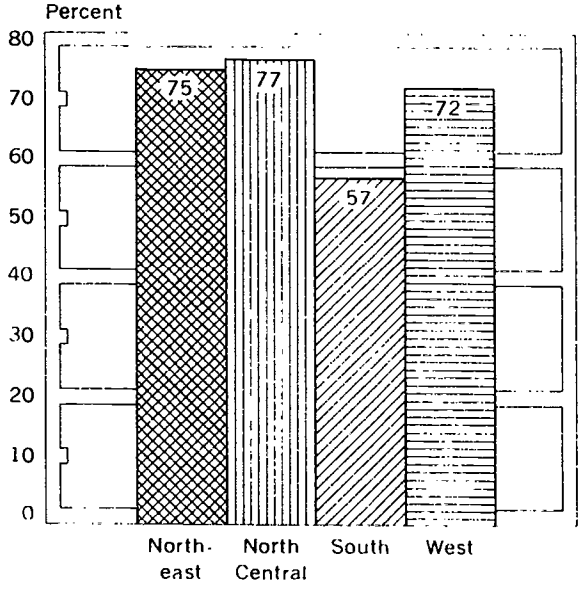
A graph is a picture of the relationship between factors. Graphs show the same kinds of relationships between factors that tables show, but graphs usually are easier to understand than tables are.

Part A. Following are a table and a bar graph constructed from the data in the table.

Table 1. Voter Participation by Regions in 1964 Presidential Election

Region	*Percent Participation in Presidential Election*
Northeast	75%
North Central	77%
South	57%
West	72%

Graph 1. Voter Participation by Regions in 1964 Presidential Election



1. What factual judgment can you make from the data in *Table 1* and *Graph 1*?

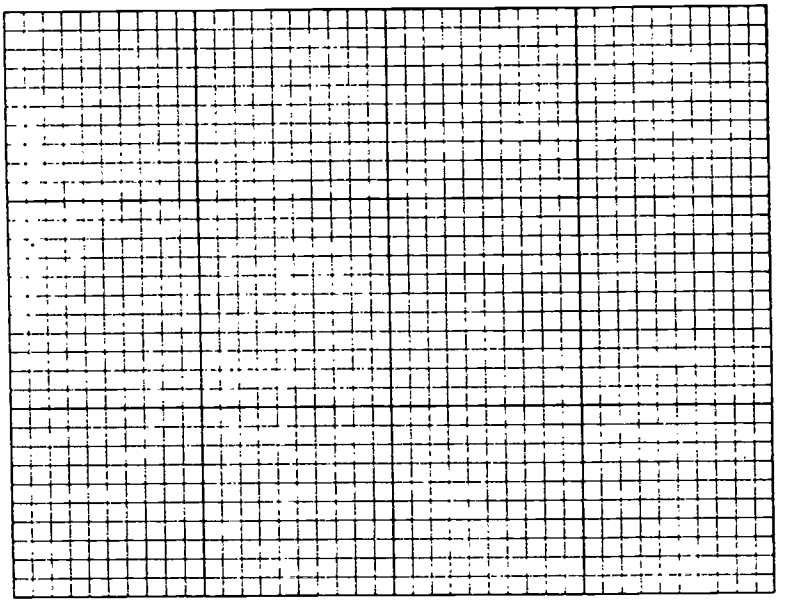
2. What is the relationship between *Table 1* and *Graph 1*?

3. Use the data in *Table 2* to construct a bar graph in the space provided.

Table 2. Political Interest among Students in Central High School, by Grade Level

Grade Level	High Political Interest
Ninth	31%
Tenth	43%
Eleventh	55%
Twelfth	60%

Graph 2. Political Interest among Students in Central High School, by Grade Level



5. What are the variables in your graph?

4. What factual judgment can you make from the data in your graph?

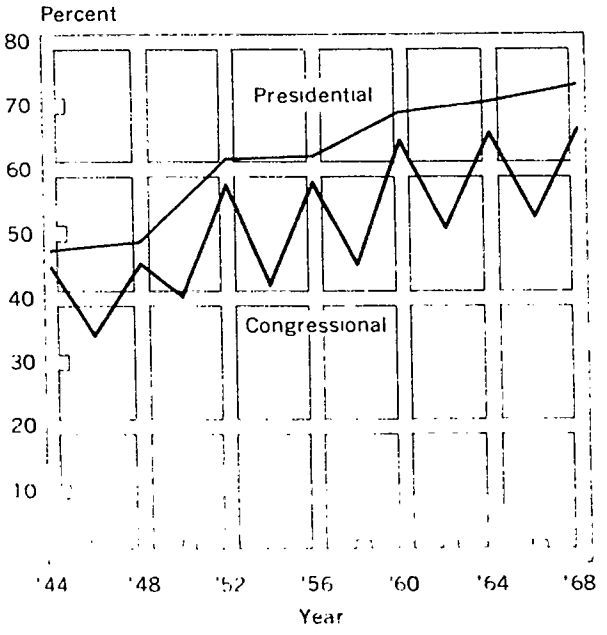
Part B. Following are a table and a line graph constructed from the data in the table.

Table 3. Total Votes Cast in Presidential Years and in Off-Year Congressional Elections

Year	Votes Cast (in thousands) For President	For Congressmen
1944	47,977	45,103
1946		34,398
1948	48,794	45,933
1950		40,342
1952	61,551	57,571
1954		42,580
1956	62,027	58,426
1958		45,818
1960	68,838	64,133
1962		51,261
1964	70,645	65,886
1966		52,900
1968	73,212	66,109

Source: *Statistical Abstract*

Graph 3. Total Votes Cast in Presidential Years and in Off-Year Congressional Elections



worksheet 6

Political Attitude Survey

Directions: Respond to each of the following statements by circling either the "agree" or "disagree" answer that follows each statement.

1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues that children should learn.

   Agree Disagree

2. Whatever serves the interests of government best is generally right.

   Agree Disagree

3. What this country needs is a few strong, courageous, tireless leaders in whom the people can put their faith.

   Agree Disagree

4. Most people are not capable of deciding what is and what is not good for them.

   Agree Disagree

5. People who complain about things in the United States should be sent out of this country if they don't like it.

   Agree Disagree

worksheet 7

Political Attitude Survey (Reactions to Political Symbols)

Directions: You will be shown twelve pictures of objects that may or may not have something to do with the way you think about politics and your political behavior. On this page are twelve reaction scales which can help you to measure your political attitude about the object in each of these twelve pictures. Place a check mark in one of the five spaces in each of the scales below in order to show how you feel about the objects in the twelve pictures.

1. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

2. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

3. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

4. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

5. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

6. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

7. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

8. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

9. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

10. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

11. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

12. /_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/

Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

worksheet 8

Organizing and Interpreting Responses to a Political Attitude Survey
(Reactions to Political Symbols)

This political attitude survey is an attempt to reveal student reactions to different types of political symbols. Your assignment is to tabulate the reactions of your classmates to twelve pictures of political symbols in the following frequency distribution table. Your teacher and classmates will assist you to tabulate the data. After tabulating the data, use the questions on page 100 of the textbook to assist your analysis of the data.

Frequency Distribution of Reactions to Political Symbols

Symbol	*Reaction Scale*				
	VBF	BF	LNF	GF	VGF
1. American Flag					
2. Soviet Flag					
3. Democratic Party Symbol					
4. Peace Symbol					
5. Statue of Liberty					
6. Republican Party Symbol					
7. Spanish Flag					
8. President Ford					
9. Nazi Symbol					
10. Lenin Medal					
11. Black Power Symbol					
12. Presidential Seal					

worksheet 9

Organizing and Interpreting Responses to a Political Attitude Survey (Anti-Democratic Orientation)

This political attitude survey is an attempt to measure anti-democratic orientation (ADO) of students in your class. Your assignment is to organize and interpret data gathered previously in response to the ADO items so that you can answer these questions.

1. What percentage of your classmates score "low," "medium," or "high" on the ADO scale?
2. How can you account for the pattern of responses of your classmates to the ADO scale?

Your teacher and classmates will assist you to answer the above questions.

Score the responses of each individual in the following manner: (1) assign *one* point for each *agree* response; (2) assign zero points for each *disagree* response; (3) add the points assigned to each respondent and place the total score in the appropriate box in the tally chart below.

Tally Chart

Points	5	4	3	2	1	0
Score						
Rating	High ADO		Medium ADO		Low ADO	

Your teacher and classmates will help you complete *Tables 1* and *2*.

Table 1. Distribution of ADO Scores in Our Class

Score	Frequency
5	
4	
3	
2	
1	
0	

Table 2. Levels of ADO in Our Class

Level of ADO	Frequency	Percent
Low (0-1)		%
Medium (2-3)		%
High (4-5)		%
TOTAL		%

Use the data in *Tables 1* and *2* to answer these questions:

1. On the ADO scale what percentage of your classmates scored low____%
   medium_____% high_____%

2. How can you account for the pattern of responses of your classmates to the ADO scale?

3. What other steps would you have to take to answer question 2 satisfactorily?

4. Do you think that the ADO scale is a good measure of anti-democratic attitudes? Explain.

5. Construct a set of five items that you believe could measure democratic, as distinct from anti-democratic, attitudes. Be prepared to justify your items.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

worksheet 10

Part A. *Willingness to Vote for Female Candidates for Public Office*

Directions: Imagine that you are an eligible voter living in some community where the following offices are to be filled in a coming election. In each case a female who seems qualified to fill the office is a candidate. If you would be willing to vote for a woman, put X in the YES column; if not, put X in the NO column.

YES	NO	
_____	_____	Judge of a county or district court
_____	_____	County sheriff
_____	_____	Mayor
_____	_____	Member of a city or county council
_____	_____	City or county treasurer
_____	_____	United States Representative
_____	_____	State senator
_____	_____	Governor
_____	_____	Vice-President of the United States
_____	_____	President of the United States

Part B. *The People-Watcher Test*

Are you a skillful people-watcher? Can you look at a picture or a man or a woman and make a good judgment about the kind of person you are observing? Take this test to discover how good you are at guessing what people are like.

Directions: Examine the eight pictures that your teacher will show you. Try to match each picture with one or more of the personal descriptions in the following list. Enter the letter of each picture beside the description you think fits it. When you are finished, your teacher will provide the correct answers for scoring the test.

List of Personal Descriptions

_____ 1. Vice-Chairman of the 1972 Democratic National Convention

_____ 2. President of the National Parent-Teacher Association

_____ 3. Member of the Armed Services Committee, U.S. House of Representatives

_____ 4. Professor of Nursing at the University of Colorado and a registered nurse

_____ 5. A law school graduate and a certified lawyer

_____ 6. A political leader in Massachusetts

_____ 7. Teacher at Banneker Elementary School in Gary, Indiana

_____ 8. A member of the U.S. House of Representatives since 1965; member of Education and Labor Committee

_____ 9. A leader of the United Autoworkers International Union (UAW)

_____ 10. Administrative Assistant to the Representative to Congress from Massachusetts' 10th District

worksheet 11

Speculating about the Frequency of Different Types of Political Activity

Type of Political Participation	*Your Estimate of Percentage*	*Percentage Provided by Teacher*
1. Participating in a political discussion.		
2. Wearing campaign buttons or displaying stickers		
3. Holding membership in a political club		
4. Voting in a presidential election		
5. Talking to others about voting for a certain candidate		
6. Writing to a member of Congress		
7. Running for public office or holding an influential political office		
8. Participating actively in a national political campaign		
9. Contributing money to a political campaign		
10. Attending a political rally		

worksheet 12

Questionnaire about Political Partisanship and Cynicism

Directions: Respond to each of the following questions by checking one of the answers which follows each question.

1. In politics which of the following do you consider yourself to be:

   _____ a. Republican
   _____ b. Democrat
   _____ c. Independent
   _____ d. Uncertain

2. Do you feel that the political party system in this country needs:

   _____ a. no substantial change
   _____ b. moderate change
   _____ c. fundamental reform
   _____ d. to be done away with

3. Respond to each of the following statements with one of the listed answers.

   a. Most people go into elective office to help others.

      _____ agree
      _____ disagree
      _____ not sure

   b. Most politicians will use any means—even illegal—to get elected.

      _____ agree
      _____ disagree
      _____ not sure

   c. Many politicians take graft.

      _____ agree
      _____ disagree
      _____ not sure

   d. Only a few people in politics are dedicated public servants.

      _____ agree
      _____ disagree
      _____ not sure

worksheet 13

A Study of the Principal's Role

Directions: Use the boxes below to identify (a) some *duties* which are part of the principal's job in your school, (b) some *rules* or customs which guide the principal in the performance of the duty, and (c) some *persons* whom the principal is likely to consider or consult in his or her performance of the duty. One example is provided.

Duty	*Rules to Guide Performance*	*Others to Consider*
Conduct faculty meetings	Provide proper notification; do not criticize an individual teacher; keep within time limits, etc.	School superintendent, perhaps; faculty members; guest speakers, if any; custodian to have room ready.

worksheet 14

Investigation of How Rules on Presidential Recruitment Apply to Some Particular President

Directions: Your task is to test the categories relating to formal and informal recruitment rules against one of the past Presidents. Choose one of the Presidents, as your teacher directs, and read a short biography about his life prior to his becoming President. Show how each category was verified or not verified.

President _____

A. Formal rules: age, citizenship, residence

1. When he became President, _____ was _____ years old, thus meeting the rule that he must be at least 35 years of age.
2. He was born in the state of _____, thus meeting the rule that he must be a natural-born citizen of the United States.
3. He _____.

B. Informal rules

1. Selection by a major party: He was nominated by the _____ party.
2. Popularity: _____
3. Experience: Prior to being nominated, he _____
4. Geography: At the time of his nomination he was a resident of _____
5. Sex, race, and ethnic background: _____
6. Religion and morality: _____
7. Socioeconomic status: _____
8. Miscellaneous factors: (Use the back of this worksheet to describe any miscellaneous factors. Also on the back explain, if possible, why this person became President if he failed to meet certain informal recruitment rules.)

worksheet 15

A Typical Day in the Life of a President

Directions: Read the lesson in Chapter 12 in the student text. Write the letter representing the appropriate role in the space provided before each period of the day. When no role seems to be represented or it is impossible to choose among the possible roles, leave the line blank. When two or more roles are appropriate, note as many as you believe are correct.

_____	6:30	_____	11:15
_____	7:00	_____	11:50
_____	7:30	_____	2:00
_____	7:50	_____	2:40
_____	8:15	_____	3:15
_____	8:25	_____	3:25
_____	8:35	_____	3:45
_____	8:53	_____	4:15
_____	9:20	_____	4:45
_____	9:35	_____	5:00
_____		_____	5:15
_____		_____	5:30
_____	10:00	_____	6:30
_____	10:20	_____	10:00
_____	10:30	_____	10:45
_____	10:45	_____	11:45

worksheet 16

Analysis of Decision-Making in Your Family

Directions: You have learned a way to analyze the process of decision-making in the White House. The same scheme may be applied to decision-making in other social units. This worksheet is structured so that you can apply the scheme to the analysis of decision-making in your own family.

Your task is to identify an issue that was recently decided in your family. Then analyze the decision according to the following factors, writing answers in the appropriate spaces. When a category is not used, explain why it was not needed. When new categories are required, list them under "other." You may need to interview your parents to secure all the required information.

A. Describe briefly the issue that was resolved:

B. Circumstances of the decision

1. How much time was available to work out a decision? (Was it a crisis situation, or was time available for deliberation? Explain.)

2. How much prior study or preparation—if any—was made in reaching the decision?

3. How important was this issue to your family?

C. Individual characteristics of the decision-makers

1. Who made the decision?

2. To what degree was the decision based upon prior experiences of the decision-maker(s)? Would other people likely have reached the same decision? Explain.

3. How did the personal beliefs of the decision-maker(s) affect the outcome?

4. By what process was the decision reached? Who was consulted? Did the style of decision-making used affect the outcome?

D. Other limitations

1. What formal or informal rules seem to apply to resolving this issue?

2. How did status relationships affect the outcome of the decision?

3. Was public opinion an important factor in arriving at the decision? Explain.

4. To what extent were available resources significant for the decision?

5. What external decision-makers were considered?

worksheet 17

The President and the Media

To the teacher: Give one copy of this sheet to each of the four members of the administrative team.

Role Description for Administrative Team

Four people are members of the administrative team: the President, the Domestic Council Adviser, the Foreign Policy Adviser, and the Press Secretary. A press conference is scheduled for later in the day. The Press Secretary will have an opportunity to make a few announcements and will then answer questions from the reporters. The President and the other advisers may not attend the conference. (Actually, you can sit in the class and observe, but officially you are not there.)

Your main task is to brief the Press Secretary so that he or she can make the best possible presentation for the administration and handle questions skillfully and with the least embarrassment to the President. You should plan the presentation so that the news that appears following the news conference is as favorable to the administration as possible.

The press conference is divided into two parts: (1) announcements by the Press Secretary; (2) questions from reporters. The total press conference should last about 15 minutes.

Press Secretary Announcements

Decide how each of the announcements should be phrased so as to give the best possible appearance.

Announcement 1: The President is planning a "good neighbor" visit to Latin America. He will visit six nations. (You can choose the nations to be visited.) The trip has two main purposes: (1) to generate public interest and goodwill between the United States and Latin America; (2) to draw a great deal of favorable American press and TV publicity for the President.

Possible embarrassing fact: Trip does not include visits to Argentina and Brazil--two of the most important nations--because the leaders made it clear that the President would not be "welcome" at this particular time.

Announcement 2: The U.S. has just concluded a $300 million arms deal with a wealthy mideast Arab nation. The advantages for us are a favorable balance of trade, strengthening our defense industries, and jobs for American workers.

Possible embarrassing fact. The arms may get in the hands of Arab terrorists. This could weaken the security of Israel, whom we are pledged to defend from attack.

Announcement 3: Homer Brown, the Secretary of the Interior, has submitted his resignation and a search is underway for his replacement.

Possible embarrassing fact. Brown has publicly stated that he is resigning to return to private business. Actually, he was forced out of his job for two main reasons: (1) He was a very poor administrator, often away from his office, and little was being accomplished there. (2) He was inflexible over the use of public wilderness. He opposed any effort to tap energy resources that might exist there, despite the fact that the nation's need for oil is urgent and oil is known to exist in some of the national parks and forests.

Role Cards for Reporters

To the Teacher: Cut the following "cards" apart and give each to the appropriate person.

Reporter 1. You are one of the regular White House reporters for the largest Washington, D.C., newspaper. You have heard that the President is planning a trip to Latin America. You suspect that the main reason he is going is merely to publicize himself and to get away for a time from some sticky domestic problems. You have also heard that he will skip Argentina and Brazil—two of the most important countries—because their leaders are annoyed by recent political and business policies.

Reporter 2. You are a White House reporter for CBS News. One of your sources in the Interior Department has told you that Secretary Homer Brown was forced to submit his resignation by the White House. According to your friend, Brown had held out against some of the President's business friends who wanted to gain rights to drill for oil in several of the national parks.

Reporter 3. You are a reporter for a major wire service that provides news from Washington for newspapers all over the country. You have heard rumors about a big arms deal with an Arab nation. You wonder whether this signals the start of a new policy toward Israel. You also wonder how the Russians will respond to this arms deal. Also how does the President explain selling arms to Arab states at the same time that he is asking for a reduction of hostilities in the Middle East.

Reporter 4. You are an investigative reporter for a leading syndicated columnist who specializes on "inside" information about graft and corruption in government. You have heard rumors that a group of oil companies contributed heavily to the President's most recent political campaign in hope of getting support for their interest in drilling for oil in several of the national parks. You are eager to learn whether this rumor is accurate.

Reporter 5. You are a Washington correspondent and political columnist for a leading New York City newspaper. The Jewish community in New York—and elsewhere in the country—is worried about terrorism and other guerrilla warfare in Israel and neighboring countries. You wonder if the Administration is doing anything to study—and stop—the flow of arms to anti-Israeli terrorists.

worksheet 18

Investigation of How Rules on Congressional Recruitment Apply to Some Particular Member of Congress

Directions: Your task is to test the categories relating to formal and informal recruitment rules against one of the current members of Congress. Select one Representative or Senator, find his/her biography in the *Congressional Directory* or other reference books, and decide how the categories fit the man or woman you have selected. Fill as many answer spaces as possible.

Person selected: _____

A. Formal rules
   1. Age: _____
   2. Citizenship. _____
   3. Residence: _____

B. Informal rules
   1. Sex status: _____
   2. Race: _____
   3. Religious affiliation: _____
   4. Education: _____
   5. Socioeconomic status: _____
   6. Occupational background: _____
   7. Political experience: _____
   8. Joiner: _____

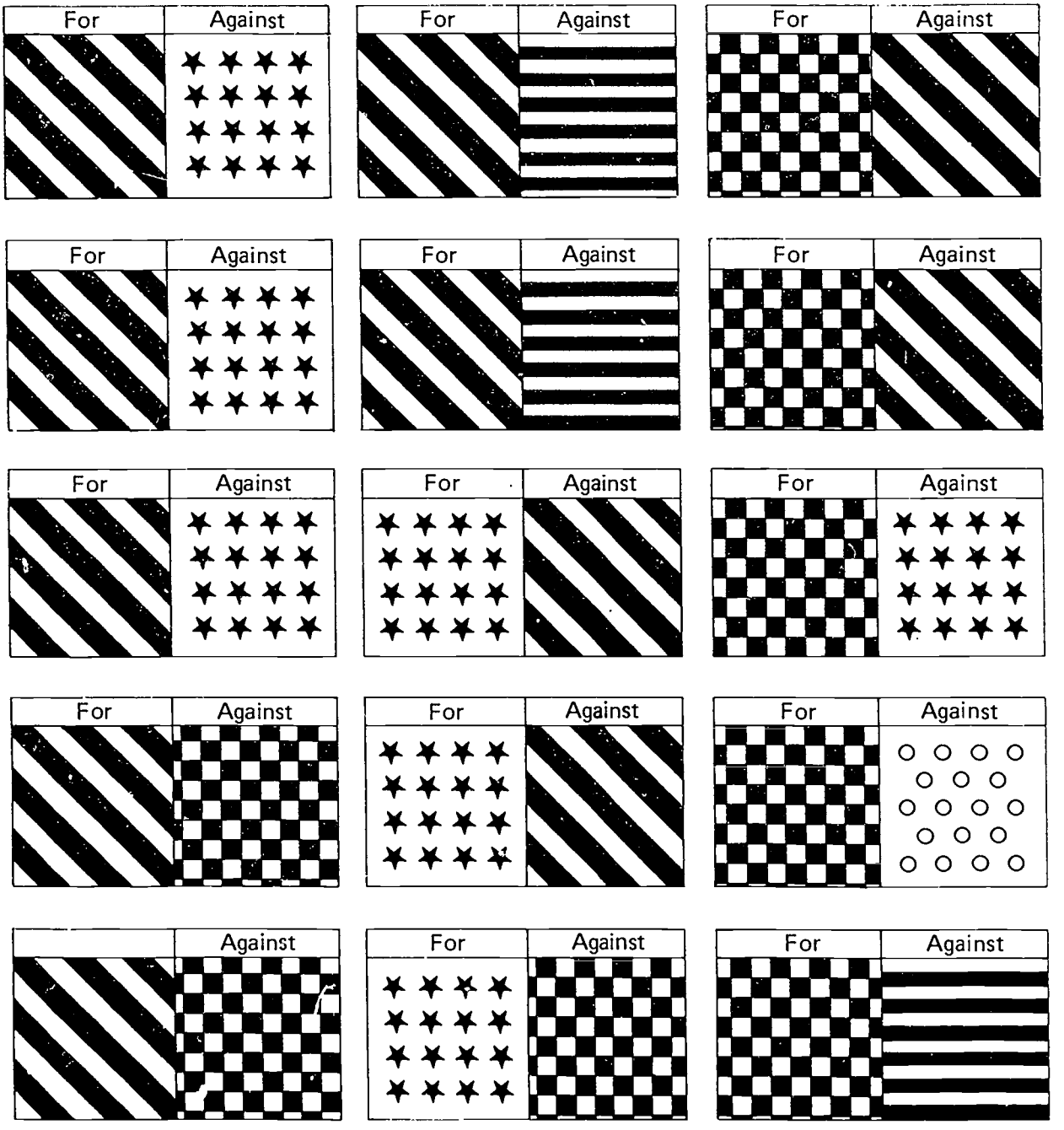
Which of the informal rules for recruitment to Congress seem not to apply to your member of Congress? _____

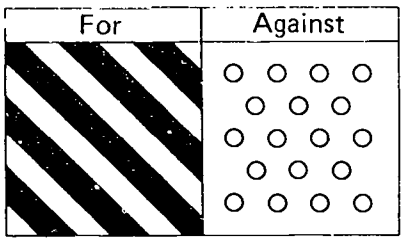
On the back of this worksheet try to explain why this person won election in spite of not fitting some of the informal rules.

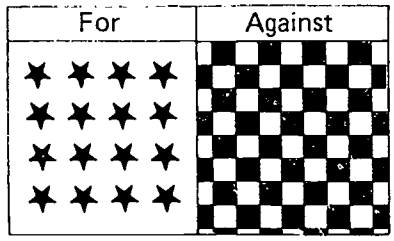
worksheet 19

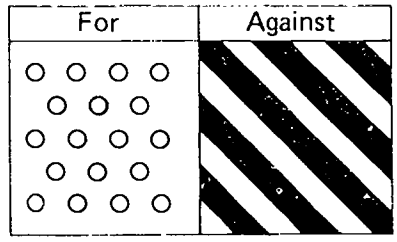
Constituent Preference Cards for "Scratch My Back" Game

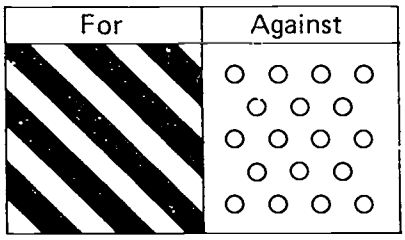
To the teacher: Cut the cards apart. Mix them in a container and have each student draw one card. Follow game directions in Teacher's Guide.

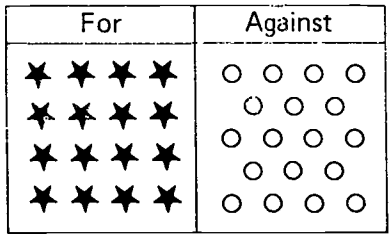


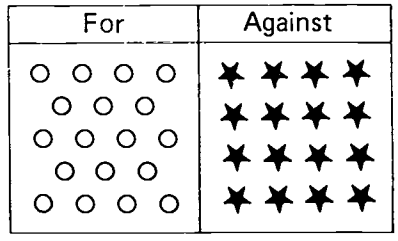


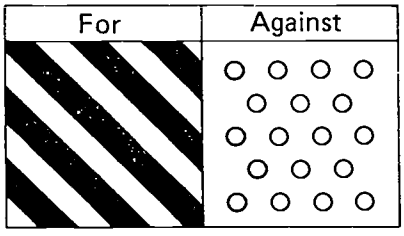


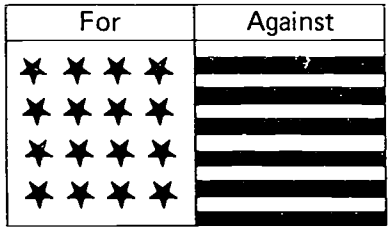


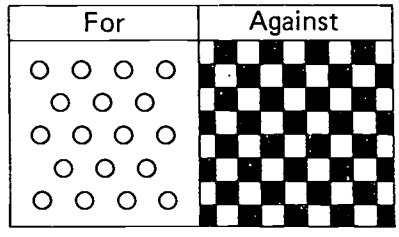


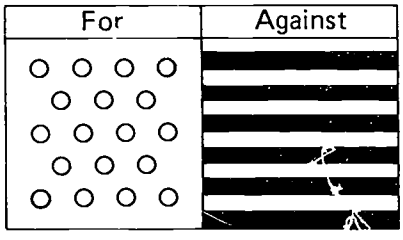


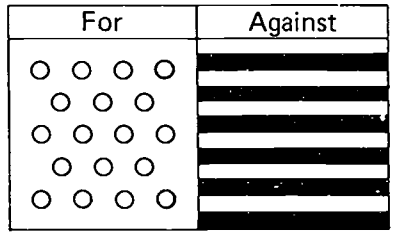


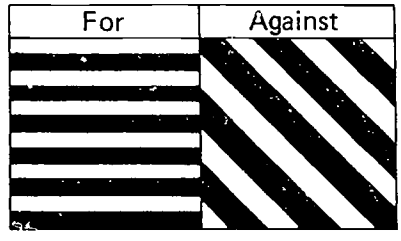


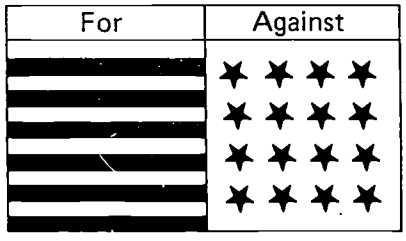


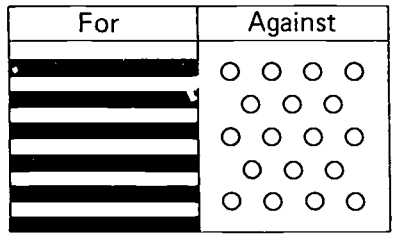


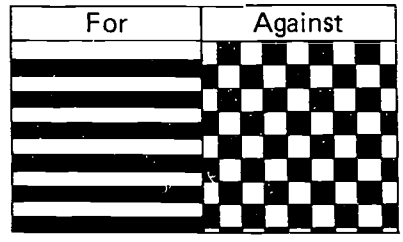












worksheet 20

A Typical Day in the Life of a Member of Congress

Directions: Read the lesson in Chapter 13 in the student text. Write the letters representing the appropriate role in the space provided before each period of the day. When no role seems to be represented or it is impossible to choose among the possible roles, leave the line blank. When two or more roles are appropriate, list as many as are correct.

_____	6:30	_____	2:30
_____	7:45	_____	3:00
_____	9:00	_____	3:20
_____	9:45	_____	3:45
_____	9:55	_____	4:05
_____	10:00	_____	4:15
_____	10:45	_____	4:30
_____	11:00	_____	5:30
_____	12:00	_____	6:45
_____	12:30	_____	7:30
_____	1:45	_____	10:30
_____	2:00	_____	11:45

worksheet 21

Factors That Influence Judicial Decision-Making

Thus far you have studied a variety of factors that influence the decisions of the Supreme Court. These include:

A. Formal rules
B. Informal rules
C. Procedures
D. Applying the law
E. *Stare decisis*
F. Social forces
G. Personal beliefs

A. Following are ten statements. Decide which of the above categories seems best to represent each statement and write that term in the blank preceding the statement.

____ 1. A study of all of the decisions of one justice during his career revealed a consistent pattern as compared to his colleagues. Nearly without exception, he seemed to be more concerned about the plight of poor people than were his colleagues.

____ 2. The Supreme Court will not grant a hearing except to a real case, and it does not offer advisory opinions.

____ 3. It is considered improper for citizens to speak or to write to justices in an effort to influence a decision.

____ 4. The Supreme Court sometimes decides that a law is invalid because it violates the provisions of the Constitution.

____ 5. When writing an "opinion" for the Court, a justice will consult other cases similar to the one under consideration in an effort to link his "opinion" to the "opinions" that preceded it.

____ 6. Justice A has been labeled by observers as a "civil libertarian" while Justice B is often described as a "strict constructionist."

____ 7. Sometimes the decisions rendered by the Court at one time in history will be overturned by a later court, at another time in history.

____ 8. A Supreme Court justice cannot be removed except for bad behavior, even if most Americans disagree with his decisions.

____ 9. When the justices meet in conference to discuss a case, the Chief Justice speaks first but votes last.

____10. At one time "due process of law" did not include the responsibility for states to provide lawyers for defendants. Today a defendant charged with a crime is entitled to counsel, whether he can pay the counsel or not.

B. Although you categorized the statements above into seven categories, explain on the back of this worksheet why judicial decision-making includes all of these categories rather than only one.

worksheet 22

Making Judgments on Conflicting Values

Directions: Following are a series of statements that represent the beliefs of many Americans. Where do you stand on each one? Mark each item A (agree) or D (disagree).

___ 1. All people should have the right to hold any religious belief they wish.

___ 2. People should be free to run their own business as they prefer, serving whom they wish to serve and not others.

___ 3. People ought to be able to speak frankly whatever is on their mind to whomever they choose, to discuss any topic, to see any film, to read any newspaper, book, or periodical without the interference of government.

___ 4. Every person regardless of sex, race, ethnic identity, or economic class is entitled to equal treatment in a court of law.

___ 5. A person's right to fly in a commercial airliner, to eat in a public restaurant, to stay in a hotel, or to swim in a public pool should not be denied because of sex, race, or ethnic identity.

___ 6. Persons arrested and charged with a crime should not be tricked or coerced by the police into making statements or offering evidence that can be used against them in a trial.

___ 7. Public officials have the right to curtail activities of groups seeking to overthrow the government.

___ 8. A high school student has the same right to free speech, free press, and free assembly as every other American citizen.

___ 9. People should have the right to choose their own friends and companions. The government should not be able to force people to be with people they dislike.

___ 10. Parents should be allowed to raise their children without having to expose them to influences that could undermine their moral and religious beliefs.

___ 11. Moreover, parents should be free to raise their children in a manner they believe proper, disciplining them in a way they believe appropriate without interference by the government.

___ 12. The government should provide counsel free or at very low cost to poor people who are charged with crimes.

___ 13. School officials have a right and duty to take steps to guarantee that the school environment is conducive to good instruction.

___ 14. Law-abiding citizens deserve protection from criminals, and all necessary steps should be taken to make certain that guilty people are not free to roam the streets to commit further crimes.

___ 15. People ought to be free to join any political party they choose and to promote peacefully the beliefs of that party without the interference of the politicians currently in power.

___ 16. Children have the right to be protected from cruel or insensitive parents who are unable or unwilling to provide a good home.

Directions: Read each of the following cases and decide which of the value statements 1-16 apply to the case. In the margin beside each case write the applicable numbers. Then on the back of this sheet or other paper write a statement telling how you would decide the case. Back up your position with the best reasons you can muster.

Case 1. John Jones was suspended from Central High School for wearing a black armband protesting the American bombing of Cambodia in 1970. Some students who disagreed with John tried to take the armband away from him. This led to a fight. The high school principal said John would have to remove the armband, or he would be suspended from school. John refused and was suspended.

John and his parents sued the school board and the principal. John claims he was exercising his right of free speech in a peaceful way. The school officials claim that John was exciting students to violence. It was impossible, they said, to conduct an orderly school so long as he was wearing the armband.

Case 2. Tim Ralston runs a bar in the Imperial Hotel. It is a famous bar and has existed in the same location for more than a century. It is a "men's bar"—and always has been since it first opened. No woman has ever been served in this bar.

Recently a group of women trying to "liberate" the bar were forced out by Ralston and some of his male customers. Now the women have taken the matter to court. They argue that Ralston is practicing discrimination in violation of recent civil rights laws. Ralston says that he has a right to have a bar for men only; there are many places that women can buy a drink. His customers come to his bar in order to associate only with men.

Case 3. Mary Minor was arrested for burglary. Because she was a minor, her case was turned over to juvenile court. Mary's mother and father are both dead; she has been staying with an older sister. Mary has been in and out of trouble. She does not get along well in school; her sister has little interest in her. At the time of her arrest, she was on probation for shoplifting. She had no money to hire a lawyer, and the juvenile court does not supply counsel for a person too poor to hire a lawyer.

Mary's case was settled through a conference that included the probation officer, the juvenile court judge, and the assistant district attorney. They agreed that Mary—and society—would be best served if Mary were sent to a juvenile home for one year.

Mary is appealing the verdict. She claims that her rights of due process were violated. She claims she should have had a court-appointed counsel and a trial by jury. She claims that she was "railroaded" into prison without a fair trial.

Case 4. "Red" Smith is a self-professed Communist. Whether he is or is not a member of the American Communist party is mostly academic. In his town he is the only known Communist, and he has little chance to attend party meetings, etc. However, he subscribes to Communist publications, is quick to denounce American foreign policy as "imperialist," and never misses a chance to defend the advantages of "socialism" and to criticize the evils of "capitalism."

Recently some people have become hostile to Smith. The newspaper has stopped publishing his letters. He has not been allowed to give speeches in the park. He thinks that his mail is opened and read prior to delivery. And he is certain that his telephone is tapped. Moreover, he has gotten threatening phone calls and mail urging him to get out of town.

Smith is not certain how best to defend himself, as the attacks seem to be coming from all quarters. Finally, he decides to bring civil suit against the city administration for denying him the right to speak f the park and for failing to offer him protection from harassment.

worksheet 23

Investigating Rules in a Large Organization

Directions: Every large organization adopts a set of rules and procedures for managing its affairs. Use the form below to record information obtained in an interview with some person in a large organization in your locality about the rules and procedures necessary to carry out some aspect of the organization's work. If it is possible to obtain any forms connected with the procedure you are investigating, clip them to this worksheet.

Name of organization: _____

Name and title of person interviewed: _____

_____

Activity investigated: _____

_____

Steps necessary to carry out the activity (list in order the rules and procedures to be followed, mentioning forms used and persons involved; continue on back of this sheet if more space is necessary):

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____

Reasons for certain rules and procedures: (Identify by number some of the steps listed above and tell briefly its main purpose; continue on back of sheet.)

Step	Reason or Purpose
____	_____
____	_____
____	_____
____	_____
____	_____
____	_____
____	_____
____	_____
____	_____

worksheet 24

It's Your Decision

Directions: The final lesson in Chapter 17 asks you to rank *in order of priority* five proposals facing you as mayor. If you think that any of the proposals are clearly unrealistic or totally unacceptable for other reasons, give them the lowest rankings. Summarize each proposal so that it fits in the space provided. After you have ranked the five proposals, (1) explain why you assigned each its ranking, (b) tell what obstacles you expect to face in carrying out each one, and (c) tell what steps you will take to overcome the obstacles (unless you find the proposal totally unacceptable).

First priority: Proposal ____: _____.

Why the ranking: _____

_____

Obstacles to be faced: _____

_____

_____

Steps to overcome obstacles: _____

_____

_____

Second priority: Proposal ____: _____

Why the ranking: _____

_____

Obstacles to be faced: _____

_____

_____

Steps to overcome obstacles: _____

_____

_____

Third priority: Proposal ____ : _____

Why the ranking: _____

_____

Obstacles to be faced: _____

_____

_____

Steps to overcome obstacles: _____

_____

_____

Fourth priority: Proposal ____ : _____

Why the ranking: _____

_____

Obstacles to be faced: _____

_____

_____

Steps to overcome obstacles: _____

_____

_____

Fifth priority: Proposal ____ : _____

Why the ranking: _____

_____

Obstacles to be faced: _____

_____

_____

Steps to overcome obstacles: _____

_____

_____

What factors have most influenced your decisions? (Consider circumstances of the decision, your personal characteristics, rules, status relationships, public opinion, available resources, and external decision-makers. Use the back of this page if you need additional space to answer this question.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

worksheet 25

"Legislate" Game Board

1 Introduce bill in the House of Representatives.	14 Whoops! Your bill has been "stripped." Go back to **1**.	15 Congratulations! Your bill is approved without amendment. Go on to **17**.
2 Go back to **1**. You need bipartisan support for your bill.	13 Speaker, angry because you opposed him on a recent party issue, postpones vote. Miss one turn.	16 Your bill is amended. Lose one turn while you gather support for amended bill.
3 Clerk assigns a number and gives bill its first reading.	12 Floor debate and second reading of your bill.	17 Bill approved on third reading and sent to Senate. Go on to **18**.
4 Bill assigned to a committee.	11 Speaker likes your bill and has scheduled it for the second reading. Proceed to **12**.	18 Bill introduced in Senate. Go on to **19**.
5 Committee chair is unfriendly and delays hearings. Skip one turn.	10 Committee reports your bill to the House and recommends passage.	19 Bill assigned to a Senate committee.
6 You have a good committee. Proceed to **7**.	9 Powerful people oppose your bill. You seek extra time to schedule more witnesses. Wait two turns.	20 Committee chair has gone fishing; no hearings are scheduled. Lose two turns.
7 Committee hearings start on your bill.	8 Powerful witnesses support your bill. Proceed to **10**.	21 Committee chair likes your bill and quickly wins committee approval without hearings. Proceed to **26**.

28 President pro tem postpones second reading of your bill. Miss one turn.	29 President pro tem likes your bill and schedules the second reading.	42 Too bad, you lose! The legislature fails to over-ride the veto.
27 State holiday. Senate is not in session. Miss one turn.	30 Rural bloc opposes your bill and wants it returned to committee. Go back to **20.**	41 You win! The legislature over-rides the veto.
26 Bill is reported favorably to the floor of the Senate for second reading.	31 Senate approves your bill on the second and third readings.	40 Sorry, the governor vetoes your bill. Legislature will try to override the veto.
25 You resolve the differences with the AFL/CIO. Go on to **26.**	32 Your bill was approved by the Senate, but with amendments. Go to **34** for conference committee.	39 You win! Governor signs your bill into law.
24 AFL/CIO opposes your bill in the hearings. Miss one turn, then go to **25.**	33 Your bill was approved by the Senate without any amendments. Go to **38.**	38 House and Senate send approved bill to governor for signature.
23 You agree to support a bill sponsored by committee chair. Your bill wins approval. Go to **26.**	34 Bill is in the conference committee.	37 House rejects the conference committee report and asks committee to reconvene. Go back to **35.**
22 Hearings are scheduled with many witnesses. Wait one turn before proceeding.	35 Conference committee can't agree. Miss one turn.	36 House and Senate accept conference report. Go on to **38.**

worksheet 26

Survey of Opinions about State and Local Bureaucracies

Directions: Choose the one answer to each question which best represents your opinion about bureaucracies and bureaucrats.

1. Do local and/or state government bureaucrats do a good job of solving problems that you or other members of your family have brought to them?

___ a. yes
___ b. no
___ c. uncertain

2. Do you believe that local and/or state bureaucrats do a good job of solving problems that most other people bring to them?

___ a. yes
___ b. no
___ c. uncertain

3. Have local and/or state government bureaucrats treated you or other members of your family fairly?

___ a. yes
___ b. no
___ c. uncertain

4. Do you believe that local and/or state government bureaucrats treat most other people fairly?

___ a. yes
___ b. no
___ c. uncertain

5. Have local and/or state government bureaucrats treated you or other members of your family with respect and politeness?

___ a. yes
___ b. no
___ c. uncertain

6. Do you believe that local and/or state government bureaucrats treat most other people with respect and politeness?

___ a. yes
___ b. no
___ c. uncertain

7. Are you satisfied with the overall performance of local and state government bureaucrats with whom you've had dealings?

___ a. yes
___ b. no
___ c. uncertain

8. Do you believe that most other people are satisfied with the overall performance of local and state government bureaucrats with whom they've had dealings?

___ a. yes
___ b. no
___ c. uncertain

worksheet 27

Table for Organizing Responses to the Survey of Opinions about State and Local Bureaucracies

Items	Responses						
	Yes		No		Uncertain		
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Totals
1.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
2.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
3.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
4.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
5.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
6.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
7.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%
8.	____	____ %	____	____ %	____	____ %	____ 100%

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