72-18,130

LAMARE, James Wilbert, 1943-
    HIGHER EDUCATION, POLITICAL SCIENCE COURSES,
    AND THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF COLLEGE
    STUDENTS: A REVIEW AND AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY.

    University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D.
    1972
    Political Science, general

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Higher Education, Political Science Courses, and the Political

Socialization of College Students: A Review
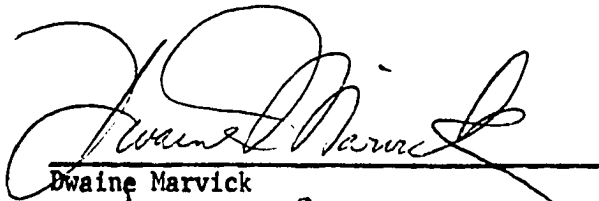
and an Experimental Study

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Political Science
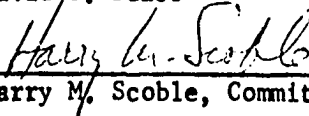
by

James Wilbert Lamare

1972

The dissertation of James Wilbert Lamare is approved, and is

acceptable in quality for publication on microfilm.

Dwaine Marvick

David O. Sears

Harry M. Scoble, Committee Chairman

University of California, Los Angeles

1972

ii

PLEASE NOTE:

Some pages may have

indistinct print.

Filmed as received.

University Microfilms, A Xerox Education Company

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

iv

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

VITA

April 3, 1943--Born, Los Angeles, California

1965--B.A., San Fernando Valley State College

1965-1967--M.A., University of California, Los Angeles

1966-1967--Research Assistant, Department of Political Science,
      University of California, Los Angeles

1967-1968--Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science,
      University of California, Los Angeles

1968-1969--Research Assistant, Department of Political Science,
      University of California, Los Angeles

1970--Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science,
     University of California, Los Angeles

1970--Research Assistant, University Extension, University of
     California, Los Angeles

1970--Research Assistant, Department of Education, University
     of California, Los Angeles

1970--Instructor, University Extension, University of California,
     Los Angeles

1970- present--Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science,
      University of Texas at El Paso

PUBLICATIONS

James W. Lamare, "University Education in American Government: An
    Experimental Approach to a Growing Problem," Experimental Study
    of Politics, 1 (February, 1971), pp. 122-148.

Francine Rabinovitz and James W. Lamare, "After Suburbia What?: The
    New Communities Movement in Los Angeles," in Werner Hirsch (Ed.),
    Los Angeles: Viability and Prospects for Metropolitan Leadership
    (New York: Praeger, 1971).

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Higher Education, Political Science Courses, and the Political

Socialization of College Students: A Review

and an Experimental Study

by

James Wilbert Lamare

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

University of California, Los Angeles, 1972

Professor Harry M. Scoble, Chairman

This study focuses on the use of political science courses in the political socialization of college students. It conceptualizes this subject as a problem in educational policy facing political scientists. To help understand this problem and to formulate solutions require a systematic exploration of all aspects of the problem area. This agenda includes an historical perspective of the various positions concerning the problem, a summary of extant scientific evidence that relates to the problem, and testing alternative means of solving the problem.

The historical overview and the inventory of available knowledge were accomplished through an analysis and codification of previous published views and research in the area of using political science courses to inculcate political orientations in students. To address the possible solutions to this problem an experiment in political education was designed. The population investigated were the 314 students enrolled in the introductory course in American government held in the spring, 1969, at the University of California, Los Angeles. The students were divided into five experimental groups and one control group. The

experimental stimuli introduced--one for each innovative group--were documentary films, nondocumentary films, music, doing scientific field research, and personally trying to solve a political problem; the control group simply read standard political science textbooks and attended the lectures. Educational and political viewpoints were measured by questionnaires administered to the students at the beginning and the conclusion of the course.

It was found that historically political scientists have taken three views regarding political education in courses. One side argued the need to train students in the classroom to be good, effective, democratic citizens. A more recent perspective has urged that political science courses be constructed to help students develop their political interests. The third side disavowed any attempt to use courses to inculcate political orientations in students.

Previous scientific evidence suggests that while going to college does have an independent effect on socializing the political views of people, coursework in political science is only a minor factor in this process. The experiment run in this project supports the conclusion that political science courses, and in particular courses which introduce experimental teaching techniques, have no impact on the alteration of the political orientations of students.

Conversely, the introduction of innovative pedagogical devices does improve the educational reactions of the students toward the course. Those students in the experimental sections were much more likely to have said that they learned from their sections and that they enjoyed their sections than their counterparts in the control group.

ix

INTRODUCTION

This is a report on a case study in experimental education. The setting is an introductory course in American government conducted at the University of California, Los Angeles in the spring of 1969. The experimental stimuli introduced in the classroom included films, music, field research, and field political activity. The focus of this study is the relationship between the course and some political and educational opinions, attitudes, and behavior of the enrolled students.

On the surface, this project empirically covers the impact of formal coursework on one group of college students. Also it approaches formal education in political science as a policy area beset with some problems. The problems involve the use of the classroom to transmit political ideology and disaffection among some students with the formal political science curriculum. Hence, broadly speaking, this study provides a rigorous inquiry into the effects of political education and a stimulant to improve social policy in the field of education in political science. To facilitate a presentation that unites empirical analysis with policy proposals, an appropriate conceptual and methodological framework is necessary. A useful approach has been provided by the eminent social scientist, Harold D. Lasswell.

Lasswell has advised social scientists to conceive of social behavior with a viewpoint that comprehends all aspects of the subject to be investigated. His charge calls for studying a social area with an eye on what has happened in its past, what is occurring at present, and what is likely to take place in the future. He asserts that "...the sciences of society make their principle contribution by moderating the grip of yesterday's practices upon today's assumptions about tomorrow."[1]

Hence analysis of social concerns should focus on the overall context of the area in question. Such a contextual approach adds depth and vividness to any perceptions about the problem. It also takes account of the history surrounding the phenomenon and forces attention on alternative solutions to the problem under inquiry. An appropriate nomenclature for this approach is configurative.

The central tenets of the configurative approach are the following: noting the historical trends relating to the area to be investigated; reviewing and analyzing scientific knowledge to understand to the fullest the area; establishing future goals or norms to be attained in the area; and, evaluating and applying alternatives concerning the subject investigated. A multitude of tools are necessary to complete a configurative analysis. Included would be historical surveys, inventories of scientific knowledge--theories and evidence--, utilization of scientific methods, such as experimentation and questionnaires, and a normative discussion of desired end-states.

The project to be discussed herein will attempt to apply the methods of a configurative approach. It is admitted that a complete and thorough use of a configurative framework stretches optimism beyond realism. The cautionary remarks of Greenstein, in evaluating the potential application of the configurational analysis to educational resesrch, are noteworthy:

> "Most of our general propositions are not very general and
> are at best hypotheses... By and large the hypotheses and
> our descriptive trend data are based on limited studies of
> limited populations... Much of the existing normative dis-
> cussion, although soulful, does not go beyond the level of
> platitudes... How do we draw boundaries around codification
> of propositions, or our inventory of trends?... Even with
> enormous social resources devoted to the problem of civic

> education..., if the relevant context had to be 'fully'
> filled in before taking action, either no action would
> occur or, by the time we were ready to institute a
> program, the situation would have changed."[2]

To preclude complete disengagement from using a configurative agenda because of the attendant difficulties, Greenstein's command to "'simply begin!'" should not go unheeded.

It is in this pragmatic spirit that the configurative approach will be employed in this university education project. Chapter one presents a survey of the past and present literature on the role of teaching political values to undergraduates enrolled in political science courses. Chapter two analytically summarizes extant scientific knowledge about the influence of higher education, particularly formal coursework in political science, in the political socialization of students. Chapter three is a discussion of methods appropriate to studying the impact of alternative teaching techniques. Included is a brief commentary on the normative goals directing this study. The last two chapters present an analysis of the evidence collected on the impact of this experimental course on the orientations of the students enrolled. The conclusion is a summary of the study, including the findings and problems discovered. Also some prescriptive statements directed at enhancing the educational setting for students are offered.

Candor requires recognizing that many other important aspects of educational policy will not be addressed. A partial list of the omissions includes the fact that this empirical study is limited to a specific introductory course, uses few experimental methods of instruction, applies to an unrepresentative sample of undergraduates, and measures an incomplete set of orientations. Another caveat is the lack

of attention paid to the policy-making process in the area of education.
No attempt is made to review, examine, or evaluate decision-making over
curriculum. A final lacuna concerns the normative discussion presented.
In general, the prescriptive points are raised in conjunction with
empirical data. Because of the evidential anchorage, the normative
points offered are rather straight-forward and not terribly imaginative.
Hence those looking for a full treatment of educational policy stress-
ing the complexities and conflicts over values, and rich in creative
prescriptions, might be somewhat disappointed.

In sum, a configurative approach to investigating the impact of an
experimental course in American government will be attempted. Although
the framework is fraught with limitations, it is useful as a workable
guide both to understand the problems of undergraduate education in
political science and to investigate some possible solutions. Greenstein
has justified this approach, even with the difficulties it raises, on
the following grounds:

> "Comprehensive formulations...provide...not standards to be
> attained, but rather useful background exercises--intellectual
> prophylactics. Master plans and other utopias are mind-
> stretching devices--ways of getting perspective and suggesting
> connections and contingencies. In current jargon, they are
> hueristic. Among other things, by setting up...goals, they
> remind us to stretch outselves and try in our less-than-utopian
> way to get the most out of our efforts. And, even though such
> goals are unattainable in detail, the partially spurious sense
> of 'vision' they provide serves to energize us for the day-to-
> day efforts that go into making incremental advances."[3]

NOTES INTRODUCTION

1. H.D. Lasswell, "Strategies of Inquiry: The Rational Use of Observation," in D. Lerner (Ed.), <u>The Human Meaning of Social Sciences</u> (New York: Meridian, 1959), p. 90 and <u>passim</u>.

2. F. Greenstein, <u>Children and Politics</u> (New Haven: Yale, 1970, second edition), p. 182.

3. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 189.

CHAPTER ONE--USING POLITICAL SCIENCE COURSES TO TEACH UNDERGRADUATES POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The role of teaching has historically been somewhat of an enigma for American political scientists. Controversy has abounded on its importance in the hierarchy of professional orientations available to political scientists and on what is to be taught, and how.

Some political scientists have taken the position that other roles, such as being a researcher, an administrator, or a community activist, are to take precedence over the teacher orientation. Moreover, the teaching enthusiasts are not a homogenous group. In the first place, teaching covers a wide audience. Those to be "taught" include graduate and undergraduate students majoring in political science, other college students, and a noncollege populace consisting of governmental officials, precollege students, and members of the general adult population. Secondly, the subject-matter to be transmitted in the teaching of politics is a source of variance. There are those who advocate the teaching of any number of the following in the political science curriculum: known facts, empirical interpretations, normative analysis, conceptual and methodological approaches, description of political phenomena, and political ideology, especially transmitting to the students the primary value to be attached to a democratic political system. Finally, the method of instruction has not served to unite those emphasizing the teacher orientation. While most political scientists are tied to the lecture as the most preferred pedagogical means, others have argued the case for using different teaching techniques such as audio-visual devices, student participation in "field" observations,

and student engagement in ongoing political activities.

This paper surveys a vast array of historical evidence concerning the role of teaching among American political scientists. The primary emphasis will be given to those in the profession who have been oriented toward the teaching of undergraduates with the students' sociopolitical perspectives foremost in mind. At appropriate times, the discussion will focus on other professional roles, other goals of the curriculum, and other audiences to be taught.

The role to be given the lion's share of attention is narrow but not without importance in the development and the current status of American political science. The significance of this teacher-socializer orientation has been noted by Somit and Tanenhaus:

> "While all academic disciplines tend to have common character-
> istics, in one respect American political science is unique--
> it has assumed the responsibility for transmitting to the
> nation's youth the knowledge and the patriotic sentiments
> essential for the successful functioning of our democratic
> system."[2]

The interest in this teaching orientation is reflected in the numerous discussions of this topic permeating the political science literature. Speeches, articles, monographs, notes, panel discussions, and special professional reports have appeared on this subject.[3] The remainder of this paper is an in-depth analysis of the major themes, critical and supportive, regarding the teaching of politics with an emphasis on the sociopolitical orientations of undergraduates. This presentation will be an historical tracing of this concern about political education in the classroom from the early beginnings of American political science to the present day.

With the formation of any organization comes the need to secure an

-7-

autonomous standing within the surrounding environment. The birth of the discipline of political science in the United States was no exception to this quest for independent status. Autonomy for political scientists generally meant the establishment of their own departments within universities. A frequently used argument supportive of autonomy for a discipline emphasizes the peculiar nature of its subject-matter which requires specialized attention. Advocates draw lines, usually by definition, around the area to be covered by the discipline. Those concerned with establishing independent political science departments had an additional resource in their kitbag of arguments. Specifically, it could be pointed out that the payoff of having a department of political science would be the training of the masses for good, democratic citizenship. The teaching of politics would fulfill the plea made by a commencement speaker in 1885:

> "Our University owes its existence to the government. Let her pay the debt by teaching its principles, its history, its purposes, its duties, its privileges, and its powers."[4]

Burgess in his struggle to create a political science department at Columbia University averred that the curriculum would reflect his feeling that it was the university's "duty to do something for democracy."[5] Haines' committee on instruction in politics claimed that the primary reason for having an independent curriculum in politics was to inculcate in students the values and habits of good citizenship.[6]

With the advent of a formal organization of political scientists—the American Political Science Association—came official sanctioning of the importance of teaching. Albert Shaw in his 1906 Presidential address to the Association advocated this position:

> "in order that the scientific spirit may prevail in our

-8-

public life, there must be an intelligent citizenship, and for that reason the political scientist must always and everywhere insist upon it that education in the right kind and degree is the foremost concern of the democratic state. Let education stand first, in logic and practical statesmanship."[7]

Bryce's address to his colleagues clearly indicated the importance of teaching democratic political values to the American public:

"If in every free country the chief problem of democracy is to make the citizens intellectually and morally fit to conduct their government, this is most clearly so in the United States, where the ultimate control of public affairs belongs to the mass of the people. To enlighten their judgment by a large knowledge of facts, and show them how to draw sound conclusions from facts would be to render an inestimable service."[8]

The political scientist's role in achieving this state of affairs was to teach his students the importance of rationality and factual opinions. To the critic pointing to the small number of people reached in university politics classes, Bryce countered with a point frequently used to boost the spirits of small cadres of potential reformers. If political scientists enlightened only 5 percent of the population, the spillover from these opinion leaders to the rest of the masses would justify the teaching effort: "...you would be providing a substantial effect on another thirty, forty or fifty percent, perhaps a majority of voters."[9]

The early view emphasizing the importance of political education in the classroom pictured many benefits. The masses would gain in knowledge, rationality, and intelligence. The political system would be composed of citizens possessing norms necessary to have democracy. Political scientists, appreciated for their socializing services, would be rewarded in the form of independent status, a means to make a living, and a culture tolerant of free inquiry. It is no wonder that political scientists worked hard to promote this end-state.

The search for ways to implement these goals took place in committees established to investigate instruction in politics. The first committees were constituted by the American Political Science Association in 1905-1907. The initial call for a committee came from the eventual chairman after he had discovered that his students "...had only the vaguest and most untrustworthy information concerning even the simplest rudiments of our governmental system."[10] The committee sought the causes of these findings through mailing out questionnaires designed to uncover the quantity and quality of instruction in politics at the high school level. The results suggested that the high schools were guilty of not adequately preparing students in politics. The solutions offered by the committee included commencing instruction in politics at the elementary grade level, establishing an independent high school curriculum in government staffed by teachers trained in political science, and making government courses a requirement before admission to college was granted.[11]

Within a year a new query about the teaching of politics arose. In Haines' words: "Is Sufficient Time Devoted to the Study of Government in Our Colleges?"[12] The committee established to address this question surveyed the nature of undergraduate education in politics. They discovered that, compared with other subjects, political science had a limited curriculum inadequately staffed with trained personnel.[13] Analyzing this situation, the committee asked the following question: "Can a nation whose government is constructed on the principle that the people shall rule afford to devote three to four times as much energy upon the study of the classic languages, making them the basis of the

-10-

superstructure of higher education, and fail to find time or opportunity to present the principles and practices of its own governmental system except to a small minority of those who benefit by our higher educational institutions?"[14] To rectify this negatively appraised situation, the committee recommended, among other solutions offered, a list of courses basic to a political science curriculum, independent departments of political science, the inclusion of at least one full time trained political scientist on college faculties, and the suggestion that a one year basic course in American government be offered in all colleges.[15]

In short, a number of political scientists in the early stage of the discipline consciously favored the teaching-socializing role. Recorded opposition to this position is not evident. It is probable that in this formative stage of political science only the most irascible soul would venture to critique a position that promoted positive rewards for the discipline. Moreover, political scientists were probably sincerely attached to the value of presenting their students the virtues of the tenets of representative democracy. Most political scientists were schooled in the democratic philosophy of the liberal 19th century English philosophers. In addition, the political and intellectual environment of America in the first decades of the twentieth century reinforced a commitment to an ideology of representative democracy.

On the other hand, it is not clear that the recommendations regarding the teaching of politics were directly instrumental in the expansion of political science.[16] There had been some suggestions to homogenize the introductory curriculum in all colleges.[17] Yet, by the 1920's, diversity in topics presented to undergraduates was the norm.[18] Finally, it is quite likely that the majority of emergent political scientists

-11-

during this period did not hold the teacher-trainer orientation as a
primary professional role. Somit and Tanenhaus observe, in retrospect,
that graduate training in political science did not emphasize this role:

> "All but the most obtuse graduate student quickly realized
> that books and articles, rather than scintillating lectures,
> paved the road to advancement... /P/romotions and raises
> somehow had a closer relationship to the length of one's
> bibliography than to the quality of one's pedagogy."[19]

During the 1920's and 1930's many political scientists were commit-
ted to the socialization role of teaching. During this period the
American Political Science Association established its Committee on
Policy;[20] a committee that was to be highly instrumental in establishing
the agenda of business for the discipline of political science until
around 1935. Included within the policy guidelines of this committee
was the charge to be concerned with political education in the classroom.
Two reports emerged from the sub-committee designated to study this
area.[21]

The first report covered another survey of the status of instruc-
tion in politics at the college level.[22] Compared to previous reports
it was found that some progress had been made in the establishment of
autonomous political science departments. On the other hand, most
colleges had not made the course in American government a prerequisite
for graduation, nor were there many majors in political science, and
there was dissidence over both methods of teaching and the content to
be transmitted in the introductory course. It was recommended that the
American Political Science Review serve as a conduit of communication
on the problems of teaching and the use of innovative techniques in the
classroom.

In brief, the second report involved the improvement of political science instruction in specialized colleges, namely, teachers' schools and colleges of engineering and commerce.[23]

Absent in the texts of both reports were rhetorical accolades promoting the teaching of democratic values. Nevertheless, the interpretation of these reports supplied by Chairman Reed extolled the need for teaching good citizenship. Reed, appalled that "...the influence of political science on the education of youth for citizenship is at a minimum,"[24] urged that "adequate instruction in school, colleges and universities, can alone prepare for the foundation of sound public opinion."[25] Yet the long term proposals offered by the Committee on Policy ignored civic training in the colleges choosing to emphasize this type of socialization at lower educational levels and over the radio.[26]

Hence citizenship training continued to be viewed as a legitimate professional orientation valued by political scientists. But dissent concerning this role also was aired in public. Much of the criticism came as a reaction to the sentiments expressed in the work of the Committee on Policy. At issue were the roles to be stressed in the discipline. The critics conceived of professionalism in terms of building a sound body of political knowledge. They stressed the importance of research and objective methodology to their colleagues.[27] They were opposed to the emphasis placed on political activism in the Committee on Policy's suggestions to political scientists. According to Somit and Tanenhaus:

> "Many had grave doubts about the whole 'better minds for
> better politics' notion. Some, especially among the

science-oriented, regarded much of what he /Reed7 sought
as irrelevant to the discipline's main purpose. Others,
believing that the Association should be composed of
persons having a common professional interest, were
alienated by /Reed's7 scheme for bringing in lay members."[28]

The dissidents also turned their attention to the content of the

introductory course. They sought a course which transmitted analytical

skills, a behavioral approach to politics, and a functional framework

of conceptualizing politics. In short, the classroom was to be a place

for scholarship training not citizenship training. The first sign of

discontent over the use of classroom time emerged in a round table

discussion of the introductory course at the 1926 meeting of the Amer-

ican Political Science Association.[29] Disagreement was expressed on how

to teach the introductory course. One spokesman suggested that the

behavior of the masses and the elites be the focus of the course. A

second advocate restated the need to train students in democracy: A.B.

Hall "...suggested that the purpose /of the course7 is the development

of a better citizenship."[30] A third participant advocated that a func-

tional approach to conceptualizing government as an agency interrelated

with its social environment be the norm among teachers of the intro-

ductory course.[31] The panel concluded having "...arrived at no concrete

pronouncement upon the questions it had itself stated."[32]

The dissident argument is best illustrated in an article written

by Spencer.[33] It was his contention that a functional perspective

should be utilized in the classroom. Functionalism was described as

both a pedagogical method and a psychological disposition on the part of

the instructor. The teacher was to stress the following: (1) a func-

tional conceptualization of government which emphasized the interaction

-14-

of the political system with its surrounding environment and the result-
ant problems of stress, demands, social conflict, and change and stability;
(2) the presentation of scientifically valid knowledge of politics; and
(3) the techniques available to construct theories about politics and to
collect data. Moreover, using the functional approach would "...exclude
a number of notions and practices often observed"[34] in the teaching of
the introductory course. The instructor would avoid offering remedies
and reforms of the political scene to his students. Finally, "it
/would/ scarcely be his function to teach any brand of 'citizenship' or
'Americanization' or any other--ization or--ism."[35] Students would
"...learn to recognize the superficialities of political opinion and
authority, to prick bubbles of dogma..., to ...question... the gaps in
our field of positive knowledge, and to distinguish between political
knowledge and political expediency."[36]

The momentum of the critics of the teacher-trainer role was slowed
down as the country came closer to entering World War II. Reflecting
the national shift in priorities in order to fight a war, some political
scientists commenced a campaign to reemphasize the primary importance of
citizenship training in democratic values.[37] Part of this professional
reaction might have been in response to outside criticism of the educa-
tional process. For instance, one sage warned that "the most serious
threat to democracy is the positivism of the professors, which dominates
every aspect of modern education and is the central corruption of modern
culture."[38]

Renewed interest in the teacher-trainer role sparked a round table
discussion at the annual American Political Science Association meeting

in 1940.[39] While denying full responsibility regarding the development

of political orientations in students, the panel did some soul-searching

into the political reactions of the students to coursework in political

science. The issue raised concerned the continuation of teaching

students liberalism. It was contended that liberal principles, defined

as praising the spirit of criticism, logic, objective thinking, and an

open--mindedness, fostered students who were negative, critical, or

confused regarding their government. War time, it was argued, required

emotional attachments to America. According to one participant, "while

it may be scholarly to debate the principles of navigation while the

ship is sinking, it is probably not very sensible."[40] A generation of

students that was cynical, disinterested, and not committed to democratic

values was inappropriate at this time of emergency. "It would be most

unfortunate if instructors were so completely objective that.../ethical/

judgments were not formulated, for then our colleges would be in real

danger of becoming beleagued islands of open--mindedness, and our

students would graduate to take their place as citizens without sincere

convictions about anything--good material for the demagogue."[41]

Numerous teaching proposals were made at the round table discussion.

It was argued that students should be given (1) a positive orientation

toward American government, (2) a picture of political scientists agree-

ing among themselves on the desirability of democracy, and (3) an

opportunity to participate in decision-making on campus "to provide those

experiences which might lead /them/ to a real understanding and appre-

ciation of democracy."[42] Finally, the panel presented a resolution

urging their fellow political scientists to adopt the role of teachers

-16-

of democratic values:

"Whereas: the American Political Science Association recognizes,
in the present crisis, the unique responsibility resting upon its
members for cultivating in the youth of this land an abiding
faith in the democratic system of government,
(1) We rededicate ourselves to the continuing task of
    promoting an understanding of democracy, and gen-
    erating confidence in its institutions;
(2) We call upon all our colleagues to honor now, with
    all the vigor at their command, their solemn
    obligation--as teachers, scholars, and citizens--
    to clarify the nature of those forces, external
    and internal, which are threatening the destruc-
    tion of our American way of life;
(3) We record once more our conviction that democracy
    is justified in calling upon its people everywhere
    to defend it by word and by deed in whatever
    measure of devotion may prove necessary."[43]

In short, the dispute over the teacher socializer role that emerged

before the Second World War presents the first problem faced in deciding

on the content of the political science curriculum. The opponents of

using courses to inculcate political views stressed the need for polit-

ical scientists to value the gathering and dissemination of information

without coloring this experience with political dogma. There are many

possible reasons for some political scientists to adopt this detached

ideology.

In the first place, political scientists became more aware of the

importance of approaching their subject-matter as a scientist. The

scientific approach stresses minimizing the interjection of values into

the analysis and the discussion of politics and places a high priority

on the discovery of objective truth regardless of personal ideology.

The spirit of scientific inquiry had already made serious inroads into

other disciplines, such as economics, sociology, and psychology, con-

cerned with human behavior. Moreover, it could be argued, that the

general social system was promoting academicians who had the skills to feed social institutions impartial knowledge about man and to transmit technical information about social and economic needs to students. The academic and social environment thus probably served to reinforce a neutral, detached view of the job of political scientist.

Additionally, the events in the time period between the two World Wars pointed to the ability of the United States to maintain a democratic way of life in times of stress. Such strength might have the consequence of lessening the felt need among political scientists to maintain a vigilant guard against the loss of democratic beliefs. Accordingly, once a threat to democracy were perceived as dangerous, one would expect a reaction such as the concern expressed about the political values of students as the United States approached World War II.

Lastly, maybe the conflict between teaching democratic values and approaching political science with detachment should not be portrayed in an absolute zero-sum fashion. The neutralist position could be conceived as a variant of the teacher-socializer position. Recall that the latter perspective valued the transmission and discovery of factual knowledge. Certainly, the dissidents were engaged in that activity. It might be that the neutralists did not want to embellish their concern with rational knowledge with the political coloration of democracy, but the end result was not totally at odds with the wishes of the proponents of the teacher-socializer role. Nevertheless, there was enough disagreement between the two camps to continue to engage the attention of the discipline after the conclusion of World War II.

Writing in 1947 as the Chairman of the Committee on Undergraduate

-18-

Instruction of the American Political Science Association,[44] Wilcox

again noted that the primary goal of the introductory course was to

mold the values of the students:

> "The introductory course, in the first instance, should be
> designed to meet the needs of the great mass of students on
> the campus who may soon become responsible citizens...Every
> year we have the opportunity to encourage thousands of budding
> dentists, docters, engineers, and scientists into the paths
> of good citizenship. We ought to make the most of it."[45]

This objective was to be implemented by increasing students' awareness

of government and public affairs, by heightening their sense of political

participation, by developing their abilities to analyze and evaluate

public policies, and by strengthening their appreciation of the demo-

cratic way of life. These ends would be accomplished if teaching were

"...made more realistic, more human, more dynamic."[46] Field trips,

actual participation in politics and in the formulation of educational

policy, the use of novels, short-stories, biographies, and audio-visual

aids, were all advanced as pedagogical tools useful for the desired

objectives of the introductory course.

A strong argument always present to bedevil the advocate of using

classroom time for the purposes of inculcation of values is the charge

that such activity constitutes blatant indoctrination. It was Rossiter's

task to confront this issue directly. His position was based on his

assessment of the reality of teaching politics. According to Rossiter,

"...it is the political scientist who is least able to present the facts

and theories of his own field without wrapping them up in a bundle of

value judgments, however flimsy the wrapping may appear."[47] Since some

form of indoctrination is unavoidable in teaching politics, it would be

most desirable if democratic values were transmitted to the students,

-19-

particularly those enrolled in the introductory course. "Since we are willy-nilly in a position to teach more than facts," argued Rossiter, "we not only can teach good citizenship but we should teach it."[48] Specifically, the teacher should inspire his students to respect democracy and to realize that there are some basic aspects of our system, such as a constitutional form of government, freedom of expression, separation of church and state, freedom of elections, and equality before the law, which "...are no longer open questions."[49]

Some opposition to the emphasis placed upon the socialization role of the teacher also reappeared during this period. Herring, for instance, in assessing the future of political science, stressed the importance of another objective. "The systematic study of government," he contended, "...is the unique duty of the political scientist as such."[50] In another place, while addressing his colleagues in his role as president of the American Political Science Association, Herring described the qualities of the good teacher:

> "The highest form of teaching is that in which the teacher
> performs as a scholar and shares with his juniors in learning
> his own excitement and sense of integrity in the pursuit of
> knowledge. I see no need on the teacher's part to proselitize
> for citizenship or indoctrinate democracy."[51]

Yet the post World War II period in political science was a time when professional interest in the role of teaching political values was very strong. The center of the stage became occupied by two groups of actors, each determined to convince its audience that teaching political orientations was a primary goal of political scientists. The script of one group emerged from the committee structure of the American Political Science Association; the entrance of the other group was financed by private and public grants and stimulated by the hard work of Thomas

Reed.

The Committee of the Advancement of Teaching, formed by the Amer-

ican Political Science Association, released a statement in 1951

ambitiously entitled Goals for Political Science.[52] This document

represented a united front among the committee members.[53] Chairman

Dimock noted that: "We started with the initial agreement that this

was to be a consensus Report, which meant that no one was to be allowed

to ride his hobby."[54] The conclusions of the document were based on

questionnaires and letters of inquiry sent to political science depart-

ments, personal visits to campuses, and discussions among the members

of the committee. Numerous, varied recommendations were offered in the

area of teaching politics. One of the foremost concerns involved the

training of students to become effective citizens.[55] Political scien-

tists who were surveyed by the committee ranked this end as the primary

objective in teaching.[56] Moreover, the tenor of the report, as heard

by some of its readers, emphasized "...the major goal of political

science as 'citizenship education'."[57] The training of citizens was

to be accomplished through analysis of government, by the inspiration,

not indoctrination, of the teacher, and by student participation in

politics, not just observation of the political scene.[58]

The other major thrust into the teaching of values to undergraduates

came from the Citizenship Clearing House, later called the National

Center for Education in Politics.[59] This group commenced its activities

in 1946 under the direction of Dean Arthur Vanderbilt and aided by a

grant from the National Foundation for Education. Throughout the next

decade, funding from various foundations and agencies was generously

bestowed on the Citizenship Clearing House. Moreover, Thomas Reed, in collaboration with his wife, took the helm of the program and continued his previous work to encourage an activist association between the political scientist and the surrounding population.

The underlying assumption of the Reeds' work was that a representative democracy composed of a two party system was the best form of government, worthy of preservation and proselytism.[60] To enhance the viability of a democratic system, it was important to train college students to understand, and more importantly, to participate in its institutions, especially parties. Hence the Reeds concluded "...that preparing students for participation in politics should be a primary objective of every American college."[61] The Reeds' task was to suggest the pedagogical tools which would provide the "launching speed" necessary to push students into political participation. It was contended that direct contact with political officials and actual participation in campaigns and party work were desirable methods of teaching students about politics.

The continuation of calling on political scientists to use their courses for the purpose of inculcating democratic values suggests the strength of the proponents of this position. Even in face of the opposition of those advocating an impartial approach to teaching and studying political behavior, the teacher-socializer enthusiasts were able to hold their ground. Their commitments were maintained probably because some were in key positions within the American Political Science Association. Moreover, outside funding to delve into and practice classroom transmission of democratic ideology was available. But funding for these

activities began to diminish[62] and, equally important, a great deal of

heated criticism of the socialization-teaching role began to be aired.[63]

Dissenters argued that indoctrination in any form is not an appro-

priate role for the political scientist to play. Once a political

scientist attempts to influence the values of his students he has, in

effect, entered into the world of propaganda. It is mere sophistry to

distinguish indoctrination from euphemisms such as "inspiration" if

one's goal is to inculcate values in students. A stress on the goal of

citizenship training will, in fact, serve to legitimize the activities

of the classroom propagandist. As argued by Fesler:

> "My fear is that 'citizenship training' as widely understood,
> covers our sins as well as our virtues. It provides a ready
> rationalization for those who exhort and preach, for those
> who mostly communicate their own biased reactions to the day's
> headlines, for those who concentrate on inducing student dis-
> cussion without inducing first a student effort to become
> informed on the subjects to be discussed."[64]

In addition, disagreement was expressed over using classroom time

as a staging area for training political activists. For instance,

Hallowell questioned (and answered) this push toward encouraging the

political activism of the students:

> "Is it the proper function of the college or university to
> encourage partisan political activities? Political science,
> it seems to me, is primarily an intellectual discipline, a
> body of knowledge. Its proper function is to impart knowledge
> about politics, not to give practical training in politics."[65]

This propensity toward activism was especially anathema to the scientists

in the discipline. "/S/ome influential political scientists, particular-

ly among the behavioralists," assert Somit and Tanenhaus, "had grave

reservations about the entire activist thrust."[66]

Overall, the above criticisms of the inculcation role indicated a

basic disagreement about the goals of political science. Other ends

were to be stressed in the profession and in the classroom. Along this line, Hartz argued the following position:

"The first thing we must do, it seems to me, is give up the proposition that the function of political science education, even on the undergraduate plane, is the creation of good citizens. Its function, like that of other types of liberal training, is to communicate to students the experience of thought, and is therefore, in one sense, purely formal. The job of the political science teacher is not to produce a good citizen but to produce an intelligent man. It is not to give a student values but to develop his talent for valuation. If education contributes to citizenship, then it does so indirectly, and not as the central goal of its effort."[67]

A final point of dispute centered on the inability of the advocates of the teacher-trainer role to investigate whether, in fact, formal coursework had any bearing on the political orientations of the students. Empirical analysis of the effect of course content or teaching style on students' values was not at hand.[68] One skeptic seriously questioned the likelihood of any impact:

"I venture to doubt whether the generality of students who take courses in political science are more inclined toward good citizenship than the generality of students who do not take such courses. This Republic, it should be remembered, had a patriotic and energetic citizenry in the days when, outside the law schools, there were no courses in political science..."[69]

A summary of some data available on the inculcation process viz the curriculum supported this skepticism.[70] As noted by Somit and Tanenhaus, "all have come to much the same conclusion: there is no persuasive evidence that any of those undertakings achieve their intended ends."[71]

Conversely, one faint sound extolling the virtues of the teacher-socializer role was aired by Redford during his presidential address made at the 1961 meeting of the American Political Science Association:

"...it has been a responsibility of political scientists

-24-

> to educate people for the tasks of citizenship... This is
> a tremendous responsibility and one which we must forever
> cherish."[72]

But the words were vacuous in light of the relative lack of activity

designed to implement this responsibility. For instance, committees of

the American Political Science Association turned away from advocating,

or even discussing, the teacher-trainer role. The 1962 report of the

Committee on Standards of Instruction never mentioned this role.[73] It

was urged by the committee that the introductory course be more than a

repetition of the descriptive materials about politics covered in the

high school curriculum and be designed to promote the intellectual develop-

ment of the students.[74] Intellectual growth, not political growth, was

the goal of coursework. Moreover, a survey of political scientists,

conducted in 1963, revealed the low valuation placed on teaching in

general as a means to professional advancement.[75] When queried about

the factors instrumental in attaining successful careers, political

scientists ranked teaching last. Finally, a look at published articles

in the 1960's on the teaching role also suggests the lack of enthusiasm

among political scientists for this orientation. Benjamin noted that:

> "A survey of five major political science journals for the
> nine years from 1960 to 1968... reveals that in no single
> year was more than one article on teaching published, and
> that in four of the nine years none were published. Fur-
> thermore, in only one of these nine years was a relatively
> major effort made at the annual meeting of the APSA to
> deal with the problems of teaching political science."[76]

Yet the matter was not to rest in peace. Recently the social sciences

have been again criticized for not being concerned with teaching and not

constructing a curriculum with the students' sociopolitical values fore-

most in mind. The advocates of this position are often students.

For the students, this is the time of Mario Savio and the Free Speech Movement, People's Park, the days of Moratorium, Kent and Jackson State, and a call for the "reconstitution" of the university; in short, it is a period of expanded politicization of the college environment. A partial list of political phenomena of concern to students includes foreign policy, the domestic problems of poverty, racism, differing life styles, a dismay at political institutions perceived as unresponsive, and a growing disaffection with higher education itself.

In the evolving ideology of the college young, often called the ideas of the "new left," the university is a key component. It is perceived by some as an unresponsive bureaucracy, characterized by a dehumanizing impersonality and an authoritarian style of operation. The college is perceived, in essence, as a microcosm of the society at large. The classroom, according to the Dolbeares' analysis of new left thought, is not immune from this criticism:

> "Here, the mechanism is the use of exams and grades as a
> system of sanctions rather than as tools for teaching and
> learning... /T/he environment is structured so that the
> human qualities of creativity and spontaneity are stifled.
> Competition rather than cooperation among individuals is
> fostered... /Students/ are taught to fit into, rather
> than to challenge, the prevailing institutions."[77]

Many students respond to the college setting, it is contended, by investing their time and energy in activities other than intellectual pursuit. They turn to cultural activities, athletics, a lively social life, or politics to find some identity. In some cases, this move from intellectualism is at the root of educational apathy. In other instances, this withdrawal is coupled with feelings of estrangement and hostility toward higher education. "The students own word for their condition,"

-26-

state Wolin and Schaar, "is 'alienation' by which they mean a number of things, especially a sense of not being valued members of a genuine intellectual and moral community."[78] This sense of disaffection may push the students in two directions. On the one hand, the alienated might carry his apathy toward formal education to the point of leaving the college setting. On the other hand, he might aim his frustration directly at the institution which to him creates this estrangement. In either case, the result is a serious challenge to the established structure of American colleges.

Specifically targeted in the current criticism of formal education is the teacher of social sciences, including of course the teacher of politics. At issue is the inability of the social sciences to be sensitive to a frame of reference peculiar to some students. It is argued that some students have been socialized in their intimate environments to value a humanistic, idealistic, particularistic and ascriptive mode of relating to their social world. But when these students, possibly more attracted to the social science curriculum than students from different intimate environments, come into the classroom, they are presented with an approach to society which stresses formalism, objectivity, research, and impersonal analysis.[79] Out of this disjuncture in experience has come the criticism that formal coursework is irrelevant or lacks meaning for some of the students. For instance, it is claimed that political scientists, as teachers, have failed "...to confront the crises of the day, and... to introduce students into meaningful confrontation with the 'real' issues."[80] Stated in other words: "Not since the Children of Isreal were required to make bricks without straws has

a generation been faced with such a ludicrous disproportion between the social tasks and the tools provided."[81]

The results, so the critique goes, are the following. In the first place, the methods currently used in political science courses have probably "...driven the innovators, the concerned, those desirous of change, out of the classroom, out of the discipline, and even out of the university."[82] More ominous is the observation made by Hampden-Turner: "It is hardly surprising that the social science students, who more than those in any other field value altruism, are in open revolt from campus to campus."[83] Those remaining in political science, and not in open discord with the university, have been portrayed as less efficacious, less socially concerned, "and a more conventional type undergraduate."[84]

In short, the colleges have been criticized for not valuing the interests of the students in the intellectual aspects of higher education. Student reaction to the college setting has ranged from withdrawal to rebellion. Only those students who are themselves insensitive favorably react to their educational experience. At the heart of this critique is the inability of educators to build a curriculum founded upon the social values and interests of the students. Hence values again confront the teacher of politics. This time, however, the issue is not whether the political scientist should preach values but that he should not ignore the political orientations of the students. Working to construct a curriculum relevant to the values of the students would produce an exciting intellectual experience in the classroom.

Entering the 1970's, political science manifests a renewed interest,

-28-

albeit on a relatively small scale, in the teaching of undergraduates.

Drawing again from the research of Benjamin, the following description indicates the reemergence of this interest.

> "During 1969-70 the newsletter of the association /American Political Science Association/, PS, has established itself as something of a forum for the discussion of problems and techniques in teaching political science; more articles (eight) on teaching have been published in its pages than were published in nine years in the five journals reviewed for this study. At the annual meetings as well a trend is discernable. Due in part to the efforts of the Caucus for a New Political Science three panels on teaching were included in 1969. For 1970 the program in this area was significantly augmented, with eight panels planned."[85]

Most of the published work on teaching, however, has focused on the cerebral relationship between teacher and student. That is, the concern has been with improving the transmission of a body of knowledge about politics within the classroom setting through cognitive means alone. Hence the topics raised in these notes on teaching include the elimination of grades to promote learning,[86] and the development of pedagogical tools which facilitate cognitive learning such as the use of primary sources for term papers,[87] individualized instruction,[88] having the students do field research,[89] and the stimulation of the students' intellect through using interesting analogies.[90] In these proposals the sociopolitical values of the students are ignored.

The r e c e n t report of the American Political Science Association committee on undergraduate education argued that "the enduring goal of undergraduate instruction in political science is conceptual analysis-- to make the student conscious of and promote training in modes of analysis, so that he is able to think analytically about politics."[91] The means to this end include instruction in conceptual definition, clarity and usage, and how to work with evidence. Again the students'

-29-

sociopolitical orientations play no role in this approach to teaching

political science. Along this line, a critic of the report wrote:

> "The Report...indicates an approach to the problem so
> narrow as to be irrelevant... Students' demands for
> relevance and action are ignored."[92]

One exception to this trend is provided by Parente and McCleery.[93]

Taking cognizance of the sociopolitical concerns of the students, these

commentators propose an approach to the introductory course that promotes

relevance and analytical skills. The course, they contend, should be

designed so as to avoid a formalistic approach to teaching about politi-

cal behavior. Instead the students are to be confronted directly with

current issues—issues to which they can easily relate. The student

should be encouraged to choose the problem area that he is most interested

in. The instructor is to create a setting which facilitates an analytical

approach to solving the problem.

In detail, the student should confront a social situation that is at

variance with his expectations. Field work (direct contact) and media

presentations of social phenomena are offered as methods to facilitate

these experiences. The student's surprise, outrage, and amazement are

the foundation for an analysis of the social situation. The student

should be encouraged to survey information about this problem, to under-

stand clearly the complexity of the problem, to construct some explana-

tion to account for the situation, to test and judge the adequacy of his

theory by collecting data, and to apply the lesson learned to the

governance of social conduct. The combined aspects of relevance and

analysis would, it is contended, enhance the educational experience of

the students enrolled in introductory courses.

Overview

This chapter has taken stock of the historical trends in American political science in the policy area of teaching undergraduates, especially those enrolled in the introductory courses, with the sociopolitical interests of the students foremost in mind. The main purpose of this survey of published views was to identify various positions that political scientists have historically taken on the role of using the classroom for the inculcation of political orientations in the students. Three viewpoints have been uncovered.

In the first place, some political scientists have strongly encouraged the teaching of good, democratic citizenship to students. The democratic ideology to be transmitted included instruction in the value of having representative political institutions, a rational and informed electorate, and a public that is dedicated to the preservation and extension of basic freedoms, for instance, those freedoms contained in the Bill of Rights. Failure to socialize students into these democratic norms might contribute to the disintegration of a democratic political system in the United States and to public disenchantment with political scientists for not preparing students for good citizenship.

A recent perspective on the correct curriculum again emphasized the need to construct classroom activity on the basis of the sociopolitical concerns of students. The political scientist is charged with the responsibility of designing his courses to engage, and help in the development of, the political interests of the student. The result, it is contended, would be a stimulating intellectual experience and the accentuation of a democratic, humanistic ideology in the students. The

concept of democracy offered in this recent orientation is somewhat discrepant from the view outlined in the above paragraph. The new emphasis to be transmitted in the classroom is the value of social, political, and economic equality.[94] Students, it is argued, should be given the opportunity to explore how to attain egalitarian goals. Such an educational experience would have the effect of firming up their beliefs in the virtues of equality and humanism. Not to design courses in this manner has resulted, and will continue to result, in apathy or hostility on the part of some students toward their teachers and the university.

The third view uncovered stated that any socialization of the political orientations of the students is beyond the purview of the political scientist. Political scientists should, instead, concentrate their efforts on building an impartial, sound body of political knowledge, and without political bias transmit this knowledge, or how to go about discovering it, to their students. Political detachment in approaching the classroom is considered the key to good teaching.

It is difficult to say accurately how many political scientists hold to each of these three perspectives on the goals of undergraduate instruction without more systematic evidence than has been presented in this chapter.[95] Nevertheless, in addressing the design of the curriculum for undergraduates, especially the course content and approach at the introductory level, it is likely that conflict based on the differences in these three perspectives would occur.[96] As such, choosing a pedagogical approach becomes a policy choice among competing alternatives. To aid in making this decision, some information about the consequences

of that policy choice would be vital. This project is an attempt to start building knowledge about the effects of choosing one curriculum over another. A beginning in this direction is to review the existing research that pertains to the effects of coursework on sociopolitical views of the students. This evidence will be reviewed in the following chapter by addressing the following questions: (1) Does college have any impact on the sociopolitical orientations of students? and (2) Do courses in political science have any effect on the students' views?

NOTES CHAPTER 1

1. The materials analyzed for this chapter (see the bibliography for
   Chapter 1) were drawn from a number of sources:
   a. Kenneth Janda, Cumulative Index to the American Political
      Science Review, Volumes 1-57: 1906-1963 (Evanston: Northwestern
      University Press, 1964) was a valuable guide in this research.
      Certain keywords were used to uncover articles written on the
      socialization-teaching role of political scientists and indexed
      by Janda. The keywords were: "citizenship training," "educa-
      tion," "teaching," "instruction," and "curriculum."
   b. A Somit and J. Tanenhaus, The Development of American Political
      Science: From Burgess to Behavioralism (Boston: Allyn and
      Bacon, 1967) was useful for the authors' review and for the
      references cited.
   c. R. Connery (Ed.), Teaching Political Science: A Challenge to
      Higher Education (Durham: Duke University Press, 1965),
      especially the bibliographic essay, was a useful source of
      materials.
   d. The Presidential address for every President of the American
      Political Science Association was read.
   e. Recent materials were collected in a more ad hoc fashion. P.S.,
      the table of contents for the 1965 through 1971 American
      Political Science Review, The Journal of Politics, the Western
      Political Quarterly were reviewed for articles on political
      education in the university classroom. In addition, analysis
      of the thoughts on the educational process that appear in
      reviews of the ideology of the "new left" was undertaken.

   Each written piece was read with an eye toward any comment about
   what are to be the goals in teaching undergraduates political
   science in colleges. From these comments I have selectively chosen
   representative views of the various positions on this matter. I
   have also tried to cite in the footnotes additional places where
   comments on a point appear.
   It is not contended that these materials are an exhaustive listing
   of all materials in this area. The bibliography is, however, the
   most complete documentation of publications that address the proper
   role in teaching undergraduates that I have yet to uncover.

2. A. Somit and J. Tanenhaus, The Development of American Political
   Science... op. cit., p. 45.

3. See the bibliography for Chapter 1.

4. Somit and Tanenhaus, op. cit., p. 45.

5. The views of Burgess are presented in Ibid., pp. 46-47.

6. The other goals of political science, in descending order, were the
   following: to prepare students for professions such as law,
   journalism, teaching, and public service; and, to train experts
   and prepare specialists for government positions. Almost as an

afterthought, the committee noted that training for research "might be added" to this list of functions. "Report on Instruction in Political Science in Colleges and Universities," Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, 10 (1913), p. 264. Other early statements on the importance of citizenship training appear in C.G. Haines, "Is Sufficient Time Devoted to the Study of Government in Our Colleges?", Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, 7 (1910), pp. 202-210; W.A. Schaper, "Report of the Committee of Five of the American Political Science Association on Instruction in American Government in Secondary Schools," Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, 5 (1908), pp. 219-257; E. Dawson, "New Proportions in Political Instruction," Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, 10 (1913), pp. 234-242; and Somit and Tanenhaus mention five additional advocates of this goal in their The Development of American Political Science..., op. cit., pp. 45-48.

7. Presidential address to the Third Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association printed in the American Political Science Review, 1 (February, 1907), p. 184.

8. J. Bryce, "The Relations of Political Science to History and to Practice," American Political Science Review, 3 (February, 1909), p. 12.

9. Ibid., p. 12. Indicated in the next chapter is the fact that this two step flow of opinion formation has not been empirically discovered; the higher educated keep their political orientations, even their democratic views, to themselves, and are thus different from the rest of the American public.

10. W.A. Schaper, "Report of the Committee of Five of the American Political Science Association...," op. cit., p. 220. For the results of Schaper's survey of students' political information see "What Do Students Know About American Government, Before Taking College Courses in Political Science?" Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, 2 (1905), pp. 207-228.

11. W.A. Schaper, "Report of the Committee of Five...," op. cit., pp. 250-257.

12. C.G. Haines, op. cit.

13. C.G. Haines, "Report of the Committee of Seven on Instruction in Colleges and Universities," American Political Science Review, 9 (May, 1915), pp. 353-374.

14. C.G. Haines, "Is Sufficient Time Devoted to the Study of Government ...?", op. cit., p. 207.

15. See Haines, "Report of the Committee of Seven...," op. cit. It was not contended that this one year course be required.

16. There is some evidence that recommendations to improve high school instruction in politics were at least paid attention to. See J.L. Barnard, "Method and Material in Political Instruction," Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, 10 (1913), pp. 243-248.

17. The call for unity in the introductory course is found in Haines, "Report of the Committee of Seven...," op. cit.; and E. Dawson, "New Proportions in Political Instruction," op. cit.

18. See R. Story, "The Content of the Introductory Course in Political Science," American Political Science Review, 20 (May, 1926), pp. 419-428; and American Political Science Association Report, "The Study of Civics," American Political Science Review, 16 (February, 1920), pp. 116-125.

19. Somit and Tanenhaus, The Development of American Political Science..., op. cit., p. 39.

20. William Munro officially initiated the Committee on Policy after its need had been expressed by Charles Beard. Appropriately, Beard was named the first chairman of the committee. After his resignation in 1927, Thomas H. Reed was the new chairman. See Somit and Tanenhaus, The Development of American Political Science..., op. cit., pp. 97-98. The financial support of the committee's work was augmented by a $75,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation spread over a six year period.

21. Serving on this sub-committee were William Munro, Harold Dobbs, Earl Crecraft, and quite frequently Chairman Reed.

22. W.B. Munro, "Instruction in Political Science in Colleges and Universities," American Political Science Review, 24 (February, 1930), pp. 127-145.

23. E.W. Crecraft, "Political Science Instruction in Teacher-Training Institutions, Colleges of Engineering, and Colleges of Commerce," American Political Science Review, 24 (February, 1930), pp. 146-172.

24. T. Reed, "Report of the Committee on Policy," American Political Science Review, 24 (February, 1930), p. 12.

25. Ibid., p. 3.

26. In order to improve citizenship training before college, political scientists mingled with educators at various conferences. The pet project of the Committee on Policy, especially Chairman Reed, was a radio program called "You and Your Government." This broadcast, heard for 30 minutes (later 15 minutes) each week, brought the voices of eminent political scientists into the homes of radio-owning Americans. Reed called the program "the greatest

movement for adult education that our country has yet seen."
American Political Science Review, 26 (February, 1932), p. 147.
The radio broadcasts were also used for pedagogical purposes in
at least one college. Students in an introductory course were
required to listen to the show to "...be induced to realize that
political scientists actually live, that there are experts in
government, and that political science is something more than
gossip..." G.W. Rutherford, "Radio as a Means of Instruction in
Government," American Political Science Review, 27 (April, 1936),
p. 265.

27. This is not the place to discuss in detail the insurgents and their
    success. A good survey of this movement and the conflict intro-
    duced into the discipline is presented in Somit and Tanenhaus,
    The Development of American Political Science..., op. cit.,
    Chapter 9.

28. The reference to "lay members" concerns both professional educators
    and politicians whom Reed had desired to enlist in the American
    Political Science Association. Ibid., p. 99.

29. These events are reported by F.G. Bates, "Instruction in Political
    Science on Functional Rather than Descriptive Lines," American
    Political Science Review, 21 (May, 1927), pp. 402-405.

30. Ibid., p. 403.

31. Adherents to the functional approach included Charles Merriam, R.L.
    Mott, A. Gordon Dewey, and Leonard White; the critics of this
    position included Kirk Porter, William Anderson, and Francis
    Coker. Ibid.

32. Ibid., p. 405.

33. R.G. Spencer, "Significance of the Functional Approach in the
    Introductory Course in Political Science," American Political
    Science Review, 22 (November, 1928), pp. 954-966.

34. Ibid., p. 958.

35. Ibid., p. 962.

36. Ibid., p. 956.

37. See the following: F.O. Wilcox, "Teaching Political Science in a
    World at War" American Political Science Review, 35 (April, 1941),
    pp. 325-333; W. Anderson, "The Role of Political Science,"
    American Political Science Review, 37 (February, 1943), pp. 1-16;
    E. Kirkpatrick, "The Political Science Curriculum in War-Time,"
    American Political Science Review, 36 (December, 1942), pp. 1142-
    1146; W.C.H. Laves, "The Next Decade in Political Science Teaching,"
    American Political Science Review, 34 (December, 1940), pp. 983-
    986; and P. Odegard, "The Political Scientist in the Democratic

Service State," <u>Journal of Politics</u>, 2 (1940), pp. 140-164.

38. Quoted in F.O. Wilcox, "Teaching Political Science in a World at War," <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 325.

39. <u>Ibid.</u>

40. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 327.

41. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 329. Not all of the round table participants agreed with the need to preach democratic values in the classroom. Wilcox spoke of some dissensus "concerning the desirability of deliberately basing our teaching on democratic philosophy." <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 327.

42. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 331.

43. <u>Ibid.</u> The participants in the round table were James Pollack, Kirk Porter, John Vieg, Francis Wilcox, H. Schuyler Foster, Jr., Grayson Kirk, Rodney Mott, and Ralph Page. The resolution was agreed to by those present. It is not clear who was present, however. The first four names signed the resolution since they drafted it. Other political scientists adhering to the sentiments of the resolution included the following: E.M. Kirkpatrick: "We should seek to provide those experiences which lead /students/ to a real understanding and appreciation of the democratic way of life..." <u>Op. cit.</u>, p. 1145; William Anderson: "We are responsible for teaching our fellow citizens the principles and methods pf free and popular government." <u>Op. cit.</u>, p. 8; and Peter Odegard: we are "...to instruct those who come under our tuteledge, not only in the structure and mechanics of politics and administration but also in the fundamental principles upon which modern democracy rests." <u>Op. cit.</u>, pp. 157-158.

44. Other members of the committee were: Charles Aiken, Ethan Allen, Herbert Briggs, Asher Christensen, Finla Crawford, Royden Dangerfield, Marshall Dimock, Harold Dorr, James Fesler, George Graham, John Russell, Harvey Mansfield, Roscoe Martin, Charles McKinley, John Millett, Victoria Schuck, John Vieg, Robert Walker, Benjamin Wright, and Charles Post.

45. F.O. Wilcox, "The Introductory Course in Government," <u>American Political Science Review</u>, 41 (June, 1947), p. 492. Similar views expressed at this time are found in other writings. Langdon Rockwell averred that "...the function of most political science departments is not primarily to train political scientists, but to educate responsible citizens in understanding the problems of government in contemporary society." "Toward a More Integrated Political Science Curriculum," <u>American Political Science Review</u>, 41 (April, 1947), p. 315. Also political scientist Robert Walker advised that college "graduates must be first of all good citizens in a democracy." "Citizenship Training

and the Colleges," <u>American Political Science Review</u>, 42
(February, 1948), p. 77.

46. Wilcox, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 493.

47. C. Rossiter, "Political Science I and Political Indoctrination,"
<u>American Political Science Review</u>, 42 (June, 1948), p. 543.

48. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 544. A direct criticism of this position is offered by
W.A. Robson, "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion,"
<u>American Political Science Review</u>, 45 (December, 1951), pp.
1120-1021. Rossiter's retort is in "'Goals for Political Science:
A Discussion': Replies and Comments," <u>American Political Science
Review</u>, 46 (June, 1952), p. 506.

49. Rossiter, "Political Science I...," <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 545.

50. P. Herring, "Political Science in the Next Decade," <u>American
Political Science Review</u>, 39 (June, 1945), p. 765.

51. P. Herring, "On the Study of Government," <u>American Political Science
Review</u>, 47 (December, 1953), p. 964.

52. (New York: William Sloane, 1951).

53. Members of the committee were: Marshall Dimock (Chairman), Harold
Dorr, Claude Hawley, E. Allen Helms, Andrew Nuquist, Ruth
Weintraub, and Howard White.

54. M. Dimock, "'Goals for Political Science: A Discussion': Replies
and Comments," <u>American Political Science Review</u>, 46 (June, 1952),
p. 504.

55. <u>Goals for Political Science</u>, p. 24.

56. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. ix.

57. J.W. Fesler, "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion," <u>American
Political Science Review</u>, 45 (December, 1951), p. 998; Also see
the discussion of Louis Hartz, <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 1001-1005.

58. These points are covered in <u>Goals for Political Science</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>,
pp. 169-219.

59. This section on the Citizenship Clearing House draws heavily on
Somit and Tanenhaus, <u>The Development of American Political Science</u>,
<u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 195-199. At first, the Committee on undergraduate
teaching of the APSA and the Citizenship Clearing House had
cordial relations. "By-1950's, though, the atmosphere seems to
have become rather strained..." <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 197. Part of the
reason for this tension was that the Citizenship Clearing House
was emerging as a potential rival challenging the viability of

the American Political Science Association in maintaining and attracting supporters.

60. See the reports submitted by Thomas and Doris Reed to the Citizenship Clearing House entitled Evaluation of Citizenship Training and Incentive in American Colleges and Universities (1950), and Preparing College Men and Women for Politics (1952). This section relies on the latter report.

61. Ibid., p. 109.

62. The last important organizational effort was the work of the Citizenship Clearing House. But this group received its last two year grant--$600,000 from the Ford Foundation--in 1961. In 1966 it ceased to function. See Somit and Tanenhaus, The Development of American Political Science, op. cit., p. 198.

63. These points are drawn from the reactions to the report offered by the Committee for the Advancement of Teaching (see "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion," op. cit., pp. 996-1024), and to the work by the Reeds (see Somit and Tanenhaus, The Development of American Political Science, op. cit., pp. 195-199).

64. J.W. Fesler, "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion," op. cit., pp. 998-999. Emphasis in the original. Similar views are found in Ibid., by Hartz (pp. 1001-1005), Hallowell (pp. 1008-1009), and Robson (p. 1020).

65. Ibid., p. 1009.

66. Somit and Tanenhaus, The Development of American Political Science, op. cit., p. 198.

67. L. Hartz, "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion," op. cit., pp. 1001-1002. A similar sentiment was expressed by Fesler: "our task, as is that of the other social sciences, is to master... the knowledge in a field, develop informed insights, transmit the most significant knowledge and intuitions to our students, develop in them understanding, and encourage them to think critically about social phenomena." Ibid., p. 998.

68. This is not to say that political scientists were not concerned with measuring the impact of coursework on students. For instance, Wilcox, in 1941, made the following observation: "Political scientists have failed to utilize many of the newer techniques of evaluation which, if developed, should throw much light on the attitudes, abilities, interests, beliefs, and knowledge of our students. Armed with a better understanding of students, we should be in a better position to diagnose their needs, stress those areas of learning and those experiences which call for special attention, and, in general, give real direction to our teaching. At present we know in only a crude

-40-

way just what effect our course in American government has on those who sit in our classrooms. Many of us, indeed, would be disappointed and chargrined if the results of our efforts were objectively measured." "Teaching Political Science in a World at War," op. cit., p. 332. Also, see Wilcox, "The Introductory Course in Government," op. cit., p. 499; J. Millett, "The Use of Visual Aids in Political Science Teaching," American Political Science Review, 41 (June, 1947), p. 518; and, V.O. Key, "The State of the Discipline," American Political Science Review, 52 (December, 1958), p. 962.

69. L. Rogers, "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion," op. cit., p. 1022.

70. A complete review of these studies is presented in the next chapter (ch. 2, pp. 66-70).

71. Somit and Tanenhaus, The Development of American Political Science, op. cit., p. 199.

72. E. Redford, "Reflections on a Discipline," American Political Science Review, 55 (December, 1961), p. 756. But see V.O. Key's presidential address, "The State of the Discipline," op. cit.

73. "Political Science as a Discipline," American Political Science Review, 56 (June, 1962), pp. 417-421.

74. Ibid., pp. 418-419. Intellectual development was not clearly defined. Hence no specific means for attaining this rather vague goal were offered. Connery, writing in 1965, supported this approach to the problem of teaching the introductory course. "It does not seem nearly as important for the profession as a whole to agree on the goals as it is that each instructor set his own goals before he begins to teach a political science course." Teaching Political Science...,op. cit., p. 249.

75. Somit and Tanenhaus, American Political Science (New York: Atherton, 1964), ch. 8.

76. G. Benjamin, "On Making Teaching 'U'," P.S., 4 (Winter, 1971), p. 42. This lack of interest in teaching prompted Somit and Tanenhaus, writing in 1967, to note that this area as a "...field lies fallow." The Development of American Political Science..., op. cit., p. 198.

77. K. Dolbeare and P. Dolbeare, American Ideologies: The Competing Political Beliefs of the 1970's (Chicago: Markham, 1971), p. 164. Bradford Cleaveland pictures the matriculation of the average college student as follows: "eight semesters, forty courses, one hundred twenty or more 'units', ten to fifteen impersonal lectures per week,... one to four oversized discussion meetings per week led by poorly paid and unlearned graduate students. /He/ is examined on more than one hundred occasions, and is

expected to write fifty to seventy-five papers." His performance
is marked by a mere gloss of the readings, "regurgitated" exams,
and writing which is, at best, superficial, and at worst, pla-
giarized. "Education, Revolutions, and Citadels," in S. Lipset
and S. Wolin (Eds.), The Berkeley Student Revolt: Facts and
Interpretations (Garden City: Doubleday, Anchor, 1965). Many
of the following points regarding student criticism of higher
education are found in my "University Education in American
Government: An Experimental Approach to a Growing Problem,"
Experimental Study of Politics, 1 (February, 1971), pp. 123-126.

78. S. Wolin and J. Schaar, "The Abuses of the Multiuniversity," in
    The Berkeley Student Revolt, op. cit., p. 360.

79. See R. Flacks, "The Revolt of the Advantaged: An Exploration of
    the Roots of Student Protest," in R. Sigel, (Ed.), Learning
    About Politics: A Reader in Political Socialization (New York:
    Random House, 1970).

80. W. Parente and M. McCleery, "Campus Radicalism and a Relevant
    Political Science," Journal of Higher Education, 39 (June, 1968),
    p. 319.

81. C. Hampden-Turner, Radical Man (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1970), p. 15.

82. Parente and McCleery, "Campus Radicalism...," op. cit., p. 320.

83. Hampden-Turner, Radical Man, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

84. Parente and McCleery, "Campus Radicalism...," op. cit., p. 320.

85. G. Benjamin, "On Making Teaching 'U'," op. cit., p. 42.

86. S.D. Krasner, "A Defense of Conventional Grading," P.S., 3
    (Fall, 1970), pp. 651-652.

87. J.B. Morris and F.J. Macchiarola, "Analysis Using Primary Sources
    for Term Papers in the Introductory Course," P.S., 3 (Summer,
    1970), pp. 336-340.

88. J.J. Hanus, "An Experiment in Individualized Instruction in
    Political Science," P.S., 2 (Fall, 1969), pp. 600-603.

89. R.Y. Fluno, "The Group Case Study in Political Science Teaching:
    A Report," P.S., 3 (Winter, 1970), pp. 22-25.

90. T.W. Casstevens, "The Caucus-Race: Teaching Cyclical Majorities,"
    P.S., 3 (Winter, 1970), pp. 26-27.

91. Report of the APSA Committee on Undergraduate Education, "Conceptual
    Analysis," P.S., 3 (Summer, 1970), p. 351. Emphasis in the
    original.

92. Irene Tinker in a letter to the P.S. editor, P.S., 3 (Fall, 1970), pp. 675-676.

93. W. Parente and M. McCleery, "The Introduction and Structure of Political Science," Western Political Quarterly, 22 (June, 1969), pp. 350-364.

94. It is farily difficult to note with certainty the political ideology the students are supposed to have or secure in the educational process. Most recent critics of the social science curriculum are regrettably vague on this point. I have chosen to label the ideology in question a variant of democracy that emphasizes equality and humanism. Two of the sources that prompted this decision are: (a) the discussion of the "new left" provided by the Dolbeares', American Ideologies..., op. cit., ch. 4; and (b) the analysis of what is on the minds of discontented students found in C. Hampden-Turner, Radical Man, op. cit., ch. 1.

95. From this review of the content of recent publications in this area, I would venture to say that the prevailing view of officials in the American Political Science Association is the detached, impartial orientation. The recent view or second view is probably held by a minority of political scientists, many of whom identify with the Caucus for a New Political Science. The original concern to teach students about representative democracy has not been aired in many recent publications but probably is still held by a significant number of political scientists teaching in American colleges. To be more accurate in assigning perspectives to political scientists would require a systematic surveying of their views about the goals of teaching undergraduates.

96. Of course, a public airing of the conflict can be avoided by shifting the decision of course structuring to each teacher. Still personal conflict on what to do in the classroom might bedevil the instructor.

CHAPTER TWO--HIGHER EDUCATION AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

This study is an empirical investigation to be added to the ever-growing compendium of work in the area of political socialization. While not as global or expansive in perspective, this research has benefited from the ground fertilized by the wisdom of political philosophers, such as Plato[1] and Rousseau,[2] and mapped by modern cartographers such as Hyman,[3] Easton,[4] and Greenstein.[5] With such widespread utility, a discussion of the key terms involved in the concept of political socialization is in order.

Simply stated the analytical construct of political socialization refers to the learning of politically relevant values, attitudes, opinions, and behavioral responses. Within this definition are complex, important conceptual properties. As a point of ingress into a conceptual discussion, reference is made to the who, what, when and how of political socialization.[6]

Who? The who dimension refers to the socialized and the socializer. Everyone learns orientations[7] which are relevant to the political process--even if the orientations learned result in nonpolitical behavior. The socializers include any actor who influences the learning of political orientations. Foremost in any list of agents of political socialization would be the family, peers, the school environment (teachers, curriculum, administrators), political officials, and political interpreters including media personnel and referent groups. Variations in political socialization might depend upon the number of agents important in the socialization process, the similarity or dissimilarity in cue presentation, and the major agents responsible for learning

about politics.

What? The socialization into politically relevant orientations is
a particular subdivision of a person's general learning process. The
focus of _political_ socialization is the learning of orientations that
affect, or are affected by, the political system. By way of denotation,
these orientations would include the following: whether to, how to, and
the effect of, participation in the political process; and the acceptance
or rejection of political and parapolitical leaders, institutions,
policies, and ideologies.

In addition, the concept of political socialization refers to
orientations which are ostensibly nonpolitical but are, in fact, influ-
ential in the learning of political orientations. For example, a child's
feelings about his father on the surface may not be of interest to the
student of political socialization. However, if the orientation toward
a nonpolitical authority figure colors and shapes the child's view of
political authorities, such as the president, it then becomes a part of
the kitbag of the political socialization researcher.[8]

When? The question of when introduces a time dimension into the
process of political socialization. The time variable has two components.
In the first place, the historical period of time in which a person
lives may be a crucial factor in understanding differential socialization
between dissimilar age cohorts. The recency of data collected in the
area of political socialization is the probable reason for the relative
neglect of generational factors in these studies.

The second referent of time involves the developmental sequences in
a person's life cycle from early childhood through old age. Hence to
study the learning process completely one needs to pinpoint accurately

-45-

the origins, reinforcements, continuities, extinctions (desocialization),
and alterations (resocialization) of political orientations within a
person's life. There is an emphasis in the political socialization
literature on the importance of early childhood socialization in the
development of political orientations.[9] Conversely, ambiguity abounds
on when contemporaneous, situational factors are to be included within
the conceptual parameters of the political socialization construct. It
is not clear when proximal stimuli that might affect political orienta-
tions fall within the ambit of political socialization concerns. It is
probable that the cutting edge occurs when immediate cues form stable
orientations of social or psychological importance to the holder.

How? The question of how focuses attention on explaining the
dynamics in the political socialization process. To address this query
we would need "...actual observations of socialization processes...
taking into account both the socialized and the agents of socialization."[10]
Understanding the socialization interactions involved over time and with
different persons requires theories and methods geared to the question
of how.

Criticism has been aimed at those researchers who study the develop-
ment of political orientations through the stages of a person's life for
not adequately providing insight into the dynamics of political social-
ization. Understanding experiential sequences in the political
socialization process has usually been handled in empirical research
designs either by asking respondents to recall earlier experiences or
by including in the study respondents from various age groups. These
procedures have raised two overall criticisms: one methodological; the
other theoretical.

The method of reflection is open to criticism on the ground that
it introduces distortion and bias. Hence recall information may be
neither reliable nor valid in constructing an explanation of develop-
mental political socialization. The use of a cross-sectional snapshot
of various age groups freezes time and assumes similar sequential
patterns of development will in the future turn the younger of today
into the older of today. Yet, to make the analysis of the role of
development more complete and meaningful, empirical investigation of
socialization over time should replace assumption. The methodological
devices of panel studies, repeated sequential cross-sectional surveys
in the same universe, and controlled experimentation might help fill
this empirical vacuum.

The theoretical criticism points to a weakness in explaining
sequential learning. Political socialization studies tend to be strong
in descriptive information but weak in presenting theoretical statements
accounting for the learning processes uncovered. Candidates offered
to bolster the development of a theory of political socialization include
applying the propositions extant in psychological theories of learning[11]
and development.[12]

Involved in answering the how of political socialization is aware-
ness of the methods of learning and teaching.[13] Learning methods have
been categorized under two classifications--direct and indirect.
Indirect learning refers to the development of orientations in response
to nonpolitical influences which then affect later political orientations.
Nonpolitical orientations become relevant to politics when they are
transferred, generalized, or applied to political objects. Direct

-47-

methods of learning would include the following: imitation, identification, or anticipation of the political orientations of others; exposure to explicit political education; and, responses to experiential contact with the political process.

Methods of teaching politics to others may be either intentional or unintentional. Intentional socialization refers to deliberate attempts to structure or mold the political orientations of another. Unintentional teaching refers to methods not used manifestly to influence political socialization.

With these major properties outlined, it is clear that a suitable definition of political socialization must reflect the complexity of this construct. The description which best meets this criterion has been offered by Greenstein:

> "Political socialization.... would encompass all political
> learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at
> every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly
> political learning but also nominally nonpolitical learning
> that affects political behavior, such as the learning of
> politically relevant personality characteristics."[14]

One advantage of Greenstein's definition, besides being fairly exhaustive,[15] is that it avoids confusing socialization with acculturation. Acculturation refers to the transmission of dominant values of the society; as such, it may be viewed as a subdivision or type of socialization. If one equates these two concepts, it follows that the only socialized person is one who is acculturated, and that one who is not inculcated into the dominant values, or rejects them, is not socialized. Conceptual clarity requires the separation of the two constructs. Political socialization, to be of maximum analytical utility, includes any form of learning politically relevant orientations. Distinguishing

-48-

between acculturation and socialization also vitiates the criticism that "...political socialization studies necessarily have a conservative bias--they are appropriate for illuminating processes of 'pattern-maintenance,' but not those of change."[16]

The study reported herein is a close examination of the dynamics involved in the interaction between one agent of socialization and potential respondents. The focus is on the impact of formal curriculum of a political science course on the political orientations of the enrolled students. The methodology employed in tracing the nature of this interaction is experimentation. Before looking at the type of experiment used (chapter 3) and the results found in the study (chapter 4 and 5), the remainder of this chapter summarizes past knowledge accumulated regarding the relationship between the general college setting, in particular undergraduate courses in political science, and the political socialization of students.

College Education, Political Science Courses, and Political Orientations

Education, for the purpose at hand, refers to "...the formal learning activities and experiences that take place under the auspices of the school."[17] The formal curriculum including the impact of text-books, instructional methods used, the classroom environment, the orientations (values, attitudes, and behavior) of the faculty, adminis-trators, and students, and the formal and informal structures on campus would fall within the ambit of this definition of education. The focus of this chapter is the impact of a college education, especially formal coursework in political science, on students.[18]

The impact of the demographic variable of education.

In recent years a wealth of empirical research facilitating the testing of the relationship between higher education (at least some college experience) and political orientations has been accumulating. In prelude to the surveying of these results, note the summary statement offered by Almond and Verba:

> "As in most other studies of political attitudes, our data show that educational attainment appears to have the most important demographic effect on political attitudes... The uneducated man or the man with the limited education is a different political actor from the man who has a higher level of education."[19]

What follows is a brief description of the political orientations affected by going to college. This survey points either to modal political orientations among college attenders or at least viewpoints that show significant differences correlated with educational attainment. It is not contended that these orientations are unanimously held by all who have attended institutions of higher learning: "the ranks of the highly educated... are not homogenous."[20]

1. Political Participation: Rate and Feeling. Across educational ◄levels there is agreement on the high valuation to be placed on the general norm extolling an obligation to participate in politics.[21] The higher educated differ in that they act in accordance with this norm. They are more likely to follow the accounts of politics,[22] to discuss politics with others,[23] to join voluntary organizations,[24] and, in general, to engage in political activities.[25] This political pattern is best seen in voting behavior. The college segment of the population consistently vote more, especially in Presidential elections, than the less educated.[26] While the higher rate of turnout is partially a result

-50-

of a strong sense of civic duty,[27] voting among the higher educated is not mere rote behavior, for involvement[28] and interest[29] in election campaigns also characterize the college group. Finally, the acts and attitudes regarding political participation for these political actors are correlated with feelings of efficacy and competency in dealing with the political process.[30]

2. Political Opinions: Sophistication and Direction. The high level of political participation among the educated is matched by this group's awareness of governmental activities,[31] familiarity with political issues,[32] and willingness to express a larger number of opinions on political matters.[33] Moreover, these opinions tend to be more informed[34] and there is a greater likelihood that they are marked with a sophistication approaching ideological thinking.[35]

Regarding the direction of opinions, research has shown the college educated to favor internationalism in foreign policy matters and conservatism in domestic arenas. Looking abroad, the higher educated are more likely to accept United States entanglements with other nations.[36] Even in the area of Vietnam the educated, until a shift in governmental policy occurred, were more opposed to the statement that the United States involvement had been a mistake.[37] These foreign policy opinions might reflect the greater sensitivity of the more educated to prevailing political trends. Key elaborates on this point:

> "The relation between internationalism and education...
> should not be taken to mean that education generally pre-
> disposes people to an internationalist position. Rather,
> the probabilities are that when a dominant view develops
> on international policy it will be most notably present
> among persons concerned and informed about foreign policy,
> and these individuals are especially numerous in the
> upper educational strata."[38]

In the area of domestic policy, conservatism, operationally indicated by rejecting the intervention of government into domestic social relations, is more peculiar to those exposed to college. For instance, in comparison to other educational groups, the more educated oppose governmental programs of medicare, financial aid to education, building public housing, guaranteeing a job,[39] promoting economic equality,[40] and providing a guaranteed annual income.[41] Some equivocation in the interpretation of these opinion stands is necessary because of confounding variables concerning socio-economic status. This "...hesitiancy comes... from the fact that education is so closely correlated with occupation that when one isolates a special viewpoint of the college-educated..., it is almost impossible to know whether that opinion reflects the consequences of education or of the peculiar interest of the business and professional group."[42]

3. Commitment to a Democratic Political System. The higher educated appear, in general, to accept the political system and to promote its democratic properties. The system is seen as trustworthy[43] and pluralistic in power distribution.[44] It is evaluated admirably as indicated in the overwhelming positivity expressed toward governmental institutions.[45] Those exposed to college are pictured as dutifully supportive of the government: "They expect to obey its laws, pay its taxes, serve in its armed forces—without complaint but without enthusiasm."[46]

Coupled to these supportive orientations is a commitment among the higher educated to at least some of the aspects of a democratic political system. These people tend to be less authoritarian,[47] somewhat less racially prejudiced,[48] less extremist in political viewpoints,[49] more

willing to extend freedoms to political and social critics,[50] and, in general, better able to accept the conflictual airing of political perspectives.[51]

The profile emerging from empirical research portrays the well educated person as being more able than the less educated to operate in the ongoing political system. He is involved, informed, concerned, and interested regarding the institutions open for political participation. He is committed to political principles expounded in the Constitution, including the Bill of Rights. Also, he is supportive of established governmental institutions and fundamental social values. In sum, he actively plays the game and is committed to its continuance. Radical change is not in his repetoire of political orientations.

This description is open to question from three fronts. Might other demographic variables account for differences in political orientations assigned to educational status? Are there other politically important sub-types exposed to college that deviate from the typical pattern? Is the current generation of students differentiated by the educational variable?

A likely candidate to explain differences attributed to education is social class. Research in this area indicates "... that education in its own right, independent of class and status, does affect political behavior in several ways."[52] In particular, with social class controlled, the effects of higher education are still discernable on items measuring political participation, political efficacy, a sense of civic duty,[53] authoritarianism,[54] and ethnic prejudice.[55] Even in the area of opinions on domestic policies, "... the data suggest that... with other things

-53-

equal /social class controlled/ the better educated tend to be more conservative."[56] The appropriate conclusion is provided by Almond and Verba: "Among the demographic variables usually investigated--sex, place of residence, occupation, income, age, and so on--none compares with the educational variable in the extent to which it seems to determine political attitudes."[57]

Discussing the impact of college in generalized terms glosses over important sub-categories among the well educated. Upon impression, for instance, the moderate profile drawn of the typical college attender does not fit current, media portrayed, images of activist, involved, impatient students. It has been suggested that, to grasp the impact of higher education fully, a distinction should be made between a unique type of student, the "intellectual," and the umbrella category of the "well educated." "If by intellectuals," offers Bowen, "we mean those people whose primary skills are the manipulation of communicable symbols, such as teachers, journalists, or lawyers, then it is clear that under certain conditions they do throw disproportionate support to radical movements."[58] Along this line the Yankelovich organization, after polling college students, divided the sample into students who valued a college education for its practical benefits, e.g., as a means to make money and to achieve a better position in society, and students who visualized the college as an institution in the forefront of social change.[59] The "forerunner" group was mainly composed of students from middle to upper class families majoring in the arts or humanities, while the "practical-minded" students usually came from blue-collar families and were interested in engineering, business, or the sciences.

-54-

Politically, the divisions between these groups of students were quite clear. As compared to the "practical-minded," the "forerunners" were more likely:

(1) to feel that ours was a sick society;
(2) to call themselves doves, to feel that sending troops to Vietnam had been a mistake; and, in general, when thinking about the Vietnam war to feel helpless, disgust at the government, and sympathy for the Viet Cong instead of a sense of patriotism and support for the position of the United States;
(3) to think that wars are not worth fighting in order to protect our national interest, to contain the communists, to counteract aggression, to maintain our honor or our position of power in the world, to protect our allies, or to meet our commitments abroad;
(4) to support the ideas that civil disobedience and draft resistance are justifiable;
(5) to feel that the police action at the Democratic convention in 1968 was not justifiable;
(6) to believe that the government is doing too little to improve the conditions of black people.

To this point the college educated have been grouped without concern for any generational differences. Systematic research comparing the well educated of today with college attenders of earlier generations has yet to be done.[60] In this section evidence about the political orientations of the current generation of college students will be reviewed. In addition, a discussion about a possible intrageneration gap within the ranks of the young based on education will be presented.

The Gallup organization has uncovered some useful information about today's college students.[61] Philosophically, present day students are not inclined to label themselves conservative or extremely liberal, but prefer a liberal or a middle of the road identification. Students continue to show an avid interest in politics, but not a high involvement with party politics--a majority prefer to be called independents.

Most of the students feel "...that the American political system does not respond quickly enough to meet the needs of the people." The majority deplore the use of disruptive tactics, especially violence, and give a low rating to extremist groups. Nevertheless, a majority agree with the complaints of student demonstrators and over 40% feel that social change will only come about through revolution and think that violence is sometimes a legitimate tactic for effecting change.

For many students the college itself has become a major social problem. Some 42 per cent feel that the biggest "gripe" that has led to student demonstrations is "not enough say in the running of college." Moreover, three-fourths feel that college students should play a greater role in the operation of the college, including a say in the academic side of college such as curriculum matters.

Another aspect relevant to the current generation of college students is whether they are different from or similar to their age cohorts who have not attended college. Converse and his associates, in assessing the political environment of the 1968 election, claim to have discovered a split among today's youth based primarily on educational status:

> "...[O]ne of the most important yet hidden lines of cleavage
> split the younger generation itself. Although priviledged
> young college students angry at Vietnam and the shabby treat-
> ment of the Negro saw themselves as sallying forth to do
> battle against a corrupted and cynical older generation, a
> more head-on confrontation at the polls, if a less apparent
> one, was with their own age mates who had gone from high
> school off to the factory instead of college, and were
> appalled by the collapse of patriotism and respect for the
> law that they saw around them."[62]

This gap in electoral behavior and political attitudes originated largely because of the goals and strategies of college educated political act- ivists. To quote again from Converse et. al.,:

"In the degree that the feelings and opinion reflexes of
the common man, including age peers of lower circumstances,
were comprehended at all by campus activists, they tended
to be a subject for derision or disdain. Strange to say,
such hostile postures communicate with great speed even
across social gulfs, and are reciprocated with uncommon
reliability."[63]

While these statements about a intrageneration gap based on education

are provocative, they were not accompanied by a generous display of

supporting evidence.

The only data on a possible "head-on confrontation at the polls"

between the educated and the noneducated young in 1968 offered by

Converse et. al., was the finding that 13% of the nonsouthern, under

thirty voters supported Wallace. Apparently, it was assumed that this

13% figure came from the ranks of the less educated. Yet an empirical

investigation of the Wallace support among the nonsouthern young, which

directly controlled for education, did not find a statistically signifi-

cant relationship between amount of formal schooling and backing

Wallace.[64]

In exploring the possibility of an intragenerational gap in political

attitudes, Converse and his colleagues provided no evidence. Sears and

Kinder, however, in a study of Los Angeles suburbanites did discover

signs of a split within the ranks of the young based on educational

status. The lesser educated (up to high school) were more conservative,

more likely to agree that Negroes shouldn't push themselves where they

are not wanted, more agreeable to the proposition that Negroes on wel-

fare really don't need it, and more likely to believe that the streets

weren't safe without a policeman around.[65]

Yet to conclude that simply attending college creates a clean line

of division in political attitudes among the young is overly simplistic and quite dubious in light of other investigations of the intrageneration gap hypothesis. Eckart and Lamare in their secondary analysis of the 1968 Survey Research Center election data found a complex relationship between amount of education and political attitudes.[66] Young people's positions on various political orientations were not a linear function of educational status. On certain items, i.e., approving legal protest marches and civil disobedience, liking college students, and reacting to the amount of force used by the Chicago police at the time of the 1968 Democratic convention, those who had graduated from college were different from their less educated age cohorts. But on other matters, such as feelings about policemen, Negroes, the Vietnam war protestor, and disruptive political tactics, the college graduate exhibited a distribution of attitudes similar to his less educated counterparts. Moreover, young people who had attended college but not graduated were at times attitudinally like the college graduates but on other items closer to their age mates who had not gone to college.

Other research has confirmed the difficulty in concluding that a mere presence on campus demarks the political views of today's young. Yankelovich in his polling of college and noncollege students found that political differences among the young were based on the college student's perception of the role of the university.[67] Those who thought that the college is to be in the avante guard of social change were not only dissimilar from their noncollege peers but also were greatly different from fellow college students who valued higher education because of the practical utility of getting a degree. In short, the

-58-

Yankelovich organization found:

> "...similarities in the beliefs of the practical group and
> those who have not been to college... On many questions these
> two groups are much closer together to each other than either
> is to the forerunner."[68]

Moreover, Yankelovich has reported some evidence, though not in great

abundance, that on some political orientations, such as the justifica-

tion of draft resistance, negative feelings about war in general and

Vietnam in particular, and a critical attitude toward the American way

of life, the practical group of college students and the noncollege

students were moving in the direction of the attitudes of the college

students who see the university in the forefront of social change.[69]

In sum, college students today appear to be more liberal and more

critical of political behavior in America than college students of

earlier generations. On some political attitudes there is a suggestion

that college students, especially those who graduate and those who go to

college for other than practical reasons, hold political views different

from other young people. Yet an unequivocal conclusion that exposure to

college is a sharp tool of division among present day youth is not

warranted.

In this section substantial evidence indicating that the demographic

variable of education does have an independent impact on political

orientations, even given the qualifications concerning this generation of

college students, has been presented. A complete discussion of the

impact of education, however, requires knowledge of the development of

political viewpoints while a person is on campus. The next task is a

review of the literature regarding the year to year changes in political

orientations during the time spent in the college setting.

The direct effects of college on political orientations

Empirical verification of the proposition that during college political outlooks are altered requires studies tracing the yearly matriculation process of the student. Feldman and Newcomb have compiled an excellent comprehensive review of research in this area undertaken during the last forty years (until mid-1967).[70] A summary of the findings regarding political orientations is provided in Table 2-1.

As is seen in Table 2-1, students after their freshmen year alter many of their political outlooks. The overall direction of change is toward liberalism. Liberalism refers to the following:

> "...the liberal or 'radical' position is one which favors change. It is currently based on the desire for political and social equality, full suffrage, civil liberties, labor unions, welfare legislation, and pacificism."[71]

In addition, advanced class standing promotes less authoritarianism, less racial and ethnic prejudice, less ethnocentricity, and less dogmatism in college students.

In general, where comparisons are possible, the profile emerging from the studies on the direct impact of college on students is similar to that drawn from demographic studies reported previously. One major inconsistency lies in the area of socioeconomic orientations. Demographic research indicates conservatism among the higher educated while liberalism is found in direct impact studies. The discrepancy may reside in two sources. In the first place, to be included in the higher educated category in demographic studies a respondent need only show some attendance at college. It is possible that college dropouts inflate the conservatives while those remaining tend toward liberalism. The second explanation for incompatibility of findings concerns

-60-

Table 2-1. The Impact of College on Political Orientations.

Political item:	Net change between freshmen and later years
Valuing politics	inconsistent to no change* (pp. 7-10)
Community or political interests as important life satisfactions	no change--low evaluation* (pp. 11-16)
Political, social, economic issues	change--toward liberalism* (pp. 20-21)
Feelings toward communism	change--more favorable** (p. 20)
Feelings toward patriotism	change--less favorable** (p. 20)
Feelings toward U.S. Constitution	change--less favorable** (p. 20)
Feelings toward law	change--less favorable** (p. 20)
Feelings toward censorship	change--less favorable** (p. 20)
Feelings toward pacifism	change--more favorable** (p. 21)
Feelings toward war	change--less favorable** (p. 21)
Feelings toward civil rights	change--more favorable** (pp. 21-23)
Feelings toward labor	change--more favorable** (p. 22)
Feelings toward Bill of Rights, civil libertarianism	change--more favorable** (pp. 21-23)
Authoritarianism	change--less authoritarian* (pp. 30-32)
Dogmatism	change--less dogmatic** (pp. 49-56)
Ethnocentrism	change--less ethnocentric** (pp. 49-56)
Prejudice-tolerance	change-less prejudice** (pp. 49-56)
Interest and involvement in politics	inconsistent* (pp. 21-23)
Political philosophy	change--more liberal***

* Source: Kenneth A. Feldman and Theodore M. Newcomb, The Impact of College on Students (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969), Volume I.

** Source: Kenneth A. Feldman and Theodore M. Newcomb, The Impact of College on Students (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969), Volume 2.

*** Source: Weekly Report of the Gallup Poll, February 14, 1971.

historical time differences. Most of the demographic studies are based on measurements completed before 1960. Conversely, the direct impact studies are more recent. Hence these days college influence is more associated with socioeconomic liberalism, especially if students remain on campus for over two years.

Confidence in the conclusion that colleges directly affect political orientations is enhanced to the degree that two challenges are met. The first problem-area concerns the methodology used to collect data on the direct effect of college. Next, there may be alternate explanations which account for the changes attributed to college. Foremost sources of rival hypotheses are generational forces, maturational development, and self-selection factors. Elaboration of these points is in order.

The major methodological criticism involves the use of cross-sectional analysis to detect changes in students' orientations.[72] This method only captures outlooks at one time period. Differences found between freshmen and upperclassmen are assumed to be the result of class advancement. It is quite possible that the upperclassmen as freshmen were already different in viewpoint than the current freshmen. Moreover, even if all first year students were alike, regardless of the year of entrance, change in the upperclassmen might be the result of selective dropping out. Upperclassmen may be different simply because certain types of students left campus.

A panel study of the same students at different times would meet this methodological challenge. While most studies on the direct impact of college are cross-sectional, findings secured using the panel technique have been judged similar. Regarding this congruence, Feldman and

Newcomb note:

> "Although the problems in inferring change from cross-
> sectional differences remain, it is interesting to
> observe that changes inferred from cross-sectional dif-
> ferences are often about the same as those shown in
> longitudinal designs. Moreover, in any given change-
> area, the consistency or inconsistency of directional
> trends in longitudinal studies is generally paralleled
> in the cross-sectional studies."[73]

Hence the methodological criticism, while important, does not vitiate

the conclusion that colleges do directly influence political orientations.

Among the alternate explanations accounting for change during col-

lege are generational and maturational forces that affect all young

people not just those in college. For instance, attitudes on civil

liberties among the young are more liberal regardless of educational

attainment.[74] The historical-cultural forces influencing the younger

generation might be responsible for these liberal tendencies.[75]

To test the impact of rival factors of generation and maturational

development would require a research design which includes investigation

of college and noncollege respondents during the same time period. "If

these /noncollege/ persons change in ways similar to college attenders,

it could be argued that the changes in both groups reflect general ma-

turational development within American society or are determined by

general cultural forces at work during the years under study, and thus

reflect a secular trend."[76]

There are only a few studies that are designed to test rival hypo-

theses concerning changes in college students. The most thorough

investigation of this type is a longitudinal study of 10,000 high school

students. Comparison is made between the outlooks on authoritarianism

of those who did, and those who did not, attend college.[77] Although

-63-

both groups showed decreases in authoritarianism, the college students, especially those who had been on campus over three years, recorded higher gains in nonauthoritarianism. Hence college effects some orientations independently from other possible influences.

A final confounding factor to be addressed concerns self-selection of those going to college. It is possible that those who attend college already (at entrance) manifest political orientations attributed to the effect of college exposure. Langton and Jennings "...suggest that an important part of the difference in political orientations between those from different levels of education, which is frequently cited in the literature and is usually explicitly or implicitly ascribed to the 'education process,' may actually represent a serious confounding of the effect of selection with that of political socialization."[78] The remainder of this section presents an analysis of evidence available on this point.

Langton and Jennings in their study of high school seniors discovered that those who intended to go to college were politically different from their class mates. "Indeed, students who plan to attend college are more likely to have knowledge about politics...; to express greater political interest...and efficacy...; to support religious dissenters' rights of free speech...and elected communist's right to take public office...; to read about politics in newspapers...and magazines...; to discuss politics with their peers...; and they were three times as likely to place the correct liberal-conservative label on the Democratic and Republican parties as are those students who are not planning to pursue a college education."[79] The political outlooks of the college bound

-64-

generally matches the viewpoints usually attributed to the college experience. Hence there is evidence supporting the contention that selectivity factors, and not the college setting, are responsible for the political orientations of college students.

The literature on the issue of selectivity summarized in Feldman and Newcomb indicates a more complex interaction between initial political orientations and attendance at college. There is corroborating evidence that the college bound do differ from those not attending college.[80] Moreover, differences in political orientations may lead to differential selection of the college to attend. For instance, some studies indicate that students scoring low on authoritarianism and high on political liberalism are more likely to enroll in private universities and least found in private or public two year colleges.[81] Yet the college chosen does have some impact on political orientations. Apparently, the influence of the college is to push students farther in the direction that they were tending.[82] Hence nonauthoritarians and political liberals not only choose particular colleges but exit these institutions with a firmer, more intense commitment to these political orientations. This interactive process between initial selectivity and the impact of colleges is described by Feldman and Newcomb:

> "...it is a matter of 'fit' between the individual and the institutionally provided environment--a fit that represents a reciprocal adaptation of differential selection of student recruits and the environmental characteristics provided by the institutions."[83]

In sum, the independent effects of class advancement in college have, with some modifications, withstood numerous methodological and substantive challenges. Influence may be attributable to college in the

-65-

development of political orientations. The next problem is to assess

the effect of formal coursework in political science on the political

outlooks of undergraduates.

The impact of political science coursework on political orientations.

Empirical studies of the relationship between courses in politics

and political socialization are not readily available. This is especially

disconcerting considering the great concern among some political scien-

tists about inculcating political values in students (Chapter 1). The

extant research that touches on this problem can be divided into two

types: student perceptual evaluations of the impact of curricular

factors; and, more rigorous investigations of the effect of coursework

on political orientations.

Students perceptually attribute important roles in the political

socialization process to courses and teachers. Middleton and Putney

discovered that some 30% of college students surveyed, especially the

liberals, felt that college professors were an important source in the

development of their political orientations.[84] Additionally, Jacob has

noted that "students have been generous in crediting their courses or

college education as a whole with... encouraging their civil participa-

tion--... making them more concerned about social justice--increasing

their understanding of world affairs--... changing their ideas and

actions..."[85]

Direct measurement of the impact of the curriculum on political

views does not unequivocally support the perceptual information provided

by students. Rigorous studies of students in political science courses

have found them to be somewhat different from other students in

political perspectives. The students in politics courses rank either in the middle[86] or in the highest[87] categories on political liberalism, depending on the study. They are less authoritarian[88] and more involved in politics.[89] The query to be addressed is what effect does a course in political science have on students enrolled?

In measuring "effect," at least three indicators are possible. Courses might resocialize, accentuate, or reinforce the political orientations of students. Studies in this area will be reviewed under these three headings.

1. Resocialization. Somit and his associates designed a quasi-experimental study to investigate the impact of introductory courses in political science on attitudes of personal political participation.[90] The courses under study included one rather traditional introduction and three "participation-oriented" courses. The experimental courses attempted to stimulate the students' interest in participating in politics by bringing in guest speakers (politicians), by having them listen to recorded interviews with politicians, and by encouraging student participation in workshops and election campaigns.[91] The results, measured by before and after questionnaires administered to the students in all four courses, showed "...no significant change of [participatory] attitude was produced by any of the courses."[92]

2. Accentuation. Political science courses might accentuate the political orientations of the students. Indirectly this is suggested in a study which found that the initial liberalism of students of government was increased between their freshmen and senior years, more so than students in other disciplines.[93] A more direct study indicated that

students who were enrolled in a political science course, and already more involved in politics than other students, emerged from the class even more interested in politics.[94]

3. Reinforcement. Garrison designed a quasi-experimental study to compare the impact of political science courses with a nonpolitical science course in the political socialization of enrolled students.[95] Most students, regardless of the course enrolled in, ranked fairly high in political involvement when the classes began. The time of this first measurement, however, was a couple of months before the 1964 Presidential election. The second measurement was some four months after the election and at the conclusion of the courses. It was discovered that the students in the political science course were the only ones who had maintained their interest in politics; the other students, after the election, apparently lost interest. The suggested interpretation is that the political science course reinforced the political interest of students.

In sum, the few studies on the interaction of coursework in politics and political orientations suggest a pattern of reinforcement and accentuation, but not radical alteration. An emergent question is why doesn't the curriculum have more impact on the political socialization of students?

A possible reason lies in the notion that the cues or stimuli introduced to students in these courses are redundant. Langton and Jennings, upon the discovery that the civics course has very little impact on the political perspectives of high school students, offer the redundancy hypothesis as an explanation. By redundancy they mean "... duplicating cues from other information sources, particularly the mass media, formal organizations, and primary groups."[96] The more the

-68-

course presents redundant materials the less likely it is to stimulate the development of political orientations. Yet the experimental design of Somit et. al., included introducing students to nonredundant experiences and it was still found that political attitudes were not affected.

An additional reason for this lack of impact concerns the nature of attitudes in general. From psychological studies in the area of attitudes and attitude change, it appears that both strongly and weakly held views are most influenced either in response to strong external pressures, perceived as important, or as a reaction to intense personal experience.[97] The traditional, formal classroom setting probably does not fulfill these criteria. For instance, teachers, in general, are not considered esteemed peers by most students.[98] Neither is it likely that faculty generate enough pressure to facilitate major attitudinal development in students. Moreover, most classes are not set up to offer intense personal experiences conducive to attitude change. Where the college environment has been important in the shaping of political orientations, such as at Bennington,[99] the influence of the formal courses and the teachers has interacted with, or has been mediated by, pressure toward change exerted by cooriented, highly valued peers.

It follows that the impact of coursework would be greater if the curriculum were novel, demanding of personal involvement from the students, and perceived to be a source of pressure important to those enrolled. Some supportive empirical evidence pertaining to this hypothesis appears in studies of courses which require sociopolitical action on the part of students. Usually the student must become involved with current politics as a requisite of enrollment. The purpose of such courses is

-69-

"...to involve students in an experience which makes some social problem vivid to them and requires a substantial investment of effort on their part to do something about it."[100] The results, though fragmentary, suggest that students exposed to this type of course increase their interest in public affairs, have a greater sense of political involvement, and are more interested in the course itself.[101]

Overview

In this chapter an attempt was made to summarize the empirical literature regarding the effect of a college education on political orientations. A special spotlight was shown on the studies concerning the impact of coursework in political science on these orientations. The purpose of this survey was to approach the second step in a configurational analysis i.e., a complete familarity with scientific research available in the area under discussion.

In general, it was found that college did have an impact on the political values of those who attended. Some equivocation was necessary in discussing this generation and in discussing the proposition that the college bound already differ from the noncollege populace. Political science courses, in general, were not an important influence on political values. There was, however, some suggestion that courses in politics are influential in political socialization. In particular, courses designed to be different, highly valued, and requiring personal involvement on the part of the student, might have a direct impact on the political viewpoints of students.

The next step in a configurative approach is to design a study geared to evaluate different solutions to the problem under investigation. Our concern is with undergraduate education, especially introductory

experience, in political science. Hence the task at hand is to device methods for gauging, and rationales for offering, solutions to the problem. The next chapter is addressed to this area. It focuses on the methodological and substantive justification for innovating in the curriculum of political science.

NOTES CHAPTER 2

1. Plato, The Republic, translated by B. Jowett (New York: New Library, n.d.).

2. Especially J.J. Rousseau, Emily (Everyman's Library, 1911).

3. H. Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe: Free Press, 1959).

4. D. Easton and J. Dennis, Children in the Political System (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969).

5. F. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale, 1965).

6. Elaborated in F. Greenstein, "Political Socialization," in D. Sill (Ed.), International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: MacMillan, 1968), Revised edition. Vol. 14, pp. 551-555.

7. Orientations is an elliptical rubric covering opinions, attitudes, values, and behavior.

8. A short discussion of this process is presented in R. Hess and J. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine, 1967), p. 20; also, see R. Dawson and K. Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown 1969), ch. 5.

9. For instance, Easton and Dennis "...hold to the theory that /in most areas of inquiry/ what is learned early in life tends to be retained and shape later attitudes and behavior." Children in the Political System, op. cit., p. 9.

10. F. Greenstein, "A Note on the Ambiguity of 'Political Socialization': Definitions, Criticisms, and Strategies of Inquiry," Journal of Politics, 32 (November, 1970), p. 972.

11. The use of learning theory is advocated in R. Sigel, Learning About Politics: A Reader in Political Socialization (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 3-15; cf. F. Greenstein, "A Note on the Ambiguity of 'Political Socialization.'...", op. cit., pp. 974-975.

12. Developmental theory (especially Piaget's) is used to organize political socialization data in R. Merelman, "The Development of Political Ideology: A Framework for the Analysis of Political Socialization," American Political Science Review, 63 (September, 1969) pp. 750-767.

13. An elaboration of the methods of learning is found in R. Dawson and K. Prewitt, Political Socialization, op. cit., ch. 5.

14. Greenstein, "Political Socialization," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, op. cit., p. 551.

15. A noteworthy omission from this definition is a concern for the effects of the political socialization process on macro units such as the nation, or other groups within a country. Easton and Dennis, for example, argue that the payoff of socialization studies for political scientists is the insight they provide into the overall operation of political systems, especially how they persist over time and under stress. Children and the Political System, op. cit., part 1. At this stage of inquiry into the relationship between political socialization and system effects, there has yet to be an empirical study with an operational technique measuring system properties such as persistence, maintenance, or stability. Hence conclusions drawn from the type of socialization in a system to the performance of the system are very tentative, although theoretically interesting. Sigel in her exhaustive reader on political socialization notes her edition has: "a glaring omission... in the fact that no selection addresses itself to an empirical test of the basic assumption behind political socialization thinking, namely that political socialization is essential to political stability.... It would be well if in the future political scientists conducted empirical research into these questions before blithely asserting that government stability depends on the successful socialization of the governed." Learning About Politics, op. cit., pp. xiv-xv.

16. F. Greenstein, "The Ambiguity of Political Socialization...," op. cit., p. 973. Emphasis in the original. Specific critics of the conservative bias of political socialization include Edgar Litt in his review of Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization..., op. cit., in the American Political Science Review, 63 (December, 1969), pp. 1293-1294; also C. Bay, "Human Development and Political Orientations: Notes Toward a Science of Political Education," in G. Abcarian and J.W. Soule (Eds.), Social Psychology and Political Behavior (Columbus: Merrill, 1971), pp. 173-177.

17. B. Massialas, Education and the Political System (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969), p. 14.

18. Previous studies on political socialization have explored the relationship between precollege schooling and political orientations. Foremost in this literature are the following:
1. elementary school level--R. Hess and J. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children op. cit.; D. Easton and J. Dennis, Children in the Political System, op. cit.; D. Jaros, "Childrens' Orientations Toward the President: Some Additional Theoretical Considerations and Data," Journal of Politics, 29 (May, 1967), pp. 368-387; D. Jaros, H. Hirsch, and F. Fleron, "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," American Political Science Review, 62 (June, 1968),

-73-

pp. 564-575; R. Sigel, "Images of a President: Some Insights into the Political Views of School Children," American Political Science Review, 62 (March, 1968), pp. 216-226; J. Laurence and H. Scoble, "Ideology and Consensus Among Children of the Metropolitan Socioeconomic Elite," Western Political Quarterly, 22 (March, 1969), pp. 151-162; and E.D. Lawson, "Development of the Patriotism in Children--A Second Look," The Journal of Psychology, 55 (March, 1963), pp. 279-286.
2. high school level--E. Friedenberg, Coming of Age in America: Growth and Acquiescence (New York: Vintage, 1963); H. Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe: Free Press, 1959); M.K. Jennings and R. Niemi, "Patterns of Political Learning," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Fall, 1968), pp. 443-454; M.K. Jennings and R. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review, 62 (March, 1968), pp. 169-184; P. Beck and M.K. Jennings, "Lowering the Voting Age: The Case of the Reluctant Electorate," Public Opinion Quarterly, 33 (Fall, 1969), pp. 370-379; K. Langton and M.K. Jennings, "Political Socialization in the High School Civics Course," American Political Science Review, 62 (September, 1968), pp. 852-867; H.H. Remmers (Ed.), Anti-Democratic Attitudes in American Schools (Evanston: Northwestern, 1963); E. Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review, 28 (February, 1963), pp. 69-75; and, for a review, J.J. Patrick, "Political Socialization of American Youth," (Bloomington, Indiana: High School Curriculum Center in Government, 1969).

19. G. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965), pp. 315-316. Our concern is with data illuminating the educational impact on residents of the United States; for those desiring a comparative perspective, the five nation study of Almond and Verba is a useful starting point.

20. V.O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Knopf, 1961), p. 343.

21. Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 134.

22. Ibid., p. 57.

23. Ibid., p. 84.

24. Ibid., p. 249.

25. V.O. Key, op. cit., pp. 329-331; also L. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 122.

26. A. Campbell, P. Converse, W. Miller, and D. Stokes, The American Voter: An Abridgement (New York: John Wiley, 1964), p. 252.

27. V.O. Key, op. cit., pp. 324-325.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 328-329.

29. Almond and Verba, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

30. *Ibid.*, ch. 7; Key, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-328; and A. Campbell *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

31. Almond and Verba, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

32. A. Campbell, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

33. V.O. Key, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-335; and Almond and Verba, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 317; V.O. Key, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-336.

35. P. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," reprinted in W. Crotty (Ed.), *Public Opinion and Politics: A Reader* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 147-148; and Campbell, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

36. A challenge to the primary importance of education on internationalistic orientations is offered by McClosky who notes that personality traits are the possible source of these attitudes. "Personality and Attitude Correlates of Foreign Policy Orientation," in J.N. Rosenau (Ed.), *Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1967), pp. 51-110.

37. Data discussed in K. Dolbeare and M. Edelman, *American Politics: Policies, Power, and Change* (Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath, 1971), pp. 228-229. Also see P. Converse and H. Schuman, "'Silent Majorities' and the Vietnam War," *Scientific American*, 222 (June, 1970), pp. 17-25.

38. V.O. Key, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

39. Examples discussed in *Ibid.*, p. 340.

40. Discussed in P. Jacob, *Changing Values in College: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of College Teaching* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), p. 30.

41. *Gallup Opinion Weekly*, January, 1969, pp. 20-21.

42. V.O. Key, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

43. R. Agger, M.N. Goldstein, and S. Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," *Journal of Politics*, 23 (August, 1961), p. 484.

44. W. A. Form and J. Rytina, "Ideological Beliefs on the Distribution

of Power in the United States," American Sociological Review, 34 (January, 1969), pp. 19-31.

45. Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 67.

46. Jacob, op. cit., p. 2.

47. L. Lipsitz, "Working-Class Authoritarianism: A Re-evaluation," American Sociological Review, 30 (February, 1965), pp. 103-109.

48. On certain items measuring prejudice (traditional stereotypes, discriminatory policies, and casual social intercourse with members of minority groups), the educated are less prejudiced; on other items (holding emotionally laden, derogatory stereotypes, favoring informal discrimination in certain areas of social behavior, and regarding intimate contacts with minorities), the picture is blurred. C. Stember, Education and Attitude Change (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1961).

49. A concise review of the impact of higher education on holding extremist political positions is provided in D.O. Sears, "Political Behavior," in G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Eds.), The Handbook of Social Psychology (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969), Vol. 5, pp. 400-403.

50. S. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955), pp. 29-42.

51. J. Dennis, "Support for the Party System by the Mass Public," American Political Science Review, 60 (September, 1966), pp. 600-615.

52. D.R. Bowen, Political Behavior of the American Public (Columbus: Merrill, 1968), p. 78.

53. Reviewed in V.O. Key, op. cit., 324-332.

54. L. Lipsitz, op. cit.

55. C. Stember, op. cit., p. 173-174.

56. V.O. Key, op. cit., p. 340.

57. Almond and Verba, op. cit., pp. 315-316.

58. D.R. Bowen, Political Behavior of the American Public, op. cit.

59. Fortune, 79 (January, 1969), pp. 70-71 and 179-181. It is beyond the scope of this work to classify types of highly educated persons with precision. Some other typologies may be found in the following: G. Gallup, Gallup Opinion Index, Report Number 48 (January, 1969); P. Converse and H. Schuman, op. cit.;

-76-

C. Hampden-Turner, Radical Man, (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1970), ch. 12; and D. Eckart and J.W. Lamare, "Political Activities of the College Young: How Did The Public React in 1968?," unpublished manuscript.

60. D.O. Sears and D.R. Kinder present some data collected in Los Angeles showing this generation of college educated to differ from former students. The younger were less conservative and less negative toward blacks. "The Good Life, 'White Racism,' and the Los Angeles Voter," a paper delivered at the 50th annual meeting of the Western Psychological Association, Los Angeles, April 15, 1970, Table 10.

61. To date the Gallup organization has conducted three surveys of college students. The findings reported here are taken from the following: Gallup Opinion Index, Vol. 48 (June, 1969), Vol. 60 (June, 1970) and Vol. 68 (February, 1971).

62. P. Converse, W.E. Miller, J.G. Rusk, and A.C. Wolfe, "Continuity and Change in American Political Parties and Issues in the 1968 Election," American Political Science Review, 63 (December, 1969), p. 1104.

63. Ibid., p. 1105.

64. D. Eckart and J.W. Lamare, op. cit. The data used were collected by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan in 1968.

65. D.O. Sears and D.R. Kinder, op. cit., p. 36.

66. D. Eckart and J.W. Lamare, op. cit.

67. Reported in Fortune, op. cit.

68. Ibid., p. 70.

69. Reported by J. Main, "Reinforcements for Reform," Fortune, 80 (June, 1969), pp. 73-74.

70. K.A. Feldman and T.M. Newcomb, The Impact of College on Students (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969), Volumes 1 and 2. Earlier reviews of studies in this area may be found in the following: P. Jacob, Changing Values in College, op. cit.; R.K. Goldsen, M. Rosenberg, R.M. Williams, and E.A. Suchman, What College Students Think (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1960); and R. Lane, "Political Education in the Midst of Life's Struggles," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Fall, 1968), pp. 438-451.

71. Feldman and Newcomb, op. cit., p. 19.

72. These points are raised in _Ibid._, pp. 52-53. A source of more methodological criticism is possible error in the testing device employed. Such things as response set, regression effects, ceiling and floor effects may confound the interpretation of changes in scores. These testing defects would be found in panel studies as well as cross-sectional investigations.

73. _Ibid._, p. 53.

74. S. Stouffer, _Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties_, _op. cit._, pp. 89-93.

75. Additional evidence relating to generational impact is summarized in D.O. Sears, "Political Behavior," _op. cit._, pp. 392-395.

76. Feldman and Newcomb, _op. cit._, p. 64.

77. J.W. Trent and L. Medsker, _Beyond High School: A Psychological Study of 10,000 High School Graduates_ (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968); also W.T. Plant, "Longitudinal Changes in Intolerance and Authoritarianism for Subjects Differing in Amount of College Education Over Four Years," _Psychology Monographs_, 72 (1965), pp. 247-284.

78. K.P. Langton and M.K. Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," _op. cit._, p. 866.

79. _Ibid._, p. 866. Laurence and Scoble present evidence that political orientations associated with college education are to be found among elementary school children of upper-status families. "Ideology and Consensus Among Children of the Metropolitan Socioeconomic Elite," _op. cit._, pp. 151-162.

80. Feldman and Newcomb, _op. cit._, pp. 64-68.

81. _Ibid._, pp. 117-118.

82. _Ibid._, pp. 141-144.

83. _Ibid._, p. 145. Emphasis in the original. The evidence presented on this "fit" is very limited. My feeling is that this interpretation is better accepted as a hypothesis in need of additional research and not a conclusion.

84. R. Middleton and S. Putney, "Influences on the Political Beliefs of American College Students: A Study of Self-Appraisals," _Il Politico_, 29 (1964), pp. 484-492.

85. Jacob, _op. cit._, pp. 76-77.

86. Feldman and Newcomb, _op. cit._, p. 162.

87. R.M. Christenson and P.J. Capretta, "The Impact of College on Political Attitudes," _Social Science Quarterly_, 49 (September, 1968), p. 318.

88. Feldman and Newcomb, _op. cit._, p. 168.

89. C. Garrison, "Political Involvement and Political Science: A Note on the Basic Course as an Agent of Political Socialization," _Social Science Quarterly_, 49 (September, 1968), p. 308.

90. A Somit, J. Tanenhaus, W.H. Wilke, and R.W. Cooley, "The Effect of the Introductory Political Science Course on Student Attitudes Toward Personal Participation," reprinted in R. Sigel (Ed.), _Learning About Politics_, _op. cit._, pp. 404-410.

91. It appears that the most concerted effort to stimulate participation occurred in only one of the three experimental courses.

92. Somit _et. al._, _op. cit._, p. 406. Other studies present evidence in accord with these findings. For instance, Garrison discovered that "apolitical" students enrolled in introductory courses in political science were not activated by their course experience. _Op. cit._, p. 311. Also see Jacob, _op. cit._, pp. 69-72.

93. Christenson and Capretta, _op. cit._, Table 1, p. 318. A similar accentuation process for social science majors is portrayed in Feldman and Newcomb, _op. cit._, pp. 175-182.

94. Garrison, _op. cit._, p. 311.

95. _Ibid._

96. Langton and Jennings, _op. cit._, p. 859.

97. A concise review of these studies is found in E. Jones and H. Gerard, _Foundations of Social Psychology_ (New York: John Wiley, 1967), pp. 436-449.

98. See Jacob, _op. cit._, chapter 4.

99. T. Newcomb, _Personality and Social Change_ (New York: Dryden Press, 1943).

100. Jacob, _op. cit._, p. 96.

101. _Ibid._, pp. 95-98.

CHAPTER THREE--EXPERIMENTATION: EMPIRICAL METHOD AND NORMATIVE GOAL

This chapter presents the experimental foundation upon which this educational study is constructed. Experimentation is conceptualized in two ways. First, the experiment is the methodological means of implementing the project and gauging results. Secondly, experimentation encompasses the substantive notion of revamping the formal teaching of politics.

To facilitate a clear analytical discussion of the concept of experimentation, as used in this study, the dual components of this term are employed herein. Nevertheless, the unity of the concept should not be lost sight of. The combined properties of methodological testing and of substantive innovation make experimentation a very desirable tool in probing the area of educational research. Along this line, Campbell and Stanley urge the use of the experiment "...as the only means of settling disputes regarding educational practice, as the only way of verifying educational improvements, and as the only way of establishing a cumulative tradition in which improvements can be introduced without the danger of faddish disregard of old wisdom in favor of inferior novelties."[1] Additional support for viewing experimentation as a notion referring both to normative and methodological inquiry comes from a pioneer in the empirical investigation of political socialization in the educational process. Greenstein warns those who would make alterations in the educational setting that "rigorous assessment of a project's strong and weak points (if possible by incorporating some of the features of classical experimental design) is... highly desirable" in order to prevent problems such as the likelihood that "...too many 'do-good' activities are vitiated by lack of firm

information about their effects."[2]

Experimentation as Empirical Methodology

The experimental approach as a research tool is not encountered much in political science. There are few empirical political studies utilizing a laboratory and a control group with the experimenter manipulating the variables introduced to subjects. The reasons for the reluctance of political scientists to use experimentation have been ably noted by Verba:

> "Political affairs, many have argued, are too complex to be studied in the laboratory. The political scientist cannot isolate a segment of the political process that interests him, bring it into his laboratory and subject it to the controlled manipulations that a medical researcher applies to his guinea pigs. With some rare exceptions..., the political process cannot be manipulated by the political researcher."[3]

One area of exception where experimentation has been useful to political science concerns the indirect application of research secured in the laboratory to understanding political phenomena. For instance, experiments by psychologists and sociologists in conformity, group pressure, obedience, decision-making, leadership and interpersonal power have been vital sources of insight into the political process.[4] In general, the political scientist, usually more concerned with the ongoing, real world of politics, has gained the following from these more artificial, controlled studies. Laboratory studies have generated many hypotheses potentially testable in the natural environment. Moreover, the ability of the experimenter to treat concepts with more empirical precision than is possible in the "field" has led to clarity in major terms. Finally, data collected through controlled experimentation have served as a baseline for comparison with information

gathered in more natural settings.

Experimental methodology is more directly useful to the study of politics if some of the moorings of pure experimentation are weakened. Particularly, by moving the focus of the experimental setting from the laboratory into the ongoing, outside world, more of the political process might be studied by this method. Offered for this purpose is the field experiment;[5] its value can best be illustrated by examples.

One distinct advantage of the experimental approach is that the researcher is able to introduce and manipulate stimuli presented to his study population. For example, Gosnell's study of voting in Chicago was designed to test experimentally the impact of an educational campaign on turnout.[6] Two comparable districts were chosen for investigation. In one of these districts, a concerted, organized (by the experimenter) effort to stimulate voting turnout was attempted; the other district was immune to this campaign. Hence the design permitted a controlled analysis of the impact of variables valuable to understanding ongoing electoral politics.

At times, the natural setting is so structured that groups similar on many points are differentially treated on one dimension. The logic of experimental inquiry is met not by the ingenious manipulations of the experimenter but by the environmental surroundings of a population. In such a setting it is possible for the researcher to observe with rigor the impact of the differential conditions on a populace. For example, Litt, in his study of the political socialization of high school students in Boston, was presented a situation where these students, similar on many characteristics, differed on whether they were enrolled in a civics course or not.[7] By observing the students both

before and after the period during which this instruction was given, Litt was able to detect experimentally the impact of the civics course on the political attitudes of the students.

The advantages of field experiments, as suggested in the above examples, are numerous. Reliable knowledge about the political process is attainable through methods permitting the researcher some control over his study group before the analysis begins. "What is more important," asserts Verba, "by investigating behavior in ongoing situations, many of the thorny problems of extrapolation from the experimental to the real group are minimized."[8] Nevertheless, disadvantages in the methodology of field experimentation cannot be overlooked. For most political scientists it probably is of limited value as a method of inquiry. Only where accessibility and cooperation are found among those to be studied is field experimentation practical or possible. Hence unsuspecting, but cooperative samples, students (especially those of political scientists), and others willing to be subjects are the most susceptible candidates for study in field experiments. By no stretch of the imagination would this listing cover all the areas of interest to political scientists.

A second limitation of field experimentation involves the imperfect control still bedeviling the researcher outside the laboratory. The lesser the precision that the experimenter has in his study the greater the likelihood that extraneous factors might enter the experiment and be a source that confounds a clear evaluation of the effect of the experimental stimuli. For instance, in field experiments random assignment of those to be studied usually is not possible. In most cases the study universe is composed of naturally assembled collectivities. Without

randomization the question of equivalence among groups in the experiment becomes relevant. Nonequivalence introduces an extraneous factor which might be a source of rival variables in interpreting the effects of the experimental treatments.

Since field experiments are a step away from the laboratory (thus introducing a greater margin of error), it is more appropriate to refer to this methodology as quasi-experimental. The equivocation is not intended to discourage field experimentation but rather "...to make an experimenter more aware of the residual imperfections in his design so that on the relevant points he can be aware of competing interpretations of his data."[9] Hence it becomes incumbent upon the field experimentalist to confront directly the suspicions implied in the qualification "quasi." The remainder of this section presents a methodological discussion of the quasi-experimental design employed to measure innovation in the American government course at UCLA.

In the spring of 1969, 314 undergraduates enrolled in an experimental course offered in the UCLA schedule of classes as Political Science 1--an introduction to American Government. Attendance at lectures three times a week and at one hour of discussion per week was required of all students over the ten week quarter. The lectures were presented in a large auditorium and team taught by three professors; each lecturer independently conducted a three week period of presentation. The topics covered included political power, voting behavior, the politics of poverty, black politics, the Presidency, bureaucracy (with a special emphasis on the police), the Congress, and a look at the rights of racial minorities and due process rights secured through Supreme Court action. No other aids but concise, structured presentations

by the professors were used in the lectures.

The focus of the experiment was the discussion section of the student. A graduate teaching assistant was responsible for, in most cases, three section meetings per week.[10] The type of stimuli—experimental or not—presented to the student depended upon the teaching assistant who taught the student's section. In total there were five experimental groups and one control group.

A detailed listing of the materials introduced in the experimental sections is presented in appendix A and will be discussed in the next section. Each student participated in only one treatment. Moreover, intersection transfer was strictly prohibited.

The control group was established to represent a traditional condition under which many undergraduates experience an introductory course in American government. Covered during the discussion meeting were the standard texts and the lectures. A paper on a topic raised either in the texts or in the formal presentations was required. This group served as a baseline to compare the effects of introducing innovative techniques in the other sections: "Securing scientific evidence involves making at least one comparison."[11] The measurement devices used to map the impact of experimentation on the students' orientations were questionnaires administered at the beginning and at the conclusion of the course.

The immediate question to be addressed is how valid was the design of this experiment?[12] Were the stimuli that were introduced in the experiment the only variables to affect the political orientations of the students? Might not factors extraneous to the experiment account for the findings of the study? Such questions concern the internal

validity of this study. In addition, it is appropriate to question whether the results of this experiment are applicable to other populations and settings. The latter concern involves the external validity of this experiment. These questions will be approached in a critical fashion that points to the problems in claiming absolute validity of this experiment.

As is the case in most experimentation conducted in natural settings, the students were not randomly assigned to the treatment groups. Administrative problems in registering for courses at UCLA prevented randomization. Hence it is possible that the treatment groups were not composed of like students. Nonequivalence in groups may be a source of factors that are not controlled in the experiment and affect the findings in the study. For instance, if the control group contained students not interested in politics, while the experimental groups consisted of involved, active students, any findings discovered at the end of the experiment about the differential interest in politics between control and experimental students might be the result of the nonequivalent distribution of subjects and not the impact of the stimuli introduced by the researcher.

Two points can be offered to meet the problem of nonrandomization in the experiment at hand. First, self-selection of treatment groups was not a source of nonequivalence. There was no advance notice of the nature of this course. The experimental stimuli were not introduced until two weeks of the course had passed. Transfers from one group to another were strictly prohibited. Secondly, a demographic analysis of a variety of political, social, and educational characteristics of the

-86-

students in each treatment section suggests that the distribution of students closely approached equivalency across groups; these findings are presented in Table 3-1.

The information in Table 3-1 points to very little variation between students in the control group and those in the combined experimental groups[13] on items measuring race, sex, age, religious preference, social class, high school and college grade point average, year and major in college, political party preference, interest in politics, and rate of political activity. The chi square test of significance (two tailed) reveals that differentiation between the experimental and the control samples was significant (at the .05 level) only regarding membership in social organizations. Students in the control group were more likely to be joiners than their counterparts in all of the five experimental samples.

Examining the social, educational, and political characteristics of the students in each of the six groups without concern for statistical tests of inference uncovers some additional variation between the samples.[14] For example, about 10 per cent more of the students in each experimental group were found to be in the lowest category on the item measuring high school grade point average than students in the control group. In general, however, these percentage variations were random and few in number. There is little evidence to suggest that any one group consistently differed from another.

In short, a demographic breakdown of these students in each treatment group reveals, in most cases, equivalency across samples on a variety of sociopolitical characteristics.

Table 3-1. Social, Educational, and Political Characteristics of the Control and the Experimental Groups.

	Control		Experimental		x^{2*}
a. Social characteristics:					
Race[a]	%	N	%	N	
white	86.2	(50)	85.6	(190)	
non-white	10.3	(6)	14.0	(31)	
not ascertained	3.4	(2)	.4	(1)	
Total	99.9**	(58)	100.0	(222)	NS
Sex	%	N	%	N	
male	56.9	(33)	63.1	(140)	
female	43.1	(25)	36.9	(82)	
Total	100.0	(58)	100.0	(222)	NS
Age	%	N	%	N	
17	6.9	(4)	6.0	(14)	
18	34.5	(20)	36.0	(82)	
19	34.5	(20)	31.5	(69)	
20	8.6	(5)	13.5	(30)	
21 or over	15.5	(9)	13.0	(27)	
Total	100.0	(58)	100.0	(222)	NS
Current Religious preference[b]	%	N	%	N	
Roman Catholic	15.5	(9)	13.5	(30)	
Jewish	24.1	(14)	17.1	(38)	
Protestant	17.2	(10)	27.5	(61)	
Other or Atheist	39.7	(23)	37.4	(83)	
Not ascertained	3.4	(2)	4.5	(10)	
Total	99.9**	(58)	100.0	(222)	NS
Membership in any Social Organization	%	N	%	N	
yes	44.8	(26)	30.2	(67)	
no	55.2	(32)	69.8	(155)	
Total	100.0	(58)	100.0	(222)	S
Social Class[c]	%	N	%	N	
no class identification	41.4	(24)	37.8	(84)	
upper class	3.4	(2)	4.5	(10)	
middle class	48.3	(28)	48.6	(106)	
lower or working class	6.9	(4)	8.1	(19)	
not ascertained	0.0		.9	(3)	
Total	100.0	(58)	99.9**	(222)	NS

-88-

Table 3-1 continued.

	Control		Experimental		x^{2*}
b. Educational Characteristics High School Grade Point Average[d]	%	N	%	N	
3.00 - 3.29	17.2	(10)	31.5	(70)	
3.30 - 3.49	22.4	(13)	20.7	(46)	
3.50 - 3.79	36.2	(21)	25.7	(57)	
3.80 or over	19.0	(11)	16.2	(36)	
not ascertained	5.1	(3)	5.8	(13)	
Total	99.9**	(58)	99.9**	(2?2)	NS
UCLA Grade Point Average[d]	%	N	%	N	
1.99 or below	0.0		3.3	(7)	
2.00 - 2.49	15.5	(9)	22.9	(51)	
2.50 - 2.99	34.5	(20)	24.8	(55)	
3.00 - 3.49	27.6	(16)	22.1	(49)	
3.50 or over	6.9	(4)	8.1	(18)	
first quarter at UCLA	10.3	(6)	18.5	(41)	
not ascertained	5.1	(3)	.4	(1)	
Total	99.9**	(58)	100.1**	(222)	NS
Year in College	%	N	%	N	
under one year	50.0	(29)	49.5	(110)	
one to two years	29.3	(17)	26.1	(58)	
two to three years	12.1	(7)	15.3	(34)	
three to four years	5.2	(3)	6.8	(15)	
over four years	3.4	(2)	2.3	(5)	
Total	100.0	(58)	100.0	(222)	NS
Major in College	%	N	%	N	
Political Science	15.5	(9)	19.4	(45)	
Other Liberal Arts	18.9	(11)	23.0	(51)	
Non-Liberal Arts	51.7	(30)	40.0	(87)	
undecided	13.8	(8)	16.2	(36)	
not ascertained	0.0		1.4	(3)	
Total	99.9**	(58)	99.8**	(222)	NS

Table 3-1 continued.

	Control		Experimental		x^{2*}
c. Political Characteristics					
Political Party Preference	%	N	%	N	
Strong Republican	3.4	(2)	7.6	(17)	
Weak Republican	3.4	(2)	6.7	(15)	
Independent but leaning toward Republican	12.1	(7)	10.8	(24)	
Strong Democrat	17.2	(10)	12.1	(27)	
Weak Democrat	5.2	(3)	10.8	(24)	
Independent but leaning toward Democratic	20.7	(12)	17.1	(38)	
Independent or no preference	34.7	(20)	27.5	(61)	
Other	1.7	(1)	.9	(2)	
Not ascertained	1.7	(1)	6.3	(14)	
Total	100.1**	(58)	99.9**	(222)	NS
Interest in Politics	%	N	%	N	
very interested	36.2	(21)	42.8	(95)	
somewhat interested	44.8	(26)	43.2	(96)	
only a little interested	15.5	(9)	9.9	(22)	
not interested	3.4	(2)	3.1	(7)	
not ascertained	0.0		.9	(2)	
Total	99.9**	(58)	99.9**	(222)	NS
Political Activities[e]	%	N	%	N	
very active (over four political actions)	20.6	(12)	28.8	(64)	
moderately active (two or three political actions)	41.4	(24)	48.6	(52)	
little activity (one political action)	24.1	(14)	16.7	(37)	
no political activity	12.1	(7)	5.5	(12)	
not ascertained	1.7	(1)	.4	(1)	
Total	99.9**	(58)	100.0	(222)	NS

Table 3-1 continued.

Notes for Table 3-1

* The significance level for the Chi square test was set at .05 (two-tailed test of significance). S means significant at .05 while NS means not significant at the .05 level. A fuller discussion of the use of Chi square is found in appendix B.

** Table does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

a. Respondent's race was determined by the teaching personnel.

b. Current religious preference was measured by asking the student: "What religion do you consider yourself now?"

c. Social class was measured by asking the student to designate his class identification. Two items were employed: (1) "Do you consider yourself a member of a social class?" and (2) "If 'yes', please check which class?" The choices were "upper class, middle class, working class, (and) lower class."

d. High school and UCLA grade point average was determined by asking the student the following questions:

(1) "What was your overall high school GPA (assuming 4.0 for A, 3.0 for B, 2.0 for C, 1.0 for D, and 0.0 for F)?"

____3.00 to 3.29   ____3.80 and over

____3.30 to 3.49   ____other (please explain)

____3.50 to 3.79

(2) "As of the end of the winter quarter (1969), what is your overall UCLA grade point average?"

____1.99 or below   ____3.00 to 3.49

____2.00 to 2.49   ____3.50 and over

____2.50 to 2.99   ____this is my first quarter at UCLA

e. The political activities index was constructed on the basis of "yes" answers to the following questions:

"During the 1968 election campaigns did you do any of the following?

1. contribute money to a political party, an electoral interest group, or to a particular candidate?
2. distribute literature, wear a button, display a bumper sticker, for any candidate?
3. talk to other people (strangers) about the merits or failings of a candidate or party?
4. talk to closer associates (e.g., friends and relatives) about the merits or failings of a candidate or political party?

Aside from the activities listed above, have you engaged in any other political activity within the last two years?"

The experimental stimuli might still have to compete with confounding factors other than nonequivalence of treatment groups. The ten week time period of this study meant that the students were for the most part beyond the control of the experimenter. Hence it is quite likely that the political orientations to be gauged during this time were affected by factors extraneous to the stimuli of the experiment. For instance, two widely publicized political events--events that presumably engaged the interest of the students--occurred during the time of the experiment. The dispute over "People's Park" in Berkeley filled the media with stories about confrontation, death, injuries, mass arrests, calls for student strikes on campuses throughout California, and a large march of protest in Berkeley. In addition, the populace of Los Angeles witnessed a high stimulus mayoral election in which the incumbent, Sam Yorty, upset the black challenger, Thomas Bradley. It is conceivable that the students' reactions to these historical events had an effect on the political orientations of the students measured in this experiment.

The length of time needed for this experiment was long enough for the students to mature emotionally, cognitively, and biologically. The experimental design did not include any means to gauge the likelihood and extent of such maturation. It is very possible that this type of growth would have an impact on the political orientations of the students in the experiment.

Finally, the testing methods employed in the experiment could have influenced the results of the experiment more than the stimuli introduced. Questions asked at the commencement of the course might have

affected the students' political views in two ways: (1) simply being asked to comment on a political matter could exacerbate or alternate an orientation; and (2) a respondent might strive for consistency between his pretest and posttest response simply for the sake of symmetry. Again the experimental design provided no direct way to investigate the independent influence of testing on the political outlooks of the students.

In sum, historical events, maturation of the students, and the testing devices of the experiment are potentially rival sources of explanation in determining the effect of the experimentally introduced materials on the political socialization of the students. The experimental design only provided for an indirect method of settling the possible dispute between competing explanations of the findings. To wit: if a difference is observed between the experimental group and the control group, assuming equivalence across groups, this variation could not be accounted for by historical events, maturational occurrences, or testing influences since "the main effects of these variables...would be effecting both the experimental and the control group."[15] Yet this still begs the question concerning how much influence factors associated with history, maturation, and the testing of students had on any results of this study.

Turning from the problems of internal validity to those of external validity, the experiment is open to a major criticism. It is difficult to generalize from this case study to other environs. Regarding other student populations, it is tenuous even to compare the students to their counterparts on the UCLA campus, not to mention other campuses. No

attempt was made to discover if the participants in this study were representative of the student body at UCLA. Moreover, the materials introduced in the experiment were only some of the possible stimuli that could be used in the political science curriculum.

Conversely, insights applicable to a wider universe in the form of hypotheses might be drawn from conclusions reached in this study. Moreover, this experiment may stimulate others to engage in innovative research in this area, including replication. As such, the value of this experiment viz generalization is that it is a step in the construction of a firm data base on innovative education in political science.

Experimentation for Substantive Goals. Another connotation of the concept of experiment emphasizes innovation, alteration, or change. Implicit is the use of experimentation to accomplish a new normative end-state somewhat at odds with the state of affairs of the status-quo. This project can also be classified under this type of experiment. One goal of this innovative course in political science was to enhance the educational experience of the students enrolled in the experimental sections. The second goal was to socialize in the experimental students a set of political beliefs emphasizing the properties of humanism and democracy.

The need to improve the educational experience was motivated by the criticism of spokesmen that for some students coursework in political science was not interesting, not intellectually stimulating or productive, and not enjoyable.[16] To offset this negative appraisal of the educational process, it has been contended that the student must be exposed to a curriculum where he can "...relate to something he knows,

experiences, or will experience in his life."[17] A literal interpretation of this assertion implies the forbidding task of gearing courses to the diverse, unique pecularities of each student. A looser reading of this contention points to the need of structuring the curriculum so that a student becomes personally involved in the subject-matter covered in the course. Along this line, the educational process might not be a valuable learning experience if the course content is simply relayed to the student through the impersonal devices of formal lectures to large audiences or reading a textbook. The hypothesis then is whether drawing the student personally into the educational process enhances the learning experience. The methods of this experiment were designed to both achieve this goal and measure its accomplishment, or not.

The second normative goal sought in this study was the inculcation of certain political orientations. The model to be inculcated followed the lines of humanistic democracy. Basic to this model is a commitment to humanism defined by Bay "...very simply as a commitment to the sanctity of human life prior to all other commitments."[18] Attendant properties of this model would include attitudes promoting social justice, political, economic, and social equality, tolerance and respect for the actions and rights of others, and empathetic identification with one's fellow man, especially the oppressed. Those holding these views would probably favor change and be willing to engage in actions designed to upset the status quo, though short of violating the sanctity of human life. They would most likely call themselves radicals and be opposed to any political system that does not promote humanistic democracy.[19]

Humanistic democracy is a philosophy that places a priority upon

psychological development and worth. It also transcends social factors, such as class position, religious preference, national identity, race, sex, age, and regional influences, that are usually important in the political socialization of people. Widespread belief in this transcendental ethic might help bridge the chasm that divides people because of differential socialization based on the above social factors. Certainly, in the streets of America during the 1960's enough evidence was presented to suggest the violent outcome of continual ideological division and lack of humanistic concern. The educational process ought to be the social institution that attempts to unify men through inculcation of humanistic ideology. The student would not only be promoting a more equitable and just social system, if this goal were accomplished, but he would also be challenged to grow psychologically. Along this line, Bay, echoing the sentiments of Camus, claims that "...to become fully human, a constant tendency to be revolted by and rebel against oppression and injustice is required."[20] Finally, it might be that this generation of college students comes to campus wanting to be exposed to and stimulated by a humanitarian approach to life. Failure to respond to this need, if it be there, would mean a serious gap between educators and educated. Again calling on Bay, it is suggested that "in most American student populations it should be possible, by gently pointing out evidence of apparent indifference to the plight of underprivileged people, to stimulate among them the development of manifest concern."[21]

The questionnaires given to the students (see appendix C) and the methods of innovative instruction (see appendix A) were chosen to test and to fulfill, respectively, the goals outlined above. At this point,

the discussion will turn to a detailed description of the techniques

employed in this study and a rationale for their use.

As previously mentioned, the control group in this study devoted

its attention in discussion meetings to the texts and the lectures; as

such, a conventional approach to introducing politics to the students

was the norm. In reaction to a traditional approach, critics have

warned teachers against the use of old techniques to transmit informa-

tion to this generation of students. For instance:

> "we are faced with a revolution in communications, elements
> of which have recently surfaced in the press under the term
> McLuhamism. It now seems possible that both classroom lecture
> and...the excess of print will become increasingly obsolescent
> in the task of undergraduate education."[22]

The experimental groups were designed to introduce new methods of

instruction.[23] Each will be discussed.

1. Commercial films. Five motion pictures made for commercial

release were shown in five successive weeks. The theme in each movie

concentrated on the costs and benefits of individuals engaging in

political action--particularly political action challenging the status

quo. The students were required to attend these films at night. Dur-

ing their regularly scheduled, daily discussion meetings the main task

was to relate these films to concepts raised in the lectures, the read-

ings, and the section. As a term project, the students wrote essays on

how situations or characters in the films related to their perceived

political position in the United States.

2. Documentary films. Five documentary films made for television

or public release were shown, discussed, and used as a basis for papers

in a manner similar to the commercial films. The documentary films

focused on domestic political conflict and presented various strategies

used in conflictual situations.

The choice of each visual presentation was somewhat ad hoc. Movie reviews, economic considerations, availability of materials, and satiability on the part of students were important considerations in making the choices. Additionally, it has been argued that to present a serious, realistic portrait of power politics (the struggles and conflict in attaining, securing, and maintaining power) to the student, emotional, personal motives involved in political activity need to be conveyed clearly in the educational process. "/I/n this regard, the use of artistic media such as novels, feature films, T.V. documentaries would help to offer more holistic and human conceptions of politics than the Constitution and textbooks provide."[24]

3. Commercial music. A small group of students (23) listened to, discussed, and wrote papers on contemporary music--folk and rock. The music contained political and social themes such as the need for change, alienation, apathy, cynicism, revolution, protest, repression, socialization, and adopting privatism as a value in reaction to the ongoing political system. Throughout much of the history of American pop music, especially the last twenty years, the interest of the young have dominated this medium of communication. Armed with the economic power of middle class affluence, young people have been able to influence significantly the type of music distributed. With some degree of latitude in structuring content, the lyricists have written about the concerns and interests of the younger generation. In the 1960's lyrics shifted from the romantic fantasy of vague, unreal love relationships to serious social problems. According to an analyst of recent popular music:

/T/he second half of the decade saw a full efflorescence
of...topical songs, written by young people for their
peers. /T/hey provide a wide-ranging critique of
American life. Listening to them, one can get a full-
blown picture of antipathy that the young song writers
have toward many American institutions."25

Utilization of this mode of communication, familiar to students, in

the formal curriculum might facilitate the educational process. It was

felt that enhancement, not dilution, of the curriculum in political

science would result. Support for the use of music as a pedagogical

tool comes from Rosenstone:

"It is interesting to note that popular music also puts the
youth in touch with serious, intellectual critiques of American
life. Perhaps it starts only as a gut reaction in the song
writers, but they have put into music the ideas of many American
social critics. Without reading Paul Goodman, David Riesman,
C. Wright Mills, or Mary McCarthy, youngsters will know that
life is a 'rat race', that Americans are a 'lonely crowd,"
that 'white collar' lives contain much frustration, and that
the war in Vietnam is far from just."26

The remaining two experimental groups were designed to confront the

students directly with political processes and problems. A fillip for

incorporating these direct contact conditions into the research design

came from two sources: (1) a recurring emphasis among those calling

for innovation in political science courses to expose students to politics

in the field, outside the walls of the classroom; and (2) some attitud-

inal research in social psychology that points to the likelihood

"...that our attitudes regarding war, art, minority groups, etc., are

determined to some extent by direct contact with the target object."27

McGuire's summary statement on this research notes "...that frequent

direct contact with the object can have considerable impact on one's

attitude toward that object, though perhaps by intensifying it rather

than by changing its direction."28 The final two experimental sections

-99-

differed in that one group was to confront the political process with objective appraisal, while the other group stressed subjective reactions in its interaction with real world politics.

4. Empirical study of reputational power at UCLA. These students were introduced to scientific methods in studying politics. Their discussion leader covered the scientific approach in section and directed a field research project designed to gather information on who was reputed to have power on the UCLA campus. Equipped with structured questionnaires, each student was required to interview two or three campus activists including administrators, faculty, student leaders, and members of campus organizations. In order to complete a term project, the students pooled the data and each student was asked to submit a paper empirically testing his own hypothesis from the evidence gathered.

5. Individual problem solving. The last experimental group spent the quarter facing a problem or concern experienced as a student in the university setting. Working with the teaching assistant, each student was to define his problem,[29] to develop strategies designed to secure a favorable outcome, to attempt to implement the solution, and to write about the experience in a term project.

For each student, regardless of the type of section he was in, a common final examination was required.

As noted above, questionnaires were the instruments employed to tap the orientations of students. At the beginning of the course (during the first week), each student was asked to complete a 22 page questionnaire and return it to lecture within five days. During the last week of the course, the students were again requested to fill out

a shorter version (13 pages) of the initial questionnaire. Eighty-six

percent of the 314 students enrolled in the course returned usable be-

fore and after questionnaires.[30] Completion rates are similar across

all of the discussion sections.

Overview

The major concern of this chapter was a thorough discussion of the

role of experimentation in this study. As a method, the experiment is

a useful tool for analyzing the effect of different treatments to an

area of concern. Hence it is an important empirical means in applying

a configurative approach to a social problem. Moreover, experimentation

or innovation implies normative goals to be sought in a policy area.

Both the methodological and normative aspects of the concept of experi-

mentation guided this project. It is now the point to begin an analysis

of the evidence that was collected in the experiment.

The data display is divided into two chapters. The immediate dis-

cussion will center on the findings relating to the impact of the course

on the educational orientations of the students. The major focus will

be the evaluative feelings of the students toward the course as a learn-

ing experience and as an emotional experience. In addition, the impact

of the course on other educational viewpoints, such as cynicism about

teachers of politics and doing more work in political science, will be

analyzed. The second data chapter will look at the relationship between

the course and alteration of the general political orientations of the

students. At the core of the data analysis is the influence of the

experimental teaching techniques on changing political orientations.

Hence type of section attended will be the independent variable

to be investigated; and, the rate and direction of change on a variety

of political outlooks will serve as the dependent variables.

NOTES CHAPTER 3

1. D.T. Campbell and J.C. Stanley, Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969), p. 2.

2. F. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale, 1970, Revised edition), p. 190. Other academicians have called for the use of scientific methodology in understanding and altering the educational setting at the university level. A good record of this viewpoint is found in N. Sanford (Ed.), The American College: A Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning (New York: John Wiley, 1962), especially chapters 1, 2, and 29.

3. S. Verba, Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton, 1961), p. 61.

4. General reviews of the indirect application of experimental studies to political phenomena include the following: Ibid; R. Lane and D. Sears, Public Opinion (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1964); T.W. Madron, Small Group Methods and the Study of Politics (Evanston: Northwestern, 1969); C. Hampden-Turner, Radical Man (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1970), ch. 5; J.H. Kessel, G.F. Cole, and R.D. Seddig (Eds.), Micropolitics: Individual and Group Level Concepts (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970); G. DiPalma and H. McClosky, "Personality and Conformity: The Learning of Political Attitudes," American Political Science Review, 64 (December, 1970), pp. 1054-1073; and M. Manis, "Experimental Studies in Communication," in G. Abcarian and J.W. Soule (Eds.), Social Psychology and Political Behavior (Columbus: Merrill, 1971), pp. 130-145.

5. Succinct discussions of field experiments are located in Verba, op. cit., and in J.R.P. French, Jr., "Experiments in Field Setting," in L. Festinger and D. Katz (Eds.), Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), chp. 3.

6. H.F. Gosnell, Getting Out the Vote: An Experiment in the Stimulation of Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).

7. E. Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review, 28 (February, 1963), pp. 69-75. Also R. Agger and M. Goldstein, Who Will Rule the Schools: A Cultural Class Crisis (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1971).

8. Verba, op. cit., p. 93.

9. Campbell and Stanley, Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research, op. cit., p. 34.

10. Among the six assistants, one held only one discussion section; the other five each conducted three sections a week.

11. Campbell and Stanley, op. cit., p. 6.

12. This discussion of validity centers around points raised in Ibid., passim.

13. The experimental sections were combined to facilitate a concise presentation of the data. On most items, disaggregating the experimental groups does not alter the conclusions reached when they are combined. For instance, analyzing each of the above sociopolitical items (Table 3-1) with the experimental sections disaggregated revealed no statistically significant (using a two tailed, x^2 test with .05 as the level of significance) differences among the samples on any of these items.

14. Instead of employing a statistical test of significance, each sociopolitical item was analyzed using a 10 per cent variance as the guide to discovering variation among the samples.

15. Ibid., p. 48.

16. This criticism is discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 26-28.

17. J.A. Foley and R.K. Foley (Eds.), The College Scene: The Students Tell It Like It Is (New York: Cowles, 1969), p. 86.

18. C. Bay, "Human Development and Political Orientations: Notes Toward a Science of Political Education," in G. Abcarian and J.W. Soule (Eds.), Social Psychology and Political Behavior Columbus: Merrill, 1971), p. 153 (Emphasis in the original). Additional sources relating to this model are the following: C. Bay, "Political and Apolitical Students: Facts in Search of Theory," Journal of Social Issues, 23 (July, 1967), pp. 76-91; C. Bay, "Civil Disobedience: Prerequisite for Democracy in Mass Society," in D. Spitz (Ed.), Political Theory and Social Change (New York: Atherton, 1967); C. Hampden-Turner, Radical Man op. cit.; J. Block, N. Haan, and M.B. Smith, "Socialization Correlates of Student Activism," Journal of Social Issues, 25 (Autumn, 1969), pp. 143-178; R. Flacks, "The Liberated Generation: An Exploration of the Roots of Student Protest," Journal of Social Issues, 23 (July, 1967), pp. 52-75; H. Kariel, "Creating Political Reality," American Political Science Review, 64 (December, 1970), pp. 1088-1098; K. Keniston, The Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968); L. Lipsitz, "If, as Verba Says, the State Functions as a Religion, What are we then to do to save our Souls," American Political Science Review, 62 (June, 1968), pp. 527-535; and J.W. Trent and J.L. Craise, "Commitment and Conformity in the American College," Journal of Social Issues, 23 (July, 1967), pp. 34-51.

19. This opposition would apply to many aspects of the American political system. See T. Lowi, An End to Liberalism (New York: Norton, 1969), chapters 3 and 12; H. McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," American Political Science Review, 58

(June, 1964), pp. 361-382; and H. McClosky, P.J. Hoffman, and R. O'Hara, "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers," American Political Science Review, 44 (June, 1960), pp. 406-427.

20. C. Bay, "Political and Apolitical Students...," op. cit., pp. 88-89.

21. C. Bay, "Human Development and Political Orientations...," op. cit., p. 171.

22. W. Parente and M. McCleery, "Campus Radicalism and a Relevant Political Science," Journal of Higher Education, 39 (June, 1968), p. 317.

23. Emphasis on the texts was less in the experimental sections.

24. Fred Newmann in a panel discussion of political socialization presented in the Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Fall, 1968), p. 536.

25. R.A. Rosenstone, "'The Times They Are A-Changin': The Music of Protest," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 382 (March, 1969), p. 133.

26. Ibid., p. 143.

27. W.J. McGuire, "The Nature of Attitudes and Attitude Change," in G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Eds), The Handbook of Social Psychology (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969, Revised Edition), Vol. III, p. 166.

28. Ibid., p. 167.

29. Each student met with the teaching assistant to discuss the former's problem. The assistant's impression was that some 50% of the students perceived no problem at first; only after discussion did a problem for these students emerge.

30. Eighty-nine percent of the students (280) completed the first questionnaire. Nine students for a variety of reasons, such as leaving town before the last week of the course, refusing to fill out the second form, and simply failing to return the after questionnaire, only completed the pretest. The 280 figure will serve as the basis for all computations in the next two chapters. A copy of both the pretest and the posttest is presented in appendix C.

CHAPTER FOUR--EDUCATIONAL REACTIONS TO THE COURSE

One of the goals of this project was to enhance the educational
experience of the students. Experimentation was employed to accomplish
this end. The success of the experiment in this area would be indicated
if students enrolled in the innovative sections benefited from the
course more than their counterparts in the control group. In this
chapter the course impact on various educational orientations ranging
from reactions to the classroom experience to feelings about the general
university environment is empirically investigated.

Liking and Learning From the Course

At the conclusion of the course, the students were asked to respond
to a series of questions about their reactions to the classroom exper-
ience. Specifically, they were to indicate how much they "learned" from
and how much they "enjoyed" the lectures, their section, and the readings.[1]

Beginning with the reactions to the lectures (Table 4-1), the data
suggest that the use of experimental materials in the discussion sections
did not vitiate the importance of formal presentations to the students.
In general, the students, regardless of section, felt they learned from
the lectures and, to a lesser degree, enjoyed these presentations.

Moving to the reactions to the readings (Table 4-2), there is some
sign of a disjuncture in evaluation. While the readings were perceived
as a source of learning irrespective of competition from other pedagog-
ical devices, some students in the experimental settings did not affect-
ively appreciate them. The control group exhibited a more consistent
pattern between learning from and liking the readings; for some in the
experimental sections, however, inconsistency between these orientations

-106-

Table 4-1. Comparing the control group with the experimental group on subjective learning from and enjoyment of the lectures.

	Experimental*	Control
Subjective learning:		
learned very much	43.7%	43.1%
learned somewhat	39.6	43.1
learned very little	8.1	6.9
learned nothing	1.4	1.7
not ascertained	7.3	5.2
Total percentage	100.1%**	100.0%

x^2 not significant at the .05 level.
gamma = .08

	Experimental*	Control
Enjoyment:		
enjoyed very much	30.6%	37.9%
enjoyed somewhat	43.7	37.9
enjoyed very little	12.2	8.6
enjoyed not at all	2.7	6.9
not ascertained	10.8	8.6
Total percentage	100.0%	99.9%**

x^2 not significant at the .05 level.
gamma = .08

* Disaggregating the experimental group on the basis of each stimuli introduced does not reveal any significant variations either between the control group and each experimental section or among the five different innovative groups.

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

Table 4-2. Comparing the control group with the experimental group on subjective learning from and enjoyment of the readings.

	Experimental*	Control
Subjective learning:		
learned very much	14.9%	22.4%
learned somewhat	46.4	41.4
learned very little	24.8	24.1
learned nothing	7.2	6.9
not ascertained	6.8	5.2
Total percentage	100.1%***	100.0%

x^2 not significant at the .05 level.
gamma = .10

	Experimental**	Control
Enjoyment:		
enjoyed very much	9.0%	17.2%
enjoyed somewhat	26.1	37.9
enjoyed very little	35.6	22.4
enjoyed not at all	22.1	17.2
not ascertained	7.2	5.2
Total percentage	100.0%	99.9%***

x^2 not significant at the .05 level.
gamma = .26

* Disaggregating the experimental group on the basis of each stimuli introduced does not reveal any significant variations either between the control group and each experimental section or among the five innovative groups.

** On enjoyment of the readings some variation within the experimental group was found. In particular the students who saw the documentary films were the least likely to enjoy the readings (71% enjoyed them very little or less). Additionally, the students in the problem-solving section approximated the evaluations given by the control group (46.4% in this experimental group enjoyed the readings very little or less). The student in the problem-solving group read books other than the texts used in the other sections. See appendix A for the reading list.

*** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

emerged. Perhaps students in the control group balanced their perceptions of the readings: their feeling of learning from the reading was consonant with favorably coloring this experience. The introduction of new teaching techniques might upset a congruent linkage between subjective learning and liking the readings.

To explore the consistency of reaction to the readings more extensively, each student's feeling about the learning from this medium was crosstabulated with his affective rating of the material. The results, with section (experimental versus nonexperimental) controlled, are presented in Table 4-3. The correlations lend limited support to the contention that more consistency between these orientations marked the control group (tau b= .51) than the experimental subjects (tau b= .41).[2]

Table 4-3. Comparing the control group with the experimental group with regard to the correlation between learning from and liking the readings.

Subjective learning from readings	Enjoyed readings somewhat or more		Enjoyed readings very little or less	
	Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental
Learned somewhat or more	50.9%	34.5%	16.4%	31.1%
Learned very little or less	7.3	3.4	25.5	31.1

Most of the discrepancy within the ranks of those students exposed to innovative stimuli lay among those who positively evaluated the readings as a cerebral experience but negatively rated them on the affective dimension.

The most interesting findings are those concerning reactions to the discussion sections (Table 4-4). Students who participated in the

-109-

Table 4-4. Comparing the control group with the experimental group on subjective learning from and enjoyment of the sections.

	Experimental*	Control
Subjective learning:		
learned very much	35.1%	15.5%
learned somewhat	43.7	32.8
learned very little	13.5	29.3
learned nothing	2.3	15.5
not ascertained	5.4	6.9
Total percentage	100.0%	100.0%

x^2 significant beyond the .001 level.
gamma = .47.

	Experimental*	Control
Enjoyment:		
enjoyed very much	57.7%	22.4%
enjoyed somewhat	28.8	32.8
enjoyed very little	5.9	20.7
enjoyed not at all	1.8	17.2
not ascertained	5.9	6.9
Total percentage	100.1%**	100.0%

x^2 significant beyond the .001 level.
gamma = .56

* On both subjective learning from the sections and enjoyment of the sections the students in the empirical project section were some 10 per cent less enthusiastic about the section as a learning experience. These students, however, were still significantly more positive about their sections than the students in the control group.

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

experimental groups felt they learned more in these sections, and enjoyed these sections more.[3] Variance among the experimental groups was not pronounced; in general, each experimental stimulus was well-received by students in these sections. Before overstating the success of introducing innovative teaching techniques in courses, two qualifications need to be addressed.

First, it could be argued that the major reason for the discovered discrepancy between the control and the experimental group was because of the personal skills of the graduate teaching assistants. This possibility was empirically explored by asking the Summer quarter students of a teaching assistant who led an experimental group (commercial films) in the Spring quarter the same evaluative questions about the discussion section. The students queried were enrolled in an introduction to American government course taught at UCLA without any experimental aids. Table 4-5 summarizes the responses and compares them to the responses given to the control sections and the experimental group who viewed the commercial films. The reactions of the summer students were somewhat more positive than those recorded by the students in the control group in the experimental course. More importantly, however, in comparing the reactions of students of the same teaching assistant at different times,

Table 4-5. Comparing student reactions to the discussion sections taught in the summer, in an experimental group, and in the control group.

Perception of section:	Summer	Commercial films Spring	Control Spring
Learned somewhat or more	58.0%	80.0%	48.3%
Enjoyed somewhat or more	65.3	86.7	55.2

-111-

experimentation appears to have improved the reactions to the discussion section. Hence there is some suggestion that the variance between the evaluation of the discussion sections noted in the innovative course were more the result of the experimental stimuli introduced than the personal abilities of the teaching assistants.

The second disclaimer is that the experimental groups were favorably responded to simply because they were different and somewhat at odds with the expectations of the students. As such, it could be contended that what really happened in this experiment could be labelled a "Hawthorne effect."[4] The "Hawthorne effect" refers to the possibility that changes and differences noted at the end of an experiment were not the result of the stimuli introduced by the researcher, but were caused by other uncontrolled factors such as the climate created simply by experimenting or doing something different. In this project the source of differences in the reactions to the discussion section might have been the student's awareness that a special environment had been created for the course and not his response to the specific innovative stimuli.

There is some evidence suggesting a "Hawthorne" interpretation. Recall that the reactions to the sections were similar across the experimental groups. The major distinction in section evaluation was between whether the student was in the control group or not.[5] Hence simply changing the setting of the section might have produced these reactions regardless of the stimuli introduced.

On the other hand, the unique environment surrounding the students was not confined to the discussion sections of the students in the experimental sections. The lectures were also somewhat different. There

were three lecturers who team taught the course. The questionnaires were administered during the lectures. As such, something new was introduced into an arena where all the students participated. Yet in responding to the discussion sections it was those students who had been exposed to innovation who showed a more positive reaction. This suggests that something more than a climate of change in lecture was necessary to produce a favorable evaluation of the section.

Moreover, it seems unlikely that virtually any change from the norm of classroom experience would produce a favorable reaction to coursework. For instance, innovation requiring dull, repetitive, innane tasks of the students would probably not be positively responded to.

Unfortunately, the questionnaire and the research design did not facilitate a direct testing of the "Hawthorne effect" beyond drawing inferences and speculation. To have systematically investigated this matter the protocols should have contained some measure of the awareness of the student with regard to his classroom experience. If most of the students thought they were participating in the experimental sections, then the differences in the reactions to the discussion sections could not be attributed to the "Hawthorne" hypothesis. Conversely, if the control students were aware of not engaging in the experiment while their counterparts in the other groups recognized the special treatment they were receiving, the differences in reaction to the discussion sections might simply be a result of the "Hawthorne effect." In addition, a discussion section requiring monotonous tasks of the students would have permitted a further comparison of the effect of teaching techniques.

-113-

Withal, experimentation did differentiate the reactions of the students to their discussion sections. What is not completely clear is whether the specific stimuli introduced to the students were the prime factors in the success of the experiment. It is felt that the materials presented to the students in the innovative sections were instrumental in creating a positive educational experience. Until further research in experimental education is at hand, this contention is based on a mixture of partial evidence and speculation; it is, in effect, an educated guess.

A final weakness of this analysis is the lack of an objective measure of learning. Learning was defined through the subjective eyes of the respondent. No attempt was made to correlate the student's perception of his learning or not with answers provided on the final examination. This omission was mainly because it could not be assumed that the final examination given to all the students was an objective measure of learning. The final was an essay that required the student to interpret and present facts about democracy in the American political system.

Without an objective gauge of learning it is impossible to say whether the student's perceptions of learning (1) were accurate or (2) influenced only by his affective ratings of the course. This is a particular problem in assessing the impact of the innovative stimuli on the educational reactions of the students to their sections. Were the positive feelings of learning noted by the students in the innovative sections objectively correct, or the result of liking the section, or both? Future research in this area should include both subjective and objective measures of learning.

-114-

Reactions to University Matters Beyond the Course

The next task is to see if the experimental experience affected orientations to educational objects beyond the major components of this course in American government. The investigation to be presented focuses on a wide range of educational matters. Teachers, additional coursework in political science, feelings about other students participating in school decision-making, and orientations about relations with authorities at UCLA will be covered in the analysis.

The method of data presentation will follow a set format. Evidence will be presented on the amount of stability in each orientation; the relationship between section attended[6] and alteration; and the net direction of shifting views.[7]

At the beginning of the course the students were asked if they felt that the teacher of politics did discuss what was really occurring in government. About 40% of the respondents indicated some doubt about the message of the teacher.[8] Recall one of the reasons for the innovation in this project was to convey a realistic description of the political process to the students. Hence it would follow, if this goal were achieved, that the students in the experimental sections might be less doubtful about the teacher of politics. The reactions of the students after taking the experimental course are displayed in Table 4-6.

Over 40% of the students changed their minds about the teacher of government. The greatest amount of alteration, however, occurred in the control group. In tracing the direction of change, experimental shifters and especially their counterparts in the control group were more likely to have moved in the "more doubtful" direction. Moreover,

-115-

Table 4-6. "In general teachers of government don't tell you what is really happening in government."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change* (less doubtful)	18.0%	12.1%	16.8%
No change	54.1	44.8	52.1
Negative change* (more doubtful)	23.4	34.4	25.7
Not ascertained**	4.5	8.5	5.3
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 99.8%***	(280)99.9%***
Net proportion of change	-5.4%	-22.3%	-8.9%

C.R. = 1.69 (p significant at the .04 level)
Tau b = -.09

* "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to agree that teachers don't tell about the reality of government or shifted from disagreement with this idea to the category of "don't know/ depends;" the "less doubtful" moved to disagree or from agreement to "don't know/ depends."

** Unless otherwise indicated the not ascertained category of all tables herein consists of respondents who either on the pretest or the posttest gave no opinion on the item.

*** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

the strength of association between section attended and altering feelings about the teacher of government was low (tau b = -.09).

On the posttest the students were asked to indicate their intentions concerning enrolling in additional undergraduate courses and undertaking graduate work in political science. In addition, they were asked to judge the influence of their class experience in American government on their future curricular plans in political science. It was thought that experimental exposure might favorably dispose students to engage in more work in political science. The evidence presented in Tables 4-7 and 4-8 does not confirm this expectation.

Close to two-thirds of the students did plan to enroll in additional undergraduate political science courses. While the majority of these students credited the course with this decision, experimentation was not the prime element in this choice. There is only a hint--a statistically insignificant suggestion--that innovation pushed students to additional undergraduate politics courses.

The vast majority of the students did not plan to engage in post-graduate work in political science. Neither the course nor the innovative stimuli offset the disinterest among the students in attending graduate classes in political science.

Table 4-7. The impact of section attended on taking more undergraduate coursework in political science.

	Experimental	Control	Net difference
More coursework planned--course had a lot of bearing	5.7%	3.4%	+2.3%
More coursework planned--course had some bearing	39.4	31.0	+8.4
More coursework planned--course had no bearing	16.6	25.9	-9.3
No more coursework planned	32.4	36.2	-3.8
Not ascertained	5.9	3.4	
Total percentage	100.0%	99.9%*	
Total cases	(58)	(222)	

x^2 not significant; p = .05.

* Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

Table 4-8. The impact of section attended on doing graduate work in political science.

	Experimental	Control	Net difference
Graduate work planned—course had a lot of bearing	.0%	.0%	.0%
Graduate work planned—couse had some bearing	6.7	1.7	+5.0
Graduate work planned—course had no bearing	4.0	8.6	-4.6
No graduate work planned	86.0	87.9	-1.9
Not ascertained	3.3	1.7	
Total percentage	100.0%	99.9%*	
Total cases	(58)	(222)	

x^2 not significant; p = .05.

* Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

Extending the concern beyond the formal classroom setting, the relative lack of impact of the experimental stimuli on educational orientations is again noted. The indicators used to measure these educational feelings pertain to orientations about authorities at UCLA and the desire for additional student participation in school decision-making at the high school and college level.

Table 4-9 presents information about the student's relationships with authority figures at UCLA. In the first part of the table, there is only a slight suggestion that experimentation was responsible for altering the students' views of student government. A number of students changed their minds about the effect of student government on their lives and the autonomy of student government from administrative dominance. Only on the latter item, however, was there any sign that innovation was related to change. Yet the correlation between experimentation and change in view was still low (tau b = .12). On the effect item the

-118-

Table 4-9. Feelings about authorities at UCLA.

a. orientations about student government.

"Thinking about student government at UCLA, how much effect do you think its activities—the measures it passes, etc.—have on your daily life?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change (more effect)	9.8%	12.1%	10.6%
No change	57.3	62.1	58.3
Negative change (less effect)	11.2	6.9	10.9
Not ascertained*	21.7	18.7	20.2
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 99.8%**	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	-1.4%	+5.2%	-.3%

C.R. = .49 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .03

"Some people feel that student government at UCLA is nothing more than a puppet of the administration. Do you agree or disagree?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change (more agreement)	45.9%	27.6%	42.1%
No change	33.3	48.3	36.4
Negative change (less agreement)	16.2	18.9	16.7
Not ascertained	4.6	5.1	4.7
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 99.9%**	(280) 99.9%
Net proportion of change	+29.7%	+8.7%	+25.4%

C.R. = 2.28 (p significant at .01 level)
Tau b = .12

* The not ascertained category contains a large number of students who answered don't know to either the pretest or the posttest.

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

Table 4-9. continued.

b. Feelings about university authorities.

"If you had a complaint to make to those with a position of authority at UCLA, do you think you would make that complaint?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change (no to yes)	13.1%	19.0%	14.3%
No change	66.2	62.1	65.4
Negative change (yes to no)	13.8	13.9	13.9
Not ascertained	6.8	5.1	6.4
Totals	(222) 99.9%**	(58) 100.1**	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	-.7%	+5.1%	+.4%

C.R. = .54 (p not significant at the .05 level)
tau b = .01

"Thinking hypothetically. if you did complain would you be treated fairly?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change (no to yes)	7.2%	1.7%	6.0%
No change	68.5	75.9	70.0
Negative change (yes to no)	11.2	10.4	11.1
Not ascertained*	13.1	12.0	12.9
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	-4.0%	-8.7%	-5.1%

C.R. = .73 (p not significant at the .05 level)

Tau b = .03

* The not ascertained category contains a large number of students who answered don't know to either the pretest or the posttest.

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

"Would your point of view be given serious consideration?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change (no to yes)	12.6%	13.8%	10.7%
No change	50.9	55.2	51.8
Negative change (yes to no)	13.7	18.9	16.8
Not ascertained*	22.9	11.9	20.5
Totals	(222) 100.1%**	(58) 99.8%**	(280) 99.8%**
Net proportion of change	-1.1%	-5.1%	-6.1%

C.R. = .48 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .03

* The not ascertained category contains a large number of
students who answered don't know either to the pretest or to
the posttest.

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

direction of change was similar and not unidirectional across sections.

Conversely, more students in the experimental group were moved to feel

that student government was an adjunct of the administration.

On the average some 25 per cent of the students shifted their per-

ceptions of how they would be treated by authorities at UCLA if inter-

action occurred. There is virtually no indication that innovation was

related to alteration in views of expected efficacy (tau b = .01),

treatment (tau b = .03), or consideration (tau b = .03) when dealing with

authorities. Moreover, for the shifters the direction of change was

similar in each group. On willingness to complain, the movement was

both positive and negative across sections. Moreover, most changers

were moved to expect unfair treatment from authorities. Finally, those

who altered were about evenly divided into those expecting their views

-121-

to be seriously considered by authorities and those not expecting such behavior.

Finally, the students were asked how much participation high school and college students should have in school decision-making. As may be seen in Table 4-10, there was relatively little change during the Spring quarter. There was a very limited relationship between change and teaching technique on the item measuring participation at the high school level (tau b = .09). Directionally, the only finding worth comment is the greater movement in the experimental group to stress less student participation in high school decision-making.

Table 4-10. Feelings about student participation in school decision-making.

a. High school—"Do you think that high school students should participate more in decisions made about such things as curriculum, discipline and so on, at their schools?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change (more participation)*	5.0%	3.5%	4.7%
No change	77.0	86.2	78.9
Negative change (less participation)*	12.6	6.9	10.0
Not ascertained	5.4	3.4	6.5
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.1%**
Net proportion of change	-7.6%	-3.4%	-5.3%

C.R. = .73 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .04

Table 4-10—continued.

b. College—"How about in colleges, do you think that students should participate more in making these types of decisions?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change (more participation)*	5.0%	3.5%	4.7%
No change	87.4	89.6	87.8
Negative change (less participation)*	3.1	1.7	2.9
Not ascertained	4.5	5.2	4.7
Totals	(222)100.0%	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.1%**
Net proportion of change	+1.9%	+1.8%	+1.8%

C.R. = .47 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .09

* "More participation" included students who shifted to believe that some or more participation was needed from an original position of adequate or less participation; "less participation" were students moving from some or more participation to a position of less or adequate participation.

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

Overview

The first goal of this experiment was to enhance the educational experience of the students exposed to innovative teaching techniques. The evidence collected from the students suggests that this goal was nearly accomplished. Most of the students regardless of section were positive in their cognitive and affective evaluations of the lectures. The margin of success in this experiment occurred in the students' reactions to their discussion sections; those introduced to innovative techniques were significantly more likely to value their sections as measured by their perceptions of learning and enjoying. There is a limited suggestion that the experimental stimuli did detract from liking

-123-

the readings, however.

Most of the evidence also suggests that the effects of the experimental stimuli were restricted to the immediate classroom environment. There were statistically significant differences between the experimental and the control groups on items measuring changing feelings about the veracity of teachers of government in discussing their subject-matter and about the independence of student government from the control of the administration. Yet to impute any cause of the shift in these orientations to teaching technique is not warranted given the low association between these variables. Experimental students were no more likely to enroll in more political science courses, to become aware of the effects of student government, to feel positive or negative about relations with university authorities, or to support the idea that more student participation is needed in high schools or colleges than their control counterparts.

Some suggestions about policy in education emerge from this data analysis. A classroom environment designed to engage the interest of the student appears to improve the educational process. However, the favorable reaction to the lectures suggests that a formal, cerebral presentation is still valued by students. Hence a two-level approach emphasizing teaching on an impersonal level and teaching that is directed at substantially involving students seems the desirable means of structuring classroom experiences.

Innovators concerned about the possibility of effecting educational orientations of the students that relate to matters beyond the walls of the classroom will probably have mixed reactions to these conclusions.

If one desires to use an innovative course experience to create a certain type of student—a type that is fashioned in such a way that he, in a sense, is a new man in all educational environments—these data are not encouraging. Conversely, the classroom experimentalist who worries about unleashing a totally revamped student because of his manipulations, and is anxious about possible recriminations from others, e.g., fellow faculty, administrators, politicians, and parents, might be fortified by these findings. Needless to say, these observations should be accorded the reaction given to any conclusions sorely in need of replication and additional systematic research.

1. The questions read as follows:
   "Please designate your estimate of how much you learned during this last quarter in this course from the lectures, the discussion section, and the readings." The alternatives for each component of the course were: (1) learned very much, (2) learned somewhat (3) learned very little, and (4) learned nothing.
   "Please designate how much you enjoyed the lectures, section, and readings." The alternatives for each component of the course were: (1) enjoyed very much, (2) enjoyed somewhat, (3) enjoyed very little, and (4) enjoyed not at all. See appendix C, questions 75 and 76 of the posttest. Admittedly, these questions were open to multiple interpretations on the part of the students. The questionnaire was not designed to provide a more in-depth analysis of the thoughts behind the reactions to these questions. In this investigation, it is assumed that the item on learning captures the amount of knowledge the student perceived as intake during the course. The enjoyment item, it is assumed, measures the degree that the student liked or disliked the course. These questions were completed before the final examination and the announcement of course grades.

2. A discussion of tau b is presented in appendix B. If the reactions to the readings are correlated without dichotomizing the reactions, the same pattern between control and experimental sections is found. Gamma for the control group is .87, while the gamma for the innovative sections is .78.

3. In each group, experimental or not, scores on enjoyment were slightly greater than the scores on perceived learning.

4. A short, concise review of the "Hawthorne effect" is presented in A. Etzioni, _Modern Organizations_ (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 32-35.

5. Separating the students into control and experimental groups, a moderate correlation was found with regard to perceived learning (gamma = -.46) and in enjoyment of section (gamma = -.56).

6. In displaying the evidence, section attended is dichotomized into experimental or control. Not only does this grouping create some order in the presentation of the data, but also disaggregating the experimental category does not differentiate students' responses to any item analyzed. There was not a single item presented either in this chapter or the next where the distribution of responses across all treatment groups was significant using chi square (.05) as the test of significance.

7. A more complete discussion of methods and statistics used in this analysis may be found in appendix B.

8. The remainder of the responses was: 32.5% disagree; 25.4% don't know; and 1.8% not ascertained. Candor requires recognizing some of the weaknesses of this question. First, the referent "teachers of government" is quite ambiguous. It is not clear if the teacher is a high school civics instructor, a university professor, or what. Second, it is difficult to tell if a negative response indicates doubt, skepticism, or cynicism. The question is to be considered a hueristic probe into feelings about the teaching of politics.

CHAPTER FIVE--THE EFFECT OF EXPERIMENTATION ON POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

This chapter is concerned with the impact of innovation on the political views of the students. In particular, the analysis will focus on whether a humanistic, democratic political orientation was transmitted to the students in the experimental sections. The central tenet of the humanistic, democratic model is a commitment to the value and importance of fellow humans especially in the political process. Ancillary features of this model would include a belief in the political competence of the average man, a feeling that the political system, as it currently operates, does not respond to the general populace, a dis-enchantment with current political leaders, a personal awareness about politics, a sense of personal efficacy in dealing with the political system, sympathy with those engaged in political activities geared to alter the system, and a personal identification with philosophical labels denoting change.[1]

Before proceeding to an analysis of the impact of the course on political views, the problem of confounding influences must be addressed. Specifically, to be determined is if any of the sections contained a disproportion number of students already inclined toward change. The questionnaire provided an indirect method of isolating changers. On the first questionnaire the students were to designate the religion they were brought up in and the religion they considered themselves now. In Table 5-1, those who changed their religious preference since childhood are crosstabulated with section. Eighty-four students had altered their religious identification, mostly joining the ranks of the nonbelievers. More importantly, the changers were not disproportionately found in any

Table 5-1. Change in religious preference with section controlled.

	Change N	Change %	Stable N	Stable %	Total N	Total %
Control	(15)	25.8%	(43)	74.2%	(58)	100.0%
Commercial films	(17)	37.7	(28)	62.3	(45)	100.0
Documentary films	(20)	32.2	(42)	67.8	(62)	100.0
Research project	(16)	29.6	(38)	70.4	(54)	100.0
Problem solving	(10)	24.3	(31)	75.7	(41)	100.0
Music	(6)	30.0	(14)	70.0	(20)	100.0

x^2 : p not significant at the .05 level

one section, or unequally distributed between the control group and the combined experimental sections.

Returning to the relationship between experimentation and political orientations, the evidence to be presented centers on the rate and direction of change on a variety of political views. The major independent variable is the type of section attended by the student. All of the tables in this chapter are constructed to show the amount of change on an item, the relationship between innovation and alteration, and the direction of the movement.[2]

As a prelude to the complete analysis of the impact of experimentation on various orientations, it is interesting to note that about 63% of the students said they felt their attitudes had changed during the Spring quarter.[3] Close to 90% of those who perceived alteration attributed at least some of this change to the course. Perceived change and the feeling that the course had some bearing in the alteration were not related to section exposure. In other words, the experimental stimuli did not appear to be responsible for the students' subjective feeling of change in political attitudes. The next task is to investigate the reaction of the students on specific measures of their attitudes.

<u>Commitment to humanistic democracy.</u> The initial investigation concerns the movement of students toward a commitment to humanism and to democracy. Two rather crude indicators were used to detect a shift in this direction.

A humanistic orientation would be suggested if the students agreed with the statement that "human nature was fundamentally cooperative." Reactions to this proposition are presented in Table 5-2. Several points

Table 5-2. "Human Nature is Fundamentally Cooperative."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	22.0%	15.5%	20.7%
No change	52.7	62.1	54.6
Negative change	19.4	17.2	18.9
Not ascertained	5.8	5.1	5.7
Totals	(222) 99.9%**	(58) 99.9%**	(280) 99.9%**
Net proportion of change	+2.6%	-1.7%	+1.8%

C.R. = .55 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .06

* "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to agree with this statement or shifted from disagreement to "don't know/ depends."

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

are noteworthy. In the first place around 45% of the students changed their view of human nature. Secondly, alteration in this view was slightly associated with experimentation; the relationship, however, is very weak (tau b = .06).[4] Finally, the movement of change was not unidirectional. The changers, regardless of whether they were exposed to innovative teaching or not, were, in general, equally moved to a positive and negative reaction to human nature.

To detect a general commitment to democracy, the students were asked a question about community decision-making. Among the four choices

-130-

provided, two alternatives could be interpreted as democratic orienta-
tions. Those students who moved to feel that mass participation or
consensus were to be given priority in decision-making were considered
to have altered to favor democracy. About 30 per cent (Table 5-3) of

Table 5-3. A Commitment to Democratic Community Decision-Making.*

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	13.9%	6.9%	12.5%
No change	66.4	77.6	69.0
Negative change	10.7	8.6	10.4
Not ascertained	9.0	6.8	8.2
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 99.9%***(280)	100.1%***
Net proportion of change	+3.2%	-1.7%	+2.1%

C.R. = .20 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.03

* The question read as follows:
  "Suppose there was a very serious problem in your community,
  which affected, in one way or another, most people in that
  community. In deciding on a public policy for dealing with
  the problem, which of the following concerns should be given
  most consideration? Participation in the deliberations by all
  concerned; following the recommendations of experts in the
  area; the speed with which the policy is to be arrived at;
  achieving consensus or near-consensus on what the policy
  should be."

** "Positive change" was a combination of those considering full
  participation and consensus as first priority in community
  decision-making. A move from following the advice of experts
  or from wanting speed to participation or consensus was scored
  "positive change."

*** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

the students changed their position on this matter. The direction of
change, however, did not tend toward valuing democratic methods of com-
munity decision-making. These findings are at odds with the proposition
that experimentation, alone, would lead to a greater concern for dem-
ocracy.

-131-

<u>Attitudes toward human competence in politics.</u> Those committed to a humanistic, democratic philosophy would probably be very optimistic about the ability of the average man to engage in politics. Four items from the questionnaires are analyzed to trace any change in this direction among the students.

Table 5-4 reveals that between 43 and 53 per cent of the students changed their views about the political competence of men. The direction of this shift was not consistent. While changers tended to feel that intelligence was not an important criterion for voting, they also were slightly more likely to feel that the average man couldn't fathom the

Table 5-4. Feelings about Human Competence in Politics.
"Most people don't have enough sense to pick their leaders wisely."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	18.0%	15.5%	17.4%
No change	50.4	53.4	51.4
Negative change	27.4	29.2	27.9
Not ascertained	4.0	1.9	3.4
Totals	(222) 99.8%***(58)	100.0% (280)	100.1%***
Net proportion of change	-9.4%	-13.7%	-10.5%

C.R. = .43 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .02

"The main trouble with democracy is that most people really don't know what is best for them."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	16.6%	27.6%	18.9%
No change	53.6	43.1	51.4
Negative change	24.2	27.6	24.8
Not ascertained	5.4	1.7	4.7
Totals	(222) 99.8%***(58)	100.0% (280)	99.8%***
Net proportion of change	-7.6	0.0%	-5.9%

C.R. = .77(p not significant at .05 level)   Tau b = -.08

Table 5-4. continued

"People should be allowed to vote even if they cannot do so intelligently."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	30.5%	29.3%	30.4%
No change	47.7	48.9	47.9
Negative change	17.1	13.8	15.0
Not ascertained	4.9	8.0	6.5
Totals	(222) 100.2%***	(58) 100.0%	(280) 99.8%***

Net proportion of
change   +13.4%   +15.5%   +15.4%

C.R. = .20 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.01

"Politics and government are so complicated that the average man cannot really understand what is going on."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	14.4%	22.4%	15.3%
No change	57.8	50.0	57.1
Negative change	22.0	22.4	22.1
Not ascertained	5.8	5.1	5.4
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 99.9%***	(280) 99.9%***

Net proportion of
change   -7.6%   0.0%   -6.8%

C.R. = .82 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.06

* "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to disagree with the statement or shifted from agree to "don't know/ depends."

** Positive change refers to those students who moved to agree with the statement or shifted from disagreement to "don't know/ depends."

*** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

complexities of politics, was unable to choose his political leaders with wisdom, and was in the dark when it came to knowing what was in his best interest. Both rate of change and the pattern of alteration were similar for all students. Hence, again, experimentation had no discernable impact on resocializing the students to value humanistic democracy.

Influence of people in the political process. In rank ordering the important factors that shape the political process today, the person committed to humanism and democracy would probably not assign the primary position to the influence of the masses. Either from a correct assessment of the elitist nature of American politics or out of a fervent desire to increase further the political importance of all men, the democratic humanist would likely contend that the average man has little say in the political process. He would probably argue that other factors, such as money, were more instrumental in politics. Indeed, he would likely hold that the leaders manipulated the masses, instead of vice-versa. Table 5-5 presents information about the movement of students toward the views attributed to the democratic, humanistic perspective.

Change ranged from a third to close to a majority of the students, depending on the item. The amount of change was not a product of section attended. Directionally, the shifters rather consistently were more likely to approach the outlook of the democratic, humanistic model. Yet the data suggest that this pattern had very little to do with whether the student was exposed to experimental teaching techniques or not.

Table 5-5. Attitudes about the Importance of People in Politics.

"Generally voting determines how the government will act."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	24.3%	31.0%	26.6%
No change	52.3	46.6	51.4
Negative change	19.8	17.3	18.1
Not ascertained	3.6	5.1	4.0
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.1%***
Net proportion of change	+4.5%	+13.7%	+8.5%

C.R. = .94 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.05

"People really have very little control over what happens in government."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	25.2%	32.8%	26.7%
No change	55.9	53.4	55.3
Negative change	13.9	10.3	13.2
Not ascertained	4.9	3.4	4.8
Totals	(222) 99.9%***	(58) 99.9%***	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+11.3%	+22.5%	+13.5%

C.R. = 1.20 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.02

Table 5-5. continued

"Money is the most important factor in influencing public policies."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	21.1%	29.3%	22.9%
No change	54.1	43.1	51.4
Negative change	20.6	22.3	21.1
Not ascertained	4.0	5.1	4.6
Totals	(222) 99.8%***	(58) 99.8%***	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+.5%	+7.0%	+1.8%

C.R. = .65 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.09

"People are frequently manipulated by politicians."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	17.9%	19.0%	17.5%
No change	69.2	56.9	67.1
Negative change	8.9	22.4	11.8
Not ascertained	4.0	1.7	3.6
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+9.0%	-3.4%	+5.7%

C.R. = .70 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .11

* "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to disagree with the statement or shifted from agreement to "don't know/ depends."

** "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to agree with the statement or shifted from disagreement to don't know/ depends."

*** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

<u>Feelings about political leaders</u>. Skepticism, if not outright cynicism,

toward the political leaders would probably mark the ideology of human-

ism and democracy. In Table 5-6, data concerning the students' reactions

to political leaders are displayed.

Table 5-6. Attitudes toward political leaders.
"Politicians represent the general interest more than they
represent special interests."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	8.9%	25.8%	12.5%
No change	48.8	44.8	47.9
Negative change	37.7	24.1	35.0
Not ascertained	4.5	5.1	4.6
Totals	(222) 99.9%***	(58) 99.8%***	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	-28.8%	+1.7%	-22.5%

C.R. = 2.79 (p significant at the .003 level)
Tau b = -.04

"Politicians spend most of their time trying to get
reelected."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	30.1%	17.1%	27.5%
No change	53.3	65.5	55.7
Negative change	11.7	15.5	12.5
Not ascertained	4.9	1.7	4.3
Totals	(222) 100.0	(58) 99.8%***	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+18.4%	+1.6%	+15.0%

C.R. = 1.89 (p significant at the .03 level)
Tau b = .10

Table 5-6 continued.
"A large number of city and county politicians are political
hacks."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	18.1%	15.4%	17.5%
No change	59.9	58.6	59.6
Negative change	16.6	18.9	17.1
Not ascertained	5.4	6.8	5.7
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 99.7%***(	280) 99.9%***

Net proportion of
change   +1.5%   -3.5%   -.4%

C.R. = .22 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.01

"The trouble with American politics is that the higher you
go, the greater the necessity to 'sell out' your political
principles."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	29.1%	32.8%	30.0%
No change	51.1	48.3	50.4
Negative change	15.8	15.5	15.7
Not ascertained	4.0	3.4	3.9
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.0%

Net proportion of
change   +13.2%   +17.5%   +14.3%

C.R. = .43 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.02

*   "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to dis-
agree with the statement or shifted from agreement to "don't
know/depends."

**   "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to agree
with the statement or shifted from disagreement to "don't
know/depends."

*** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

-138-

On each item measuring orientations toward political leaders a large amount of change (from 40 to 52 per cent) occurred during the Spring quarter. There is some suggestion that experimentation differentiated the students who shifted views, but the analysis is complex. Students exposed to innovative teaching varied from their control counterparts on what the politician represented--special or general interests--and whether he spent most of his time in the pursuit of electoral victory. But the direction of the shifting views of the experimental students approached democratic humanism only on the item regarding concern for re-election. Moreover, experimentation had no differential impact on the rate or direction of change concerning whether the political leader was a "political hack" or was prone to "sell-out" his political principles the higher he ascended in the political order. Hence there is only a sprinkling of evidence pointing to an important role of experimentation in pushing students to a negative appraisal of the political elite.

Personal relationship with the political system. A democratic political system probably requires a citizenry that is both aware of politics and feels efficacious in dealing with political actors and political institutions. At this point evidence pertaining to the movement of the students in these directions is presented.

On both the pre and the posttest the students were asked to indicate how much effect the activities of government at the local, state, and federal level had on their everyday life. At the conclusion of the course 34 to 44 per cent of the students changed their scores on awareness of governmental activities (Table 5-7). The relationship between

type of section and change is very weak. There is a minute hint that change, regardless of section, was contrary to a democratic model and in the direction of lessened awareness.

Table 5-7. Effect of local, state, and federal government.

Los Angeles:

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	18.9%	15.5%	18.4%
No change	54.1	60.3	55.4
Negative change	22.5	17.3	21.5
Not ascertained	4.5	6.8	5.0
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 99.9%**(280)	100.3%**
Net proportion of change	-3.6%	-1.8%	-3.1%

C.R. = .18 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .04

California:

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	15.8%	13.8%	15.4%
No change	60.4	63.8	61.1
Negative change	18.2	13.8	17.6
Not ascertained	5.4	8.5	6.1
Totals	(222) 99.8%**	(58) 99.9%**(280)	100.2%**
Net proportion of change	-2.4%	0.0%	-2.2%

C.R. = .27 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .02

Table 5-7 continued.

Federal:

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	10.0%	15.5%	10.8%
No change	63.1	53.4	61.1
Negative change	21.1	24.1	22.0
Not ascertained	5.8	6.8	6.2
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 99.8%**(280)	100.1%**
Net proportion of change	-11.1%	-8.6%	-11.2%

C.R. = .29 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.07

* "Positive change" refers to those students who changed to
   believe that the governments of Los Angeles, California,
   and at the Federal level had some or great impact on their
   day to day lives.

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

It is difficult to assign a position to the democratic, humanistic

ideology regarding importance of the individual in dealing with polit-

ical leaders and institutions. On the one hand, it could be contended

that such interactions, given the reality of the political system, will

have the result of frustration and poor treatment for the citizen.

Conversely, a democratic humanist might value and encourage a sense of

efficacy when interacting with actors in the political process on the

ground that without such orientations feelings of apathy, not feelings

of activism and competence, would result. The goal of experimentation

was directed toward this second view of political efficacy. It was

hoped that the students would come to be critical of the current role

of the masses in the political process, but not to the point of not

-141-

having a sense of political efficacy.

Political efficacy was operationally defined as the feeling that one could influence governmental policy-making and the feeling that one would be treated considerately and equally by governmental authorities. Tables 5-8, 5-9, and 5-10 present evidence on the impact of the course on personal political efficacy.

The first indicator of political competence involved the students' feelings about their ability to change a policy (local, state, and federal) that they considered to be unjust or harmful. As may be seen in Table 5-8, the range of change in perceived political competence was between some 25 and 42 per cent. In general, change was not a result of experimentation. Additionally, the direction of alteration was mixed and not related to teaching technique. Clearly, experimenting did not

Table 5-8. Personal political efficacy.
"How likely is it that you would change a policy passed by the city government of Los Angeles which you considered unjust or harmful?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	12.6%	17.2%	13.6%
No change	58.1	58.6	58.2
Negative change	24.7	22.4	24.3
Not ascertained	4.5	1.7	4.0
Totals	(222) 99.9%**	(58) 99.9%**	(280) 100.1%**
Net proportion of change	-12.1%	-5.2%	-10.7%

C.R. = .74 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .001

-142-

Table 5-8 continued.
"How likely is it that you could change a policy passed by the
state government of California which you considered unjust or
harmful?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	9.0%	10.3%	9.3%
No change	67.6	79.3	70.0
Negative change	19.7	8.6	17.5
Not ascertained	3.6	1.7	3.3
Totals	(222) 99.9%**	(58) 99.9%**	(280) 100.1%**
Net proportion of change	-10.7%	+1.7%	-8.2%

C.R. = 1.18 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .11

"How likely is it that you could change a policy passed by the
Federal government which you considered unjust or harmful?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	8.5%	12.1%	9.3%
No change	74.8	79.3	75.7
Negative change	12.2	6.9	11.4
Not ascertained	4.5	1.7	3.6
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	-3.7%	+5.2%	-2.1%

C.R. = .36 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .02

* "Positive change" refers to those students who moved from a
position of at least somewhat unlikely to somewhat likely to
change a policy of these governments.

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

promote feelings of competence in the students.

The students were also to note the type of reaction that they

expected when interacting with administrative agencies at the three

levels of government and with the police. Specifically, they were to

indicate how much attention they expected these officials to pay to their point of view and if they felt that they would be treated equally.

Many students altered their expectation of consideration by administrative agencies and, especially, by the police (Table 5-9). In the case of the police almost 79 per cent of the students changed their feelings about the amount of attention the police would pay to their point of view. In general, alteration in these orientations was not related to experimentation. Moreover, the direction of the shift in views was not related to section. For all changers the direction in feelings about the administrative agencies slightly tended toward expecting less consideration. On the other hand, the majority of shifters, irrespective of section, were moved to expect more consideration by the police.

A number of students (around 38%) altered their expectations of equal treatment from administrative units and the police (Table 5-10). There is little to suggest that change in this area was associated with innovation. The direction of change in both groups was more toward expecting equal treatment or toward a feeling that it depended on the agency or situation. This pattern applied to the administrative units of all three levels of government and to the police.

Feelings about others. The democratic, humanist would probably hold feelings of empathy, sympathy, and, at least, concern for those who are not in the mainstream of society. Included in this deviating group, and the referents used in operationalizing this concern with the less advantage, are the poor, racial and ethnic minorities, and the criminally suspicious.

Table 5-9. Expected consideration from governmental agencies.

a. Los Angeles administrative agency:

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	10.8%	19.0%	12.5%
No change	63.1	56.9	61.8
Negative change	19.8	19.0	19.7
Not ascertained	6.3	5.1	6.1
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.1%**
Net proportion of change	-9.0%	0.0%	-7.2%

C.R. = 1.05 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.04

b. Police:

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	43.2%	43.1%	43.2%
No change	21.8	25.9	22.3
Negative change	28.7	27.6	28.6
Not ascertained	6.3	3.4	5.9
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+14.5%	+15.5%	+14.6%

C.R. = .23 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .03

Table 5-9 continued.

c. California administrative agency:

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	9.9%	18.9%	11.1%
No change	59.0	43.1	56.4
Negative change	24.8	32.7	26.4
Not ascertained	6.3	5.1	6.1
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 99.8%**(280)	100.0%
Net proportion of change	-14.9%	-13.8%	-15.3%

C.R. = .12 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.12

d. Federal administrative agency:

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	9.4%	22.4%	12.0%
No change	53.6	50.0	52.9
Negative change	30.4	22.4	29.3
Not ascertained	6.3	5.1	6.0
Totals	(222) 99.7%**	(58) 99.9%**(280)	100.2%**
Net proportion of change	-21.0%	0.0%	-17.3%

C.R. = 2.23   (p significant at the .01 level)
Tau b = -.02

* "Positive change" refers to any increase, i.e., from "no" to "a little" or "serious," or from "a little" to "serious," in the amount of consideration expected from these agencies.

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

-146-

Table 5-10. Expected treatment by governmental agencies.

a. Los Angeles administrative agency:

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	19.5%	17.1%	19.0%
No change	59.0	71.7	61.4
Negative change	15.5	9.5	13.9
Not ascertained	6.2	1.7	5.5
Totals	(222) 100.2%**	(58) 100.0%	(280) 99.8%**
Net proportion of change	+4.0%	+7.6%	+5.1%

C.R. = .40 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .10

b. police:

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	26.7%	25.8%	26.8%
No change	57.7	65.5	59.3
Negative change	11.5	6.9	10.1
Not ascertained	4.0	1.7	3.8
Totals	(222) 99.9%**	(58) 99.9%**	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+15.2%	+18.7%	+16.7%

C.R. = .40 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .06

Table 5-10 continued.

c. California administrative agency:

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	16.6%	19.7%	17.2%
No change	60.8	67.2	62.1
Negative change	16.6	11.2	15.5
Not ascertained	5.8	1.7	5.1
Totals	(222) 99.8%**	(58) 99.8%**	(280) 99.9%**
Net proportion of change	0.0%	+8.5%	+1.7%

C.R. = 1.00 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .06

d. Federal administrative agency:

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	17.5%	18.8%	17.8%
No change	60.4	72.4	62.9
Negative change	16.2	6.8	14.2
Not ascertained	5.8	1.7	5.1
Totals	(222) 99.9%**	(58) 99.7%**	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+1.3%	+12.0%	+3.6%

C.R. = 1.20 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .10

* "Positive change" refers to those who moved to expect equal treatment or from not expecting equal treatment to "depends on agency."

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

-148-

Changers (around 37 per cent of the students) appear to be more willing to accept specific governmental intervention to ensure a good standard of living for all, even if it would mean providing a guaranteed income, than to sound the call for a general move toward socialism (Table 5-11). Moreover, changers were closely divided on the proposition that poverty was inevitable and immutable. In short, direction of change was not completely in the direction of concern for the poor. There is no evidence to suggest that this pattern of alteration was related to teaching techniques.

Turning to the items concerning racial and ethnic minorities (Table 5-12), the students who shifted their views (some 40 per cent) were more likely (1) to feel that "...America is a racist country," (2) to question the equality of treatment accorded to a poor white or a "non-white" by the police, but (3) to be divided on the desirability of having racially balanced schools instead of maintaining the neighborhood school concept. Movement, again, had relatively little to do with section attended.

Lastly, approximately 30 per cent of the students changed their minds about criminals and persons suspected of crimes (Table 5-13). There is a slight tendency for the changers to become more concerned with the welfare of the criminally suspicious. Change, however, was not the result of classroom experiences.

Orientations about the activities of demonstrators and militants.

Those imbued with a humanistic, democratic perspective would probably be inclined to support the activities of people engaging in behavior designed to change extant political policies. In this section,

-149-

Table 5-11. Feelings about the economic condition of the poor. "There will always be poverty so we might as well get used to the idea."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	16.2%	12.0%	15.3%
No change	67.6	63.1	66.8
Negative change	12.1	18.9	13.5
Not ascertained	4.0	6.0	4.4
Totals	(222) 99.9%***	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+4.1%	-6.9%	+1.8%

C.R. = 1.27 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.03

"The government ought to make sure that everyone has a good standard of living."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	22.5%	19.0%	21.8%
No change	62.2	63.8	62.5
Negative change	8.9	13.8	10.0
Not ascertained	6.3	3.4	5.8
Totals	(222) 99.9%***	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.1%***
Net proportion of change	+13.6%	+5.2%	+11.8%

C.R. = 1.01 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .01

Table 5-11 continued.
"The government should provide a guaranteed income to all Americans."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	24.4%	23.4%	23.9%
No change	63.5	58.6	62.5
Negative change	7.6	14.6	9.3
Not ascertained	4.5	3.4	4.3
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+16.8%	+8.8%	+14.6%

C.R. = 1.30 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.03

"Some form of socialism is necessary to achieve a true democracy."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	16.1%	12.0%	15.4%
No change	62.6	62.1	62.5
Negative change	16.6	20.6	17.5
Not ascertained	4.5	5.1	4.7
Totals	(222) 99.8%***	(58) 99.8%***	(280) 100.1%***
Net proportion of change	-.5%	-8.6%	-2.1%

C.R. = .93 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.01

* "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to dis-agree with the statement or shifted from disagreement to "don't know/depends."

** "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to agree with the statement or shifted from disagreement to "don't know/depends."

*** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

Table 5-12. Feelings about the status of racial minorities.
"In general, America is a racist country."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	21.9%	29.3%	23.4%
No change	65.8	56.9	63.9
Negative change	8.0	10.3	8.6
Not ascertained	4.1	3.4	3.9
Totals	(222) 99.8%***	(58) 99.9%***	(280) 99.8%***
Net proportion of change	+13.9%	+19.0%	+14.8%

C.R. = .62 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.07

"It is more important to have racially balanced schools than to protect the idea of neighborhood schools."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	21.2%	15.8%	19.6%
No change	58.6	56.5	57.9
Negative change	15.7	22.6	17.8
Not ascertained	4.5	5.1	4.7
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 100.0%	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+5.5%	-6.8%	+1.8%

C.R. = 1.32 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.01

Table 5-12 continued.
"In general, do you think a non-white or a poor white person receives equal treatment from the police with that accorded to a middle class white?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	25.5%	18.9%	24.3%
No change	59.9	63.8	60.7
Negative change	7.6	13.8	9.0
Not ascertained	6.8	3.4	6.1
Totals	(222) 99.8%***	(58) 99.9%***	(280) 100.1%***
Net proportion of change	+17.9%	+5.1%	+15.3%

C.R. = 1.52 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .04

* "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to agree with the statement or shifted from disagreement to "don't know/depends."

** "Positive change" refers to those who moved in any way, i.e., from "sometimes" to "rarely" or "never" or from "usually" to "sometimes," "never" or "rarely;" to not agree with the statement.

*** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

Table 5-13. Feelings about criminals and suspects.
"It seems that the courts are concerned with protecting criminals
at the expense of society's welfare."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	17.5%	22.3%	18.6%
No change	68.4	60.3	66.6
Negative change	8.9	12.0	9.7
Not ascertained	5.1	5.2	5.1
Totals	(222) 99.9%**	(58) 99.8%**(280)	100.0%
Net proportion of change	+8.6%	+10.3%	+8.9%

C.R. = .21 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.07

"Any person who hides behind the laws when he is being
questioned by the police does not deserve much consideration."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	14.8%	12.0%	14.3%
No change	70.7	75.9	71.8
Negative change	8.9	8.6	8.9
Not ascertained	5.4	3.4	5.0
Totals	(222) 99.8%**	(58) 99.9%**(280)	100.0%
Net proportion of change	+5.9%	+3.4%	+5.4%

C.R. = .34 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .04

* "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to
  disagree with the statement or shifted from agreement to
  "don't know/depends."

** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

change in orientations about demonstrators, militants, and some of their strategies is investigated (Table 5-14).

The rate of change in feelings about political activists and their tactics varied from a low of 20 per cent concerning the free speech of black militants to a high of 52 per cent on the item measuring if it were wrong for government officials to photograph demonstrators. There was a slight tendency for changers in the experimental sections to be more moved to support   activists and their tactics than the shifters in the control group who exhibited a more mixed reaction toward these referents. Yet, statistically, this relationship between change toward a democratic, humanist perspective and section was significant only on the item tapping feelings about black militants making public speeches. Philosophical identification. The final political orientation to be analyzed concerns the self-rating of the student's political philosophy. In accord with a humanistic, democratic perspective it would be expected that any shift in philosophical identification would occur in the experimental group and be in the direction of radicalism or at least liberalism. The data testing these hypotheses are presented in Table 5-15.

Two questions were asked about philosophical identification. The first was simply a yes, no item regarding whether the student felt he had a political philosophy. At the end of the course 20 per cent of the students showed instability on this dimension. More change was found in the control group, who, contrary to expectation, was more likely to adopt a political philosophy than the experimental group. Results from the second item concerning direction in the change of political philosophy reveal that shifting to radicalism or liberalism

-155-

Table 5-14. Feelings about militants, demonstrators, and some militant strategies.
"These days it is usually better to prohibit black militants from making public speeches."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	13.0%	5.1%	11.4%
No change	79.3	82.8	80.0
Negative change	5.0	10.3	6.0
Not ascertained	2.7	1.7	2.5
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 99.9%***(280)	99.9%***
Net proportion of change	+8.0%	-5.2%	+5.4%

C.R. = 2.21 (p significant at the .02 level)
Tau b = .03

"It is not wrong for government officials to take photographs of individuals participating in a demonstration."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	27.2%	24.2%	26.3%
No change	48.2	46.6	47.9
Negative change	19.8	22.5	20.3
Not ascertained	4.9	6.8	5.4
Totals	(222) 100.1%***	(58) 100.1%***(280)	99.9%***
Net proportion of change	+7.4%	+1.7%	+6.0%

C.R. = .78 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.02

Table 5-14 continued.
"A public high school teacher who organizes demonstrations and strikes should be dismissed."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	20.6%	27.5%	22.2%
No change	61.8	55.7	60.4
Negative change	12.5	13.7	12.9
Not ascertained	4.9	3.4	4.7
Totals	(222) 99.8%***	(58) 100.3%***(280)	100.2%***
Net proportion of change	+8.1%	+13.8%	+9.3%

C.R. = .77 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.05

"People who advocate revolutionary change in the form of our government should be allowed to hold public meetings at all times."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	20.8%	24.0%	21.5%
No change	62.2	65.5	62.9
Negative change	11.2	8.5	10.8
Not ascertained	5.8	1.7	5.0
Totals	(222) 100.0%	(58) 99.7%***(280)	100.2%***
Net proportion of change	+9.6%	+15.5%	+10.7%

C.R. = 1.00 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = .03

Table 5-14 continued.
"There are times when it almost seems better for people to
take the law into their own hands rather than wait for the
machinery of government to act."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	23.3%	29.3%	24.7%
No change	56.3	55.2	56.1
Negative change	14.4	10.3	13.6
Not ascertained	5.8	5.1	5.8
Totals	(222) 99.8%***	(58) 99.9%***	(280) 100.2%***
Net proportion of change	+8.9%	+19.0%	+11.1%

C.R. = 1.13 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.01

"At times it seems that violence is the only way to get the
government moving."

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change**	15.2%	25.8%	18.2%
No change	66.7	58.6	65.0
Negative change	13.5	12.0	12.5
Not ascertained	4.5	3.4	4.3
Totals	(222) 99.9%***	(58) 99.8%***	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+1.7%	+13.8%	+5.7%

C.R. = 1.41(p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.06

* "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to
disagree with the statement or shifted from agreement to
"don't know/depends."

** "Positive change" refers to those students who moved to
agree with the statement or shifted from disagreement to
"don't know/ depends."

*** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

-158-

Table 5-15. Identification with a political philosophy.
"Do you have a political philosophy?"

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change (no to yes)	7.6%	17.2%	9.6%
No change	81.1	75.9	80.0
Negative change (yes to no)	5.8	3.4	5.4
Not ascertained	5.4	3.4	5.0
Totals	(222) 99.9%***	(58) 99.9%***	(280) 100.0%
Net proportion of change	+1.6%	+13.8%	+4.2%

C.R. = 2.10 (p significant at the .02 level)
Tau b = -.05

Direction of change in political philosophy.

	Experimental	Control	Total
Positive change*	12.6%	10.3%	11.8%
No change	63.1	63.1	63.1
Negative change	4.1	3.4	3.9
Not ascertained**	20.3	23.1	20.9
Totals	(222) 100.1%***	(58) 99.9%***(280)	99.7%***
Net proportion of change	+8.5%	+6.9%	+7.9%

C.R. = .27 (p not significant at the .05 level)
Tau b = -.009

* "Positive change" refers to students who moved to call themselves "liberal" or "radical" from "conservative" or "can't describe it in words."

** The not ascertained category is mainly composed of students who moved to other labels such as moderate and middle of the road.

*** Column does not sum to 100% because of rounding error.

-159-

was most common. This pattern of change, though, was not associated with experimental teaching.

<u>Overview</u>

Three general conclusions emerged from the data presented in this chapter. In the first place, a substantial amount of change in political orientations was discovered. The range of alteration was from 20 to 78 per cent depending on the item. Secondly, the amount of change noticed was not associated with section attended. There was only a slight suggestion of a relationship evident; yet, the strength of association never attained much magnitude. Thirdly, the direction of movement among the changers was not unequivocally toward a humanistic, democratic set of beliefs. Movement was not, in general, in any uniform direction.

It is quite clear that the experimental stimuli introduced in the curriculum did not have much, if any, impact on altering the political orientations of the students. The change noted in the students cannot be explained by the innovative techniques utilized. Before concluding this chapter speculation on some of the possible sources of change is appropriate.

In the first place, the amount of change uncovered might be illusionary. The basis of this deception lies in the possibility that students were not changing orientations but simply altering marks on the questionnaires. It has been found that low test-retest scores on the same items may not be the result of attitude change but an indication of the absence on the part of the respondents of any fixed notion about an item.[5] What might happen in testing the same respondent at various times is the multiple measurement of a nonexistent state of mind.

This corrective should sensitize the researcher against overstating actual change in orientations. Nevertheless, change in viewpoints might be a verdical finding. A study finding alteration among college students, for instance, has a greater likelihood of being a correct assessment of change in views than an investigation of other populations. The problem of measuring a non-orientation, or to use Converse's term a "non-attitude," is less likely to occur in research conducted among the college educated.[6]

Assuming that change among the students was not a mirage, one possible source for alteration is the impact of the overall course. The findings reported above do not rule out the possibility that the course might have been instrumental in shifts in views. All that has been discounted is the likelihood that experimentation was at the base of alteration. The across-section change could have been the result of the general course environment. The research design did not permit the adequate testing of this potential relationship. The impact of the course could have been empirically measured if a group of students not in the course had been given the pre and posttest during the spring. A cross sectional sampling of UCLA students would have been an appropriate baseline facilitating a measurement of movement both inside and outside the walls of the classroom.

Finally, the roots of change found among the students might be grounded in terrain not related to the course at all. Likely candidates for creating change are the political atmosphere affecting the students, the intimate environment (parents and friends) of the student, and psychological variables within the student. Testing these matters is beyond the scope of this project.

-161-

NOTES CHAPTER 5

1. The literature relevant to this model and a more extensive
   discussion of the model are found in Chapter three, pp. 95-96.

2. A discussion of the methodological procedures followed in
   constructing the tables is found in appendix B.

3. The students were asked on the posttest: "Do you feel that any
   of your political attitudes changed during this quarter?"
   Possible answers were "yes, no, don't know." The students were
   then asked: "If 'yes', did this course have any bearing on the
   change?" The possible responses were: "great bearing, slight
   bearing, no bearing, don't know."

4. The innovative sections are combined under the label "experimental."
   There are two reasons for this classification. First, it creates
   some order in data presentation. Second, disaggregating the
   category into individual sections does not produce any different
   interpretation than combining the innovative groups.

5. See P. Converse, "Attitudes and Non-Attitudes: Continuation of a
   Dialogue," in E. Tufte (ed.), The Quantitative Analysis of Social
   Problems (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1970), pp. 168-189.

6. Ibid., p. 178.

CONCLUSION

In this discussion of experimental education in political science, many different topics were presented. The terrain covered included the following points: an historical analysis of the concern among American political scientists for the teaching of sociopolitical values to undergraduates; an inventory of empirical insights into the impact of educational experiences on the college campus on political orientations; a methodological and substantive discourse on the use of experimentation in studying the relationship between classroom experience and student reactions; and, a presentation of evidence collected in a study of the influence of innovative teaching on the educational and political views of students enrolled in an introductory course in American politics. A common dimension in this report has been the concern with educational policies. In particular, the thrust of this project has been directed both at some understanding of the effects of experimental education on the students and the development of some thoughts about improvement in this area.

A major premise of this approach to educational policy is that description and prescription are enhanced by a multiple analysis of the subject area under scrutiny. That is, to grasp the problem of innovation in the introductory course in American politics, historical trends, relevant empirical discoveries, development of means and goals facilitating the measurement and accomplishment of change, are all important. From each topic discussed the following points help in constructing insights into policy-making in this area of education.

1. Political scientists have historically been interested in the

use of the classroom, especially with regard to the basic course, to influence political orientations. One position has stressed the need to develop a democratic citizen out of the undergraduate. Conversely, others in the profession have seriously questioned the propriety of socializing students. Instead, they have offered that courses are to emphasize the improvement of the cerebral qualities of the student. Moreover, opponents of the teacher-citizenship training role have cast doubt upon the empirical likelihood that coursework in political science can alter political views.

Recently, a new voice has expressed the desire that courses in political science be geared to the sociopolitical values of the students. The origins of this appeal mostly resides in some students who find a purely cognitive approach to politics to be dull and not to provide insight into politics. Instead, it has been offered, the curriculum should be constructed with the students foremost in mind. The result would be an educational process producing interested, enlightened, and creative students. This position has made limited inroads into the curriculum policies or recommendations of political science faculty and administrators.

2. There is substantial evidence that indicates that college experience directly influences political viewpoints. In particular, university matriculation, especially in recent years, is related to sociopolitical liberalism. Some hesitation in crediting college with causation comes in facing this generation of young people. It might be that this current generation is more similar in political views regardless of educational differences than older generations; this is still an open question.

-164-

The evidence about the impact of political science courses on political orientations is mixed. Some studies suggest that coursework, even experimental teaching, has relatively no impact on changing political views. Courses in politics, though, might accentuate political perspectives and, also, reinforce the political values of some students. Moreover, there is a limited amount of data suggesting that courses requiring an intense, personal involvement of the students in actual politics do reshape, or at least are more likely to affect, the political orientations of the students.

3. The experimental method is a useful device to measure the effect of innovative teaching on students. The researcher is able to introduce experimental stimuli under conditions allowing control over the study environment. By utilizing questionnaires to collect information before and after the manipulations of the experimenter, inferences about the relative impact of the stimuli introduced is facilitated.

In this study students were divided into six groups: one control condition and five experimental treatments. The students in the experimental contingent were exposed to a variety of pedagogical stimuli including films, field observations of politics, and music. Questionnaires designed to tap the educational and political reactions of the students to the course were administered at the beginning and again at the conclusion of the quarter.

There were two overall goals in introducing this experimental curriculum. Firstly, the innovative techniques were selected to improve the educational response of students to coursework in political science. Secondly, the experimental teaching tools were employed to socialize the students to a political perspective stressing a commitment to

-165-

humanistic democracy. The experimental stimuli would promote these goals, it was hypothesized, if they introduced students to politics through making coursework a personal experience.

4. The first goal of the experiment was to facilitate a favorable appraisal of the course on the part of the students in the experimental group. To a large extent, this goal was accomplished. The students exposed to innovative teaching were much more positive about their discussion section—the focus of the experiment. The favorable evaluation of the lecture across experimental and nonexperimental groups suggests that the students desire to have a structured, formal presentation that stresses cognitive transmission of knowledge. One possible casuality of innovation appears to be the affective rating of the readings.

The effects of experimentation were limited to the immediate classroom environment. Other educational orientations were not much affected by the innovative techniques utilized.

5. The experimental stimuli did not promote the goal of inculcating a democratic, humanistic orientation toward sociopolitical matters. These findings are in line with previous research suggesting that formal coursework in political science does not resocialize the political orientations of students.

On virtually every view investigated a large number of students did alter their position during the period of the course. The research design was not suited to test if the course, in general, had an impact on change in political orientations. Many students who perceived a change in political attitudes in the spring attributed at least some of this alteration to the course. It is clear, though, that the

experimental materials per se were not the crucial variables in this perceived pattern.

This research has again documented the lack of impact of formal coursework in political science in resocializing the political views of students. Even teaching methods that are designed to be innovative and to capture the political interests of the students were unable to alter their political orientations. Should it be concluded that the university classroom may never serve as a channel for the successful inculcation of political ideology? Should ideologues seek other settings to attempt to attract a following? To approach answering these questions requires some idea of why political views of students appear beyond the reach of curricular forces.

In the first place, it may be that the teaching techniques used in this and other studies were not novel enough to engage the political concerns of the students. The themes presented in the music and in the films and the focus on power politics might be redundant to an already sophisticated audience of students. This explanation assumes that the message transmitted through the innovative teaching devices was a replica of cues and views already communicated to the students from socializing agents outside of the classroom environment. Also implicit is the proposition that formal curriculum might yet be a source of political resocialization if more novel instruction devices are employed or if the students are not receiving political cues presented in the experimental stimuli from other sources. Pedagogical techniques that seriously shock the value system of the student might be influential in altering political perspectives. For instance, confronting the

-167-

students with political situations completely at odds with their expectations could severely jolt their political orientations. Perhaps an intense simulation of political events or direct participation in a political arena beyond the scope of the student's previous experience would serve as stimuli that restructure political viewpoints.

An additional constraint on the coursework influencing political orientations is the inability of the curriculum to engage in total the students' interests. It might be that students are able to disassociate their political views from a classroom experience no matter how novel the teaching techniques introduced are. As such, students might approach any educational setting with a set of attitudinal and behavioral responses appropriate to the student role but removed from their political thoughts and actions. To overcome this type of segmental thinking would require more than just introducing unexpected teaching methods. Probably the student's immediate personal environment would have to be restructured if political resocialization were to be possible.* This would require time, a great expenditure of personal energy on the part of the instructor, and students who would be willing to open their personal lifes to their teachers. Such a task is much to demanding of both student and professor.

In short, the future of using the classroom as a vehicle for the successful transmission of political ideology depends on an accurate answer to why students' political orientations are not restructured by the curriculum. Conclusions will come only as the body of knowledge in

* The probable reason why higher education does appear to have an impact on political orientations lies in the everyday environment of the students. Friends and new experiences combine over time to serve as stimulants of political socialization. At best, the formal curriculum plays a small part in this environmental configuration of influences.

-168-

this area becomes substantial and firm.

Not to be forgotten in this study are the findings that point to the likelihood that innovative teaching techniques did enhance the educational reactions of the students. While political resocialization might be beyond the impact of the formal curriculum, improving the receptivity of students to the teaching of political science appears attainable through experimentation. Efforts in experimentation in the classroom are rewarded by improving the educational environment and assuaging any tension that might be growing between students who feel their instructors are disinterested in the teaching process and the professors.

Finally, if nothing else, this project suggests the value of using an experimental methodology in political science, especially in the area of policy analysis. The experiment permits the political scientist to conceptualize policy in terms of exploring alternative approaches in the policy area. Education, specifically teaching political science at the introductory undergraduate level, has been the policy addressed in this experiment. Just in this area additional experimentation is not only feasible but necessary to understand in full the effects of teaching politics to students.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Chapter I

American Political Scienc? Association Report. "The Study of Civics."
    American Political Science Review, 16 (February, 1920), pp. 116-125.

Anderson, William. "The Role of Political Science." American
    Political Science Review, 37 (February, 1943), pp. 1-16.

Barnard, James. "Method and Material in Political Instruction."
    Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, 10
    (1913), pp. 243-248.

Bates, Frank D. "Instruction in Political Science on Functional
    Rather than Descriptive Lines." American Political Science
    Review, 21 (May, 1927), pp. 402-405.

Benjamin, Gerald. "On Making Teaching 'U'". P.S., 4 (Winter, 1971)
    pp. 41-47.

Bryce, James. "The Relations of Political Science to History and to
    Practice." American Political Science Review, 3 (February, 1909),
    pp. 1-19.

Casstevens, Thomas W. "The Caucus-Race: Teaching Cyclical Majorities."
    P.S., 3 (Winter, 1970), pp. 26-27.

Cleaveland, Bradford. "Education, Revolutions, and Citadels." The
    Berkeley Student Revolt: Facts and Interpretations. Edited by
    Seymour M. Lipset and Sheldon Wolin. Garden City: Doubleday, Anchor, 1965.

Committee of the Advancement of Teaching. Goals for Political
    Science. New York: William Sloane, 1951.

Committee on Standards of Instruction. "Political Science as a
    Discipline." American Political Science Review, 56 (June, 1962)
    pp. 417-421.

Committee on Undergraduate Education. "Conceptual Analysis."
    P.S., 3 (Summer, 1970), pp. 351.

Connery, Robert, ed. Teaching Political Science: A Challenge
    to Higher Education. Durham: Duke, 1965.

Crecraft, Earl. "Political Science Instruction in Teacher-Training
    Instructions, Colleges of Engineering, and Colleges of Commerce."
    American Political Science Review, 24 (February, 1930), pp. 146-172.

Dawson, Edgar. "New Proportions in Political Instruction."
    Proceedings of the American Political Science Association,
    10 (1913), pp. 234-242.

Dimock, Marshall. "'Goals for Political Science: A Discussion': Replies and Comments." American Political Science Review, 46 (June, 1952), p. 504.

Fesler, James W. "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion." American Political Science Review, 45 (December, 1951), pp. 996-1001.

Flacks, Richard. "The Revolt of the Advantaged: An Exploration of the Roots of Student Protest." Learning About Politics: A Reader in Political Socialization. Edited by Roberta Sigel. New York: Random House, 1970.

Fluno, Robert Y. "The Group Case Study in Political Science Teaching: A Report." P.S., 3 (Winter, 1970), pp. 22-25.

Haines, Charles Grove. "Is Sufficient Time Devoted to the Study of Government in Our Colleges?" Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, 7 (1910), pp. 202-210.

_____. "Report of the Committee of Seven on Instruction in Colleges and Universities." American Political Science Review, 9 (May, 1915), pp. 353-374.

Hallowell, John H. "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion." American Political Science Review, 45 (December, 1951), pp. 1008-1009.

Hanus, Jerome J. "An Experiment in Individualized Instruction in Political Science." P.S., 2 (Fall, 1969), pp. 600-603.

Hartz, Louis. "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion." American Political Science Review, 45 (December, 1951), pp. 1001-1005.

Herring, Pendleton. "On the Study of Government." American Political Science Review, 47 (December, 1953), pp. 961-974.

_____. "Political Science in the Next Decade." American Political Science Association, 39 (June, 1945), pp. 757-766.

Key Jr., V.O. "The State of the Discipline." American Political Science Review, 52 (December, 1952), pp. 961-971.

Kirkpatrick, Evon. "The Political Science Curriculum in War-Time." American Political Science Review, 36 (December, 1942), pp. 1142-1146.

Krasner, Steven D. "A Defense of Conventional Grading." P.S., 3 (Fall, 1970), pp. 651-652.

Lamare, James W. "University Education in American Government: An Experimental Approach to a Growing Problem." Experimental Study of Politics, 1 (February, 1971), pp. 122-148.

Laves, Walter H. "The Next Decade in Political Science Teaching." American Political Science Review, 34 (December, 1940), pp. 983-986.

Millett, John H. "The Use of Visual Aids in Political Science Teaching." American Political Science Review, 41 (June, 1947), pp. 517-527.

Morris, Jeffrey B., and Macchiarola, Frank J. "Analysis Using Primary Sources for Term Papers in the Introductory Course." P.S., 3 (Summer, 1970), pp. 336-340.

Munro, William B. "Instruction in Political Science in Colleges and Universities." American Political Science Review, 24 (February, 1930), pp. 127-145.

Odegard, Peter. "The Political Scientist in a Democratic Service State." Journal of Politics, 2 (1940), pp. 150-160.

Parente, William, and McCleery, Mickey. "Campus Radicalism and·a Relevant Political Science." Journal of Higher Education, 39 (June, 1968), pp. 316-325.

_____. "The Introduction and Structure of Political Science." Western Political Quarterly, 22 (June, 1969), pp. 350-364.

Redford, Emmette S. "Reflections on a Discipline." American Political Science Review, 55 (December, 1961), pp. 755-762.

Reed, Thomas H. "Report of the Committee on Policy." American Political Science Review, 24 (February, 1930), pp. 1-199.

Reed, Thomas, and Reed, Doris. Preparing College Men and Women for Politics. 1952.

"Report on Instruction in Political Science in Colleges and Universities." Proceedings of the American Science Association, 10 (1913), pp. 249-270.

Robson, William A. "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion." American Political Science Review, 45 (December, 1951), pp. 1020-1021.

Rockwell, Langdon. "Toward a More Integrated Political Science Curriculum." American Political Science Review, 41 (April, 1947), pp. 314-320.

Rogers, Lindsay. "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion."
   American Political Science Review, 45 (December, 1951),
   pp. 1020-1021.

Rossiter, Clinton. "'Goals for Political Science: A
   Discussion': Replies and Comments." *American Political
   Science Association*, 46 (June, 1952), p. 506.

_____. "Political Science I and Political
   Indoctrination" *American Political Science Review*, 42
   (June, 1948), pp. 542-549.

Rutherford, Geddes. "Radio as a Means of Instruction in
   Government." *American Political Science Review*, 27
   (April, 1926), pp. 264-273.

Schaper, William A. "Report of the Committee of Five of the
   American Political Science Association on Instruction in
   American Government in Secondary Schools." *Proceedings
   of the American Political Science Association*, 5 (1908),
   pp. 219-257.

Somit, Albert, and Tanenhaus, Joseph. *American Political
   Science*. New York: Atherton, 1964.

_____. *The Development of
   American Political Science: From Burgess to Behavioralism*.
   Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

Spencer, Richard C. "Significance of the Functional Approach
   in the Introductory Course in Political Science." *American
   Political Science Review*, 22 (November, 1928), pp. 954-966.

Story, Russell M. "The Content of the Introductory Course in
   Political Science." *American Political Science Review*, 20
   (May, 1926), pp. 419-428.

Walker, Robert. "Citizenship Training in the Colleges." *American
   Political Science Review*, 42 (February, 1948), pp. 74-84.

Wilcox, Francis O. "The Introductory Course in Government."
   American Political Science Review, 41 (June, 1947), pp. 489-500.

_____. "Teaching Political Science in a World at
   War." *American Political Science Review*, 35 (April, 1941),
   pp. 325-333.

Wolin, Sheldon, and Schaar, John. "The Abuses of the Multiuniversity."
   The Berkeley Student Revolt: Facts and Interpretations. Edited
   by Seymour Lipset and Sheldon Wolin. Garden City: Doubleday,
   Anchor, 1965.

Chapter II

Agger, Robert; Goldstein, Marshall; and Pearl, Sheldon. "Political Cynicism: Measurements and Meaning." Journal of Politics, 23 (August, 1961), pp. 477-506.

Almond, Gabriel, and Verba, Sidney. The Civic Culture. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965.

Bay, Christian. "Human Development and Political Orientations: Notes Toward a Science of Political Education." Social Psychology and Political Behavior. Edited by Gilbert Abcarian and James Soule. Columbus: Merrill, 1971.

Bowen, Don R. Political Behavior of the American Public. Columbus: Merrill, 1968.

Campbell, Angus; Converse, Philip; Miller, Warren; and Stokes, Donald. The American Voter: An Abridgement. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964.

Christenson, Reo M., and Capretta, Patrick J. "The Impact of College on Political Attitudes." Social Science Quarterly, 49 (September, 1968), pp. 315-320.

Converse, Philip. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." Public Opinion and Politics: A Reader. Edited by William Crotty. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

Converse, Philip; Miller, Warren; Rusk, Jerrold; and Wolfe, Arthur. "Continuity and Change in American Political Parties and Issues in the 1968 Election." American Political Science Review, 63 (December, 1969), pp. 1083-1105.

Converse, Philip E., and Schuman, Howard. "'Silent Majorities' and the Vietnam War." Scientific American, 222 (June, 1970), pp. 17-25.

Dawson, Richard, and Prewitt, Kenneth. Political Socialization. Boston: Little, Brown, 1969.

Dennis, Jack. "Support for the Party System by the Mass Public." American Political Science Review, 60 (September, 1966), pp. 600-615.

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

Eckart, Dennis, and Lamare, James W. "Political Activities of the College Young: How Did the Public React?" unpublished manuscript, 1971.

Feldman, Kenneth A., and Newcomb, Theodore M. The Impact of College on Students Vols. I and II. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969.

Form, William A., and Rytina, Joan. "Ideological Beliefs on the Distribution of Power in the United States." American Sociological Review, 34 (January, 1969), pp. 19-31.

Gallup Opinion Index, Report Number 48, June 1969.

_____, Report Number 60, June, 1970.

_____, Report Number 68, February, 1971.

Garrison, Charles. "Political Involvement and Political Science: A Note on the Basic Course as an Agent of Political Socialization." Social Science Quarterly, 49 (September, 1968), pp. 305-314.

Goldsen, Rose K.; Rosenberg, Morris; Williams, Robert M.; and Suchman, Edward A. What College Students Think. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1960.

Greenstein, Fred. "A Note on the Ambiguity of 'Political Socialization': Definitions, Criticisms, and Strategies of Inquiry." Journal of Politics, 32 (November, 1970), pp. 969-978.

_____. Children and Politics. New Haven: Yale, 1965.

_____. "Political Socialization." Vol. 14 of the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Edited by David Sill. 17 vols. Revised Edition. New York: MacMillan, 1968.

Hess, Robert, and Torney, Judith. The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.

Hyman, Herbert. Political Socialization. Glencoe: Free Press, 1959.

Jacob, Philip. Changing Values in College: An Exploratory Study of The Impact of College Teaching. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

Jones, Edward E., and Gerard, Harold. Foundations of Social Psychology. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967.

Key, Jr., V.O. Public Opinion and American Democracy. (New York: Knopf, 1961.

Lane, Robert. "Political Education in the Midst of Life's Struggles." Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Fall, 1968), pp. 438-451.

Langton, Kenneth, and Jennings, M. Kent. "Political Socialization in the High School Civics Course." American Political Science Review, 62 (September, 1968), pp. 852-867.

Laurence, Joan, and Scoble, Harry M. "Ideology and Consensus Among Children of the Metropolitan Socioeconomic Elite." Western Political Quarterly, 22 (March, 1969), pp. 151-162.

Lipsitz, Lewis. "Working-Class Authoritarianism: A Re-evaluation."
American Sociological Review, 30 (February, 1965), pp. 103-109.

Litt, Edgar. Review of Political Socialization, by Richard Dawson and
Kenneth Prewitt. American Political Science Review, 63 (December,
1969), pp. 1293-1294.

Main, Jeremy. "Reinforcements for Reform." Fortune, 80 (June, 1969),pp.
73-74.

Massialas, Byron. Education and the Political System. Reading:
Addison-Wesley, 1969.

McClosky, Herbert. "Personality and Attitude Correlates of Foreign
Policy Orientations." Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy. Edited
by James Rosenau. New York: Free Press, 1967.

Merelman, Richard. "The Development of Political Ideology: A
Framework for the Analysis of Political Socialization." American
Political Science Review, 63 (September, 1969), pp. 750-767.

Middleton, Russell, and Putney, Snell. "Influences on the Political
Beliefs of American College Students: A Study of Self-Appraisals."
Il Politico, 29 (1964), pp. 484-492.

Milbrath, Lester. Political Participation. Chicago: Rand McNally,
1965.

Newcomb, Theodore. Personality and Social Change. New York:
Dryden Press, 1943.

Plant, Walter. "Longitudinal Changes in Intolerance and Authoritarian-
ism for Subjects Differing in Amount of College Education Over Four
Years." Psychology Monographs, 72 (1965), pp. 247-284.

Sears, David O. "Political Behavior." Vol. 5 of The Handbook of
Social Psychology. Edited by Gardner Lindzey and Eliot Aronson.
5 vols. Revised Edition. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

Sears, David O., and Kinder, Donald R. "The Good Life, 'White
Racism,' and the Los Angeles Voter." Paper presented at the 50th
meeting of the Western Psychological Association, Los Angeles,
Calif., April 15, 1970.

Sigel, Roberta, ed. Learning About Politics: A Reader in Political
Socialization. New York: Random House, 1970.

Somit, Albert; Tanenhaus, Joseph; Wilke, Walter; and Cooley, Rita.
"The Effect of the Introductory Political Science Course on Student
Attitudes Toward Personal Political Participation." Learning About
Politics: A Reader in Political Socialization. Edited by Roberta
Sigel. New York: Random House, 1970.

Stember, Charles. Education and Attitude Change. New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1961.

Stouffer, Samuel. Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties. Garden City; Doubleday, 1955.

Trent, James W.,and Medsker, Leland. Beyond High School: A Psychological Study of 10,000 High School Graduates. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968.

Yankelovich Poll. Fortune, 79 (January, 1969), pp. 70-71 and 179-180.

Chapter III

Agger, Robert, and Golstein, Marshall. Who Will Rule the Schools:
    A Cultural Class Crisis. Belmont: Wadsworth, 1971.

Bay, Christian. "Civil Disobedience: Prerequisite for Democracy in
    Mass Society." Political Theory and Social Change. Edited by David
    Spitz. New York: Atherton, 1967.

_____. "Human Development and Political Orientations."
    Social Psychology and Political Behavior. Edited by Gilbert Abcarian
    and James W. Soule. Columbus: Merrill, 1971.

_____. "Political and Apolitical Students: Facts in Search
    of Theory." Journal of Social Issues, 23 (July, 1967), pp. 76-91.

Block, Jeanne; Haan, Norman; and Smith, M. Brewster. "Socialization
    Correlates of Student Activism." Journal of Social Issues, 25
    (Autumn, 1969), pp. 143-178.

Campbell, D.T., and Stanley, Julian C. Experimental and Quasi-
    Experimental Designs for Research. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969.

Di Palma, Giuseppe, and McClosky, Herbert. "Personality and Conformity:
    The Learning of Political Attitudes." American Political Science
    Review, 64 (December, 1970), pp. 1054-1073.

Flacks, Richard. "The Liberated Generation: An Exploration of the
    Roots of Student Protest." Journal of Social Issues, 23 (July,
    1967), pp. 52-75.

Foley, James A., and Foley, Robert K. eds. The College Scene: Students
    Tell It Like It Is. New York: Cowles, 1969.

French, John R.P. "Experiments in Field Settings." Research Methods
    in the Behavioral Sciences. Edited by Leon Festinger and Daniel
    Katz. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953.

Gosnell, Harold F. Getting Out the Vote: An Experiment in the
    Stimulation of Voting. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
    1927.

Greenstein, Fred. Children and Politics. Revised Edition. New Haven:
    Yale, 1970.

Hampden-Turner, Charles. Radical Man. Cambridge: Schenkman, 1970.

Kariel, Henry. "Creating Political Reality." American Political
    Science Review, 64 (December, 1970), pp. 1088-1098.

Keniston, Kenneth. The Young Radicals. New York: Harcourt, Brace
    and World, 1968.

Kessel, John A.; Cole, G.F.; and Seddig, R.D., eds. Micropolitics: Individual and Group Level Concepts. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

Lane, Robert, and Sears, David O. Public Opinion. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1964.

Lipsitz, Lewis. "If, as Verba Says, the State Functions as a Religion, What are we then to do to save our Souls?" American Political Science Review, 62 (June, 1968), pp. 527-535.

Litt, Edgar. "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination." American Sociological Review, 28 (February, 1963), pp. 69-75.

Madron, Thomas W. Small Group Methods and the Study of Politics. Evanston: Northwestern, 1969.

Manis, Melvin. "Experimental Studies in Communication." Social Psychology and Political Behavior. Edited by Gilbert Abcarian and James Soule. Columbus: Merrill, 1971.

Newmann, Fred. "A Discussion of Political Socialization." Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Fall, 1968), p. 586.

Parente, William, and McCleery, Mickey. "Campus Radicalism and a Relevant Political Science." Journal of Higher Education, 39 (June, 1968), pp. 316-325.

Rosenstone, Robert A. "'The Times They Are A-Changin': The Music of Protest." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 382 (March, 1969), pp. 130-145.

Sanford, Nevitt, ed. The American College: A Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962.

Trent, James W., and Craise, Judith L. "Commitment and Conformity in the American College," Journal of Social Issues, 23 (July, 1967), pp. 34-51.

Verba, Sidney. Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

APPENDIX A: Course Materials Used

I. Texts used by all students:

    a. Marian D. Irish and James W. Prothro, The Politics of American Democracy (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1968, 4th Edition).

    b. Joseph R. Fiszman, (Ed.) The American Political Arena (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown & Co., 1966, 2nd Edition).

    c. Arthur A. North, S.J., The Supreme Court: Judicial Process and Judicial Politics (New York, N.Y.: Appleton-Century Croft, 1966).

II. Films shown in the nondocumentary group (in order of presentation):

    a. The Organizer   b. Marat/Sade   c. Masculine-Feminine
    d. Before the Revolution   e. La Guerre est Finie

III. Films shown in the documentary group (in order of presentation):

    a. The Tenement, and Time for Burning
    b. Obedience
    c. Watts: Riot or Rebellion?
    d. Operation Abolition; Operation Correction (Not shown because of projectionist's error)
    e. Sons and Daughters

IV. Additional Reading used in the Political Problem Solving Group:

    a. Kenneth Keniston, The Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1968).

    b. Jerry Hopkins, The Hippie Papers (New York: New American Library, 1969).

    c. Jerry L. Avorn, Up Against the Ivy Wall (New York: Atheneum, 1969).

    d. Seymour M. Lipset and Sheldon Wolin, The Berkeley Student Revolt (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co. Inc., 1965).

    e. Theodore Sorenson, Decision-Making in the White House (New York: Columbia Press, 1963).

    f. Robert A. Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1956).

V. Music played in section (in order of presentation):

    a. Chuck Berry, "School Day"
    b. Tom Paxton, "What Did You Learn in School Today?"
    c. Bob Dylan, "Subterranean Homesick Blues"
    d. Chuck Berry, "Too Much Monkey Business"
    e. Bob Dylan, "With God on Our Side"
    f. Nina Simone, "Mississippi Goddam"
    g. Nina Simone, "Pirate Jenny"
    h. Bob Dylan, "The Times They are a'Changing"
    i. Bob Dylan, "When the Ship Comes In"
    j. Bob Dylan, "Ballad of a Thin Man"

k. Mothers of Invention, medley of excerpts from "Concentration Moon," "Mom and Dad," and "What's the Ugliest Part of Your Body?"
l. Jefferson Airplane, "Crown of Creation"
m. Jefferson Airplane, "The House at Pooneil Corners"
n. Cream, "The Politician"
o. Country Joe and the Fish, "Super-Bird"
p. United States of America, "Love Song to Dead Che"
q. Buffalo Springfield, "For What It's Worth"
r. Beatles, "Revolution"
s. Rolling Stones, "Street Fighting Man"

APPENDIX B: A Note on

Quantitative Procedures

The first methodological problem in this study was to design a way to gauge attitude change over the ten week course. Questionnaires (see appendix C) containing a large number of like items testing political attitudes were distributed at the beginning and again at the conclusion of the course. With the data in hand, a method was devised to detect the respondent's attitudinal movement or stability. All items used in this study to analyze pre and posttest consistency (Table 4-6, 4-9, 4-10 and 5-2 through 5-15) were recoded so that no more than four categories of responses were possible to any one item on either questionnaire. For instance, the responses to the Likert type questions[1] were recoded into four groups: (1) an agreement category established without regard for magnitude of agreement; (2) disagreement category again without concern for magnitude; (3) a don't know or depends category; and (4) a not ascertained category. Each recoded Likert item was given a numerical symbol: an agree response was numbered 0; a disagree response was coded 3; the don't know/depends response was called 1; and a not ascertained value was labelled 7. Then on each like item the response to the second questionnaire was subtracted from the response given on the first questionnaire. The result was a computed new variable that had thirteen subcategories measuring direction and actuality of change. For concise presentation of the data these subcategories were combined in the Tables (4-6, 4-9, 4-10, and 5-2 through 5-15) to show no change, only two directions of change, and not ascertained; the operational referents of the direction of change are provided in each table.

The next task was to employ statistical tests that would note any variations between treatment groups in the experiment and the strength

-184-

of relationship between section attended and change in political orientation.

Two tests of statistical significance were used in this study: Chi square[2] and the critical ratio (C.R.)[3] or $\underline{z}$ score. At first blush, it might be argued that such tests of inference are inappropriate considering that the subjects investigated were a census of one group and not a sample of students drawn randomly from a universe. Yet, such tests are applicable to experiments if it can be safely assumed that subjects were randomly distributed throughout the treatment sections.[4] The combined aggregate of subjects in the experiment may be treated as the universe and each treatment group may be analyzed to see if it significantly diverged from the norm. As pointed out by Edgington, this "...view will not permit statistical inferences about persons not used in the experiment, but will permit statistical inferences about treatment effects for the experimental subjects."[5]

The measures of association between treatment group and strength of change or of attribution were tau b and gamma. Tau b, used in Tables 4-6, 4-9, 4-10, and 5-2 through 5-15, is a nonparametric statistic designed to test relationships between ordinal variables. In addition, its usage assumes a 2 by 2 table. To meet these assumptions, a great deal of recoding had to be done. On each item measured in the above tables, each respondent was coded as one who changed or one who remained stable over the course. Furthermore, section attended was dichotomized into control and experimental. Tau b, thus, is a measure of the magnitude of association between section attended (experimental or control) and political change (alteration or stability). Gamma, used in Tables 4-1, 4-2, and 4-4, is also a nonparametric measure of association

-185-

between ordinal variables that does not depend on a 2 by 2 table.[6]

1. The Likert items are the following: First questionnaire, numbers 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54, 57, 58, 69, 71, 73, 75, 78, 80, 81, 87, 95, 96, 98, 103, 105, 108, 109, 137, and 138; second questionnaire, numbers 23, 24, and 27 through 59. The questionnaires are in appendix C.

2. Chi square was used in analyzing every table in this report. The formula for computing Chi square may be found in virtually any book on statistics for the behavioral sciences.

3. The critical ratio (C.R.) was used in Tables 4-6, 4-9, 4-10, and 5-2 through 5-15 to determine if there were any significant differences between direction of change in the experimental group as compared to the control group. The formula used to compute the C.R. for the above tables can be found in C.I. Hovland, A.A. Lumsdaine, and F.D. Sheffield, Experiments in Mass Communication (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), pp. 303-305.

4. The discussion of this assumption as it applies to this experiment is found in Chapter 3, pp. 86-91.

5. E.S. Edgington, "Statistical Inference and Non-random Samples," reprinted in E.M. Heermann and L.A. Braskamp, (Eds.), Readings in Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 117-121.

6. Concise discussions of tau b and gamma are presented in the following: S. Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), pp. 213-238; D.C. Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement (New York: David McKay Co., 1970, second edition), pp. 136-140; and, G. David Garson, Handbook of Political Science Methods (Boston: Holbrook, 1971), pp. 158-160.

APPENDIX C: <u>Questionnaires Used</u>

<u>In The Experiment</u>

University of California
at Los Angeles
Political Science Department

Dear Student:

As a college student and member of a political science class, you are being asked to contribute to a very important research project. By answering this questionnaire you will be aiding a systematic study of college education and democratic government. It is important that you answer each question below and in as much detail as possible. Bear in mind that this questionnaire asks you about <u>opinions</u>, about your own activities, beliefs and attitudes. It is not a test; there are no "right" or "wrong" answers, so be as honest as you can about <u>your own</u> feelings in answering the questions. The questionnaire is quite long, so you are advised to put it down when you tire of answering and return to it at another time. In any case, you have five days to fill it out; bring it to lecture class Monday <u>(April 14th)</u> completed. When you are finished, please note how long it took you to answer all of the questions in the space provided at the bottom of this letter.

I would like to stress that this is a scientific study. I promise to respect in full the confidential nature of the information you supply. Your name will be removed from this questionnaire when it is returned, and your name will never be associated with the answers given. (It is imperative, however, that you write your name below, so that I will know you have returned the questionnaire.) I assure you that teaching personnel in this course <u>will not</u> have access to these questionnaires; of course your answers will have no bearing on your grade in this course.

An important part of this study is understanding the student's non-classroom environment. Therefore, we must ask your parents (or guardians) and your closest friend to fill out a similar, but much shorter, questionnaire. Please list their names and full addresses in the spaces provided below. (Even if you believe they would be unwilling to contribute to this effort, please provide this information so that we may contact them and "plead our case.")

Finally, if you have any questions---or if you feel you cannot fill out all or substantial parts of the questionnaire--- please contact me; I will be glad to talk with you about it. (Office: RBH 4349; home phone: 826-2357)

-188-

Thank you very much for your cooperation and your time.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Lamare
Research Assistant

YOUR NAME_____ Time taken filling out:___hrs. ___mins.

Father's name (or male guardian)_____

Father's address (or male guardian)_____

Mother's name (or female guardian)_____

Mother's address ("   ")_____

Closest Friend's name _____

Closest Friend's address _____

1. Please check your age
   ___17 or under   ___20
   ___18   ___21 or over
   ___19

2. Where were you born?

   City _____ State (or country, if appropriate)_____

3. What high school did you graduate from? (If you attended more than one high school, please list them below the school from which you graduated). Be sure to include the city and years of attendance in the spaces provided.

   HIGH SCHOOL   CITY, STATE   YEARS IN ATTENDANCE
   _____

   _____

   _____

4. Are you a citizen of the U.S.?   Yes___   No___

5. What religion were you raised in?_____

6. What religion do you consider yourself now?_____

7. How important is religion to you now?

   ___Very important

   ___Somewhat important

   ___Not very important

   ___Completely unimportant

8. How many years have you been in college?

   ___Under one year
   ___One year but less than two years
   ___Two years but less than three years
   ___Three years but less than four years
   ___Four years or more

9. If you have attended another college, please designate which and for what length of time:_____

10. As of the end of the winter quarter (1969), what is your UCLA overall grade point average?

_____1.99 or below   _____3.50 and over
_____2.00 to 2.49   _____this is my first quarter at
_____2.50 to 2.99   UCLA
_____3.00 to 3.49

11. What was your overall high school GPA (assuming 4.0 for A, 3.0 for B, 2.0 for C, 1.0 for D, 0.0 for F)

_____3.00 to 3.29
_____3.30 to 3.49
_____3.50 to 3.79
_____3.80 and over
_____other (please explain_____)

12. What type of high school did you graduate from?

_____public
_____parochial (what denomination?_____)
_____private

13. Where are you living while at UCLA?

_____At home or with other relatives
_____University dormitory
_____Apartment
_____Fraternity or Sorority House
_____Other (What is that?_____)

14. Are you working during this quarter? Yes_____ No_____

a. if yes, how many hours a week do you work?_____
b. ...and is it on-campus_____ or off-campus_____?

15. What is your major field of study at UCLA?_____

16. Do you consider yourself a member of a social class?
Yes_____   No_____

a. if "yes", please check which class:
_____Upper Class
_____Middle Class
_____Working Class
_____Lower Class

17. Briefly, what does the term "democracy" mean to you?

18. Are you a member of any social organizations (on or off campus)?
____No (if "no", please go on to question #19)
____Yes (if "yes", please answer "a" through "d" below

a. If "yes", how many organizations?_____
b. Are you an officer in any of these organizations? No___ Yes___
c. Do you expect to be an officer in any of them? No___ Yes___
d. Are any of these organizations political in nature? No___ Yes___

(now, please go on to question #20)

19. For those who are not now members of any social organization:

a. Were you a member of any social organization within the last two years? No____ Yes____

b. If "yes", how many organizations? _____. Were you an officer in any of them? Yes___ No___. Were any of them political in nature? Yes___ No___.

20. Briefly, what does the term "government" mean to you?

_____

_____

_____

21. During the last five years, have you travelled in another country?
No____   Yes____
a. If "yes", please note the country (or countries) and length of stay_____

The next two questions concern the party preferences and political interests of your parents, your closest friend, and yourself.

22. Please designate the political party preferences of your parents, your closest friend and yourself:

	Father	Mother	Friend	Yourself
Strong Republican				
Weak Republican				
Independent-leans toward Rep.				
Independent				
Independent-leans toward Dem.				

-192-

	Father	Mother	Friend	Yourself
Weak Democrat				
Strong Democrat				
American Independent Party				
Peace and Freedom Party				
Other (please specify)				
No preference at all				
I don't know				

23. How interested are your father, your mother, your closest friend, and yourself in politics?

	Father	Mother	Friend	Yourself
Very interested				
Somewhat interested				
Only a little interested				
Not interested				
Don't know				

24. Have you ever served in the U.S. armed services? Yes___ No___

25. Thinking back to the 1968 elections for President, among all the possible candidates, who would you have preferred? (Check one)

___Hubert Humphrey   ___Richard Nixon
___Nelson Rockefeller   ___Ronald Reagan
___Eugene McCarthy   ___George Wallace
___George McGovern   ___Other (Who?_____)
          ___No preference ___Don't know

26. During the 1968 election campaigns, did you do any of the following?

   a. Contribute money to a political party, an electoral interest group, or to a particular candidate? Yes___ No___ Don't
                                                                remember___

   b. Distribute literature, wear a button, display a bumper sticker for any candidate? Yes___ No___ Don't remember___

   c. Talk to other people (strangers) about the merits or failings of a candidate or political party? Yes___ No___ Don't
                                                                remember___

-193-

d. Talk to closer associates (e.g., friends and relatives) about the merits or failings of a candidate or political party?
Yes_____   No_____   Don't remember_____

27. Aside from the above activities, during the last two years, have you engaged in any other political activity, e.g., circulating or signing political petitions; or attending a political meeting?
Yes_____   No_____   Don't remember_____

a. If "yes", please briefly describe or list any activities:

_____

_____

28. Speaking generally, what are the things about this country that you are most proud of as an American?

_____

_____

For the following statements, please mark the reaction that most resembles your own feelings about the statement: strongly agree with it, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, or don't know, depends.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
29. Money is the most important factor in influencing public policies.					
30. Many local elections are not important enough to bother with.					
31. Most people can be divided into the dumb and the smart.					
32. Student demonstrations hurt colleges more than they help.					
33. These days it is usually better to prohibit black militants from making public speeches.					

-194-

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
34. Most people <u>don't</u> have enough sense to pick their leaders wisely.					
35. When a minority is blocking progress wanted by the majority, the latter has the right to totally disregard the former.					
36. People are frequently manipulated by politicians.					
37. The freedom to express any ideas is crucial for preserving our form of government.					
38. Some form of socialism is necessary to achieve true democracy.					
39. The trouble with American politics is that the higher you go, the greater the necessity to "sell out" your political principles.					
40. Human nature is fundamentally cooperative.					
41. A belief in God is very relevant to understanding our social problems.					
42. It is not wrong for government officials to take photographs of individuals participating in a demonstration.					

This section of questions concerns your feelings about the local (Los Angeles), state (California) and Federal governments.

43. Considering these three levels of government, how much effect do you think that each government's activities—the laws passed, and so on—have on your day-to-day life?

	Los Angeles	California State	U.S. Federal
Great Effect			
Some Effect			
No Effect			

44. Considering these three levels of government, how likely is it that you could change a policy passed by them which you believed to be unjust or harmful?

	Los Angeles policy	State policy	Federal policy
Very likely			
Somewhat likely			
Somewhat unlikely			
Very unlikely			

   a. Have you ever tried to change a policy of any of these governments? No___ Yes___ (Please elaborate _____

45. If you had to take some question to an administrative agency of these governments (for example, to the department of roads in Los Angeles, the Department of Motor Vehicles of the state, or the Department of Justice of the United States), do you think that you would be given equal treatment, i.e., the same treatment as everyone else, by this agency?

	Los Angeles Agency	California Agency	U.S. Agency
I would be treated equally			
I would not be treated equally			
Depends on the agency			

-196-

46. If you explained your point of view to these agencies, what type of consideration do you think that these officials would give your viewpoint?

	Los Angeles Agency	California Agency	U.S. Agency
They would give it serious consideration			
They would pay only a little attention			
They would pay no attention			

For the next block of questions, please indicate your feelings about the statements: Strongly agree, agree, don't know or depends, disagree, or strongly disagree.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
47. There are times when it almost seems better for the people to take the law into their own hands rather than wait for the machinery of government to act.					
48. People really have very little control over what happens in government.					
49. In general, America is a racist country.					
50. Most people cannot be trusted.					
51. It seems to me that other people find it easier to decide what is right than I do.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
52. The far right is more influential than the far left in the United States.					
53. A public high school teacher who organizes demonstrations and strikes should be dismissed.					
54. Politicians represent the general interest more than they represent special interests.					
55. I often feel that many of the things our parents stood for are just going to ruin before our very eyes.					
56. Economically, my future seems very bright.					
57. The main trouble with democracy is that most people really don't know what is best for them.					
58. People who advocate revolutionary change in the form of our government should be allowed to hold public meetings at all times.					
59. Residential segregation by ethnic and racial characteristics is natural and inevitable.					

This section of questions is concerned with what methods you think that you or others could use to influence or attempt to change a public policy of the federal, state or local governments (not necessarily Los Angeles or California governments).

60. If you were to attempt to influence a government decision, federal state, or local—which of the following methods would be most effective to that end? (Please note at least one of the alternatives, and no more than three, numbered according to effectiveness).

	Federal Gov't.	State Gov't.	Local Gov't.
Work through personal or family connections.			
Write to government officials.			
Get other people interested by forming a group or having a petition signed.			
Work through a political party.			
Organize or contribute time or money to a protest demonstration.			
Threaten or actually use violence.			
Nothing could be done.			

61. Referring to the question (#60) which would be the least effective for you to use? (Only note the one least effective alternative)

	Federal Gov't.	State Gov't	Local Gov't.
Work through personal or family connections.			
Write to government officials.			
Get people interested by forming a group or having them sign a petition.			

	Federal Gov't.	State Gov't.	Local Gov't.
Work through a political party.			
Organize or contribute time or money to a protest demonstration.			
Threaten or actually use violence.			
Nothing could be done.			

62. In your opinion, what strategy should non-white minorities utilize to influence governmental decisions at the federal, state, and local levels? (Note at least one, but not more than three, listing them in numerical order according to effectiveness).

	Federal Gov't.	State Gov't.	Local Gov't.
Work through personal or family connections.			
Write to government officials.			
Get people interested by forming a group or having them sign a petition.			
Work through a political party.			
Organize or contribute time or money to a protest demonstration.			
Threaten or actually use violence.			
Nothing could be done.			

63. What, in your opinion, would be the least effective strategy for non-white minorities to use. Again check only one.

	Federal Gov't.	State Gov't.	Local Gov't.
Work through personal and family connections.			

-200-

	Federal Gov't.	State Gov't.	Local Gov't.
Write to government officials.			
Get people interested by forming a group or having them sign a petition.			
Work through a political party.			
Organize or contribute money or time to a protest demonstration.			
Threaten or actually use violence.			

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
64. In foreign policy matters the president has the right to act as he sees best even if public opinion or Congress don't agree with his proposals.					
65. I often feel awkward and out of place.					
66. Members of racist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan should not be permitted to speak in public places.					
67. The Government ought to make sure that everyone has a good standard of living.					
68. We might as well make up our minds that in order to make the world better a lot of innocent people will have to suffer.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
69. Politicians spend most of their time trying to get re-elected.					
70. The individual owes his first duty to his country, only secondarily to his personal welfare.					
71. Generally, voting determines how the Government will act.					
72. What is lacking today is the old kind of friendship that lasted a lifetime.					
73. The president of the U.S. should be above party conflicts.					
74. A few strong leaders would do more for this country than all the laws and talk.					
75. The government should provide a guaranteed income to all Americans.					
76. I don't mind a politician's methods as long as he manages to get the right things done.					
77. Most people are more inclined to help others than to think of themselves first.					
78. At times, it seems that violence is the only way to get the government moving.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
79. People associated with militant organizations should <u>not</u> be allowed to teach courses on our college campuses.					
80. There will always be poverty so we might as well get used to the idea.					
81. The tactics of the far left threaten democracy more than those of the far right.					
82. No one is going to care what happens to you when you get right down to it.					
83. Regardless of what some people say, there are certain races in the world that just won't mix with Americans.					
84. The Presidential Nominating Conventions of 1968 vividly showed that the two major parties need a drastic overhaul.					
85. If the government would only stay out of the way, private business would solve most of the country's domestic problems.					
86. A large number of city and county politicians are political hacks.					

This section of questions asks you about your feelings about the police.

87. If you had some trouble with the police--a traffic violation maybe, or an arrest for a minor offense--do you think that you would be

given equal treatment by the police?

____I would receive equal treatment.
____I would not receive equal treatment.
____It depends.

88. If you explained your point of view to the police, how much attention would they pay to it?

____They would give my point of view serious consideration.
____They would pay only a little attention to my point of view.
____They would ignore what I had to say.

89. Have you ever personally had any contact with any police force involving alleged law violation by you? (This would include traffic violations) No___   Yes___

a. If "yes", did it involve the Los Angeles Police Department? Yes___   No___ (then what department was it?_____)

b. and were you treated fairly (___), or unfairly (___)?

c. were you treated courteously (___), or discourteously (___)?

90. In general, do you think a Negro, a Mexican-American, or a poor "white" person receives equal treatment from the police with that accorded to a middle-class "white" person?

Never___   Rarely___   Sometimes___   Usually___

91. How we would like to take up some of the complaints that citizens have made about the police. Some people say that policemen lack respect or use insulting language to them. Do you think that this happens to Negroes? No___ Yes___; if yes, do you think it generally can happen to any Negro, or only to some?

a. Any Negro___   Only some___ (then what "type" or "types"?

_____)

b. Do you think that this happens to Mexican-Americans? No___ Yes___; if "yes", do you think it generally can happen to any Mexican-American, or only to some? Any___ Some___ (then, what type or types?

_____)

c. Do you think that this happens to "white" people? No___ Yes___; if "yes", do you think it generally can happen to any "white" person, or only some ___ (then what "type" or "types"?

_____)

-204-

d. Has this ever happened to you personally? No___ Yes___

92. Some people say that policemen roust, frisk, or search them without
good reason. Do you think that this happens to Negroes? No___
Yes___; if "yes", do you think that it generally can happen to
any Negro or only to some? Any___ Only some___ (Then what "type"
or "types"?

_____)

a. Do you think that this happens to Mexican-Americans? No___
Yes___; if "yes", do you think that generally it can happen
to any Mexican-American or only to some? Any___ Only some___
(then what "type" or "types"?

_____)

b. Do you think that this also happens to "white" people? No___
Yes___; if "yes", do you think that it generally can happen
to any "white" person, or only to some? Any___ Only some___
(then what "type" or "types"?

_____)

c. Has this ever happened to you personally? Yes___ No___

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
93. People were better off in the old days when everyone knew just how he was expected to act.					
94. People should be allowed to vote even if they cannot do so intelligently.					
95. It seems that the Courts are concerned with protecting criminals at the expense of society's welfare.					
96. A book that contains dangerous political views should not be published.					
97. It is more important to have racially balanced schools than to protect the idea of neighborhood schools.					

-205-

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
98. The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that we might have to use force to save it.					
99. It is alright to get around the law if you don't actually break it.					
100. If you don't watch yourself people will take advantage of you.					
101. An election doesn't mean much unless the persons running disagree about important issues.					
102. Any person who hides behind the laws when he is being questioned by the police does not deserve much consideration.					
103. With everything in such a state of disorder, it is hard for a person to know where he stands from one day to the next.					
104. There does not seem to be much connection between what I want and what my legislative representative does.					
105. A man should be allowed to speak even if he does not know what he is talking about.					
106. The trouble with the world today is that most people really don't believe in anything.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
107. Politics and government are so complicated that the average man cannot really understand what is going on.					
108. In general teachers of government don't tell you what really is happening in politics and government.					
109. With everything so uncertain these days it almost seems as though anything could happen.					
110. All laws against the use of Marijuana should be abolished.					
111. Most people over thirty really can't be trusted.					
112. The voting age should be lowered to 18.					

113. Suppose there was a very serious problem in your community, which affected, in one way or another, most people in that community. In deciding on a public policy for dealing with the problem, which of the following concerns should be given most consideration? (Place a "1" next to that alternative) Which should be given second most consideration? (Place a "2" in the space next to that concern) Third most? (Indicate with a "3") Fourth or least consideration? (Indicate with a "4")

___1. Participation in the deliberations by all concerned.
___2. Following the recommendations of experts in the area.
___3. The speed with which the policy is to be arrived at.
___4. Achieving consensus or near-consensus on what the policy should be.

This section of questions will be concerned with your feelings about your high school and UCLA.

114. How much time was spent in your high school studying current events and the government in your senior year?

A lot___ A little___ None___

115. Please briefly note what was discussed about the American political system in your high school.

_____

_____

116. Were you encouraged to express your own opinions on social issues in classrooms?

A lot____   Some____   Not at all____

117. Did you express your opinions on politics, government or social problems in such things as debates or classroom discussions?

Yes____   No____

118. What about your high school teachers--how interested were they in you as an individual?

____Very much interested
____Somewhat interested
____No interest

119. Did your teachers in high school treat everyone fairly or were some treated better than others?

____All were treated fairly
____Some received better treatment

120. If you felt that you had been treated unfairly in some way or disagreed with the teacher, did you feel free to complain to him or her?

____I felt free to complain.
____I felt a bit uneasy about it.
____It was better not to talk to the teacher.
____Other (Please specify_____)

121. If you did talk to the teacher about a disagreement would it make any difference?

____It would make a lot of difference.
____It would make some difference.
____It would make no difference.
____I don't know.

122. Do you remember ever talking to a teacher about a disagreement?

Often____   Occasionally____   Never____   Don't know____

123. How active were you in extracurricular activities while in high school?

Very active____   Somewhat active____   Not active____

124. Were you an officer in student government while in high school?

Yes_____ No_____

125. Did you feel that high school student government was relevant to most students in your school?

Yes_____ No_____

a. Was it relevant to your interests? Yes___ No___

126. Do you think that high school students should participate more in decisions made about such things as curriculum, discipline, and so on, at their schools?

_____Much greater participation
_____Some additional participation
_____Participation that they have now is fine
_____Less participation than now

127. How about in colleges, do you think that students should participate more in making these types of decisions?

_____Much greater participation
_____Some additional participation
_____Participation they have now is adequate
_____Less participation than now

128. Are you active in extracurricular activities here at UCLA?

Very active___ Somewhat active___ Not active___ (Do you expect to become more active over the next few years?
Yes___ No___)

a. If active, are any of your activities political in nature?

No___ Yes___

b. If they are political, are these activities concerned with campus or student politics_____, or with off-campus politics_____.

129. Thinking about the student government at UCLA, how much effect do you think its activities--the measures it passes, etc.-- have on your daily life?

Great effect_____ Some effect_____ No effect_____ Don't know_____

130. If you had a complaint to make to those with a position of authority at UCLA, do you think you would make that complaint?

Yes_____ No_____

131. Thinking hypothetically, if you did complain, would you be treated fairly?
Yes_____ No_____

132. Would your point of view be given serious consideration?

Yes____ No____

133. Have you ever tried to register a complaint with someone in a position of authority at UCLA? No___ Yes___; If "yes", please elaborate, e.g., what was the complaint?, who did you see?, what was the outcome?:_____

_____

134. If those in authority at UCLA had or proposed a regulation that you considered very harmful or unjust, what could you do to affect this regulation?_____

_____

135. Some people feel that student government at UCLA is nothing more than a puppet of the administration. Do you agree or disagree?

Strongly agree____ Agree____ Disagree____ Strongly disagree____
Don't know or depends____

136. Some people feel that student strikes and demonstrations are necessary to produce needed changes in universities and colleges today. Do you agree or disagree with this position?

Strongly agree____ Agree____ Disagree____ Strongly disagree____
Don't know or depends____

137. What about the way student government at UCLA spends ASUCLA funds (student fees going to the Associated Students)? Is the money well spent____ or poorly spent___?

138. Have you ever run for ASUCLA office or campaigned for a candidate for student body office?

Yes____ No____

This section of questions concerns how decisions were made in your family.

139. Thinking about decisions concerning your appearance and dress (such as the purchase of clothes and personal grooming practices), when you were 16, who made these decisions? In most cases, was it...

____Your parents alone
____Your mother alone
____Your father alone
____Yourself alone
____Jointly by parent(s), yourself, and others in the family.

a. In general, were you satisfied with this arrangement?

Satisfied most of the time___ Dissatisfied most of the time___

-210-

140. Thinking about decisions concerning your social life (for example, how you spent your leisure time and with whom), when you were 16, who made these decisions? In most cases, was it...

____Your parents alone
____Your mother alone
____Your father alone
____Yourself alone
____Jointly by parent(s) and yourself

a. In general, were you satisfied with this arrangement?

Satisfied most of the time___ Dissatisfied most of the time___

141. Thinking about decisions concerning the whole family (for example, how to spend a vacation, or concerning a major purchase for the family), when you were 16, who made these decisions? In most cases, was it...

____Your parents alone
____Your mother alone
____Your father alone
____Yourself alone
____Jointly by parent(s), yourself, and others in the family.

In this, the final section of questions, we would like to ask you some questions about your political philosophy and other preferences.

142. Do you have a political philosophy? No___ Yes___

a. If "yes", from the following list, what would you describe your philosophy as?

____Liberal
____Radical
____Conservative
____Can't describe it in words
____Other (What?_____)

143. In the development of your thoughts on politics, regardless of whether or not you have a political philosophy, is their any single event that stands out in your mind as having influenced your ideas?

No___ Yes___ What_____?

144. In the development of your thoughts on politics, again regardless of whether you have a political philosophy, are there any books (fiction or non-fiction), films, or songs that have influenced your political ideas? No___ Yes___

a. If "yes", please give the title and author/artist._____

145. In the development of your political ideas, how would you rank the importance of the following people on these thoughts? (Use "1" for most important influence, "2" for next most important, and so on to "5"; if any of these people have had no influence on your thoughts at all, leave the space blank.)

____Friends
____Family
____Teachers
____Journalists (e.g., newsmen, writers, in the press or other mass media)
____People in politics (e.g., politicians, political spokesmen for groups)

146. How often do you follow the accounts of politics and government as reported in the mass media?

____Often, about every day
____Sometimes
____Not very often
____Never

147. Which of the mass media do you rely on in following accounts of politics and government? (Check at least one; if more than one is relied upon, list in order of importance, with "1" meaning most relied upon)

____Newspapers   ____Radio
____Television   ____Magazines (which ones?
                     _____

148. All of us have some ideas about what people should be like. Briefly, what qualities do you admire most in people?

_____

149. Aside from the people that you know personally—of all the people you have heard or read about, could you name one or more individuals whom you admire very much?

_____

150. Among the same people as described in question #149, is there anyone (or more than one) for whom you have very little admiration?_____

151. In general, during your leisure time, what activities interest you the most?_____

152. How desirable to you is the Los Angeles area to live in?

Very desirable____ Desirable____ Not very desirable____

153. Do you plan to spend the greater part of your life in the LA area?

Yes____ No____

154. In the immediate future, if you could, would you rather be in some other area? No____ Yes____

155. What do you expect to be doing five years from now?_____

_____

156. What about 10 years from now?_____

_____

157. In your opinion, what are the most important issues in this country today? (list in order of importance)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

Dear Student:

    We are again asking you to fill out a questionnaire which seeks information about your political opinions, attitudes and behavior. You will immediately notice that the content of this questionnaire is almost identical with the first questionnaire administered; this is by purpose. For one of the primary reasons for this course is to see if political orientations change over the ten week period. Hence it is of utmost importance to the success of the experiment carried out this quarter that you again co-operate in this endeavor. Please answer completely and honestly.

    This questionnaire is about half as long as the one given at the beginning of the class; the average time taken to fill out the first one was between one and one and one-half hours. Therefore, this one should not take more than an hour of your time. You have until Wednesday to do this; please return it then (June 4th).

    Let me remind you again that the data collected will be treated anonymously and your identity will be kept in the strictest confidence. If you are interested in the results of this study, feel free to contact me over the summer or next year.

    I have entertained the thought of follow-up surveys over the next few years, if you would be willing to cooperate. If you would consent to later interviews, please indicate this in the space provided below. If you mark "no", your name will be removed from my file, and you will not be contacted.

    Thank you for your patience and cooperation.

<div align="center">Sincerely,</div>

<div align="center">Jim Lamare</div>

YOUR NAME _____

Would you participate in this study in the future? Yes____ No____

This first section concerns your personal definitions of the words "government" and "democracy."

1. Briefly, what does the term "democracy" mean to you?

_____

_____

_____

2. Briefly, what does the term "government" mean to you?

_____

_____

_____

The next section of questions concerns your feelings about the local (Los Angeles), the state (California) and the federal governments.

3. Considering these three levels, how much effect do you think that each government's activities--the laws passed and so on--have on your day-to-day life?

	Los Angeles	California State	U.S. Federal
Great Effect			
Some Effect			
No Effect			

4. Would you say that the activities of these three governments are mostly favorable, somewhat favorable, or not favorable to you?

	Los Angeles	California State	U.S. Federal
Mostly favorable			
Somewhat favorable			
Not favorable			

5. Consdering these three levels of government, how likely is it that you could change a policy passed by them which you considered to be unjust or harmful?

	L.A. Policy	Calif. State Policy	U.S. Policy
Very likely			
Somewhat likely			

	L.A. Policy	Calif. State Policy	U.S. Policy
Somewhat unlikely			
Very unlikely			

6. If you had to take some question to an administrative agency of one of these governments, do you think that you would be given equal treatment, i.e., the same treatment as everybody else, by this agency?

	L.A. Agency	California Agency	U.S. Agency
I would be treated equally			
I would not be treated equally			
It would depend on the agency			

7. If you explained your point of view to these agencies, what type of consideration do you think that these officials would give your viewpoint?

	L.A. Agency	California Agency	U.S. Agency
They would give it serious consideration			
They would pay only a little attention			
They would pay no attention			

This next section concerns your feelings about the police.

8. If you had some trouble with the police--a traffic violation maybe, or an arrest for a minor violation--do you think that you would be given equal treatment by the police?

____I would receive equal treatment.
____I would not receive equal treatment.
____It depends.

9. If you explained your point of view to the police, how much attention would they pay to it?

-216-

_____They would give my point of view serious consideration.
_____They would pay only a little attention to my point of view.
_____They would ignore what I had to say.

10. In general, do you think a non-white or a poor white person receives equal treatment from the police with that accorded to a middle class white?

___Never   ___Rarely   ___Sometimes   ___Usually

This section of questions is concerned with what methods you think that you or others could use to influence or attempt to change a public policy of the federal, state, or local governments (not necessarily Los Angeles or California governments).

11. If you were to attempt to influence a government decision, federal, state, or local, which of the following methods would be most effective to that end? (Please note at least one of the alternatives, and no more than three, numbering according to effectiveness.)

	Federal Gov't.	State Gov't.	Local Gov't.
Work through personal or family connections			
Write to gov't. officials			
Get other people interested by forming a group or having a petition signed.			
Work through a political party.			
Organize or contribute time or money to a protest demonstration.			
Threaten or actually use violence.			
Nothing could be done.			

12. Referring to the question above (#11), which method would be the least effective for you to use? (Check only one alternative for each level of government).

	Federal Gov't.	State Gov't.	Local Gov't.
Work through personal or family connections.			

-217-

	Federal Gov't.	State Gov't.	Local Gov't.
Write to government officials.			
Get people interested by forming a group or having them sign a petition.			
Work through a political party.			
Organize or contribute time or money to a protest demonstration.			
Threaten or actually use violence.			

13. In your opinion, what strategy should non-white minorities utilize to influence governmental decisions at the federal, state, and local levels? (Note at least one, but not more than three, listing them in numerical order according to effectiveness.)

	Federal Gov't.	State Gov't.	Local Gov't.
Work through personal or family connections.			
Write to government officials.			
Get people interested by forming a group or having them sign a petition.			
Work through a political party.			
Organize or contribute time or money to a protest demonstration.			
Threaten or actually use violence.			
Nothing could be done.			

14. What, in your opinion, would be the least effective strategy for non-white minorities to use. Again check only one for each level of government.

	Federal Gov't.	State Gov't.	Local Gov't.
Work through personal and family connections.			
Write to government officials.			
Get people interested by forming a group or having them sign a petition.			
Work through a political party.			
Organize or contribute time or money to a protest demonstration.			
Threaten or actually use violence.			

15. Suppose there was a very serious problem in your community, which
affected, in one way or another, most people in that community. In
deciding on a public policy for dealing with the problem, which of
the following concerns should be given most consideration? (Place
a "1" next to that alternative.) Which should be given second most
consideration? (Place a "2" in the space next to that concern.)
Third most? (Indicate with a "3".) Fourth or least consideration?
(Indicate with a "4".)

___Participation in the deliberations by all concerned.
___Following the recommendations of experts in the area.
___The speed with which the policy is to be arrived at.
___Achieving consensus or near-consensus on what the policy
    should be.

16. Do you think that high school students should participate more in
decisions made about such things as curriculum, discipline, and so
on, at their schools?

___Much greater participation.
___Some additional participation.
___Participation that they have now is fine.
___Less participation than now.

17. How about in colleges, do you think that students should participate
more in making these types of decisions?

___Much greater participation.
___Some additional participation.
___Participation they have now is adequate.

-219-

___Less participation than now.

18. Thinking about the student government at UCLA, how much effect do you think its activities--the measures it passes, etc.,--have on your daily life?

Great effect___   Some effect___   No effect___   Don't know___

19. If you had a complaint to make to those with a position of authority at UCLA, do you think you would make that complaint?

Yes___   No___

20. Thinking hypothetically, if you did complain would you be treated fairly?

Yes___   No___

21. Would your point of view be given serious consideration?

Yes___   No___

22. If those in authority at UCLA had or proposed a regulation that you considered very harmful or unjust, what could you do to affect this regulation?_____

_____

23. Some people feel that student government at UCLA is nothing more than a puppet of the administration. Do you agree or disagree?

Strongly agree___   Agree___   Disagree___   Strongly disagree___

. Don't know/it depends___

24. Some people feel that student strikes and demonstrations are necessary to produce needed changes in universities and colleges today. Do you agree or disagree with this position?

Strongly agree___   Agree___   Disagree___   Strongly disagree___

Don't know/it depends___

25. During the spring quarter did you ever try to register a complaint with someone in a position of authority at UCLA? No___ Yes___; if "yes", please elaborate, e.g., what was the complaint?, who did you see?, what was the outcome?_____

_____

_____

26. During the spring quarter, were you involved in any off-campus political activities? No___ Yes___; if "yes", please elaborate

For the following statements, please mark the reaction that most resembles your own feelings about the statement: strongly agree with it, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, or don't know, depends.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
27. Money is the most important factor in influencing public policies.					
28. Many local elections are not important enough to bother with.					
29. Student demonstrations hurt colleges more than they help.					
30. These days it is usually better to prohibit black militants from making public speeches.					
31. Most people don't have enough sense to pick their leaders wisely.					
32. People are frequently manipulated by politicians.					
33. Some form of socialism is necessary to achieve true democracy.					
34. The trouble with American politics is that the higher you go, the greater the necessity to "sell out" your political principles.					
35. Human nature is fundamentally cooperative.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
36. It is not wrong for government officials to take photographs of individuals participating in a demonstration.					
37. There are times when it almost seems better for the people to take the law into their own hands rather than wait for the machinery of government to act.					
38. People really have very little control over what happens in government.					
39. In general, America is a racist country.					
40. A public high school teacher who organizes demonstrations and strikes should be dismissed.					
41. Politicians represent the general interest more than they represent special interests.					
42. The main trouble with democracy is that most people really don't know what is best for them.					
43. People who advocate revolutionary change in the form of our government should be allowed to hold public meetings at all times.					
44. The government ought to make sure that everyone has a good standard of living.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
45. Politicians spend most of their time trying to get reelected.					
46. Generally, voting determines how the Government will act.					
47. The president of the U.S. should be above party conflicts.					
48. The government should provide a guaranteed income to all Americans.					
49. At times, it seems that violence is the only way to get the government moving.					
50. There will always be poverty so we might as well get used to the idea.					
51. The tactics of the far left threaten democracy more than those of the far right.					
52. A large number of city and county politicians are political hacks.					
53. People should be allowed to vote even if they cannot do so intelligently.					
54. It seems that the Courts are concerned with protecting criminals at the expense of society's welfare.					
55. It is more important to have racially balanced schools than to protect the idea of neighborhood schools.					

-223-

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
56. Any person who hides behind the laws when he is being questioned by the police does not deserve much consideration.					
57. There does not seem to be much connection between what I want and what my legislative representative does.					
58. Politics and government are so complicated that the average man cannot really understand what is going on.					
59. In general, teachers of government don't tell you what really is happening in politics and government.					

60. On each of the following issues, designate whether you think the federal government should do more, less, or the same.

Issues	Do more	Do Less	Do Same
Desegregate schools and housing.			
Get tough with urban violence.			
Expand opportunities for the poor.			
Withhold financial aid from demonstrating students.			

61. Some people say that the political parties are so big that the average member hasn't anything to say about what they do. Do you agree or disagree with that statement?

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

Don't know/depends___

62. Do you have a political philosophy? No___ Yes___

a. If "yes", from the following list, what would you describe your philosophy as?

_____Liberal
_____Radical
_____Conservative
_____Can't describe in words
_____Other (What?_____)

63. In the development of your thoughts on politics, regardless of whether you have a political philosophy, are there any books (fiction or non-fiction), films, or songs that have influenced your political ideas? No___ Yes___; if "yes", please give the title and author/artist_____

64. In your opinion, what are the most important issues in this country today? (List in order of importance)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

65. What do you expect to be doing five years from now?_____

_____

66. What about ten years from now?_____

_____

The above concludes the questions on government and politics. The remaining questions are routine biographical items. Such information is necessary for meaningful statistical analysis of the attitudinal data you have already provided.

67. What is your place of present residence? (Community and state; not street address)

_____

68. Do you consider yourself a member of a social class? No___ Yes___

a. If "yes", please check which class:

Upper___ Middle___ Working___ Lower___

The following three questions concern your parents' occupations, education and income. If you know that your parents have already returned a questionnaire to this study, please disregard these questions.

69. What are your parents' occupations? (If retired, please indicate "retired" and then what the occupation was. Please indicate all occupational functions and all titles in as much detail as possible, without indicating the name of the particular company, firm or organization.)

Father: _____

Mother: _____

70. Please check the last school year completed by each of your parents:

	Father	Mother
Post-grad professional	____	____
Some post-grad prof.	____	____
College graduate	____	____
Some college	____	____
High school graduate	____	____
9th to 11th grade	____	____
8th grade or less	____	____

71. Please check what is approximately your family's current income (annual) from all sources. (If your parents are separated or divorced, give the income of the parent with whom you have made your residence.)

Below $5,000	____
$5,000-9,999	____
$10,000-14,999	____
$15,000-19,999	____
$20,000-49,999	____
$50,000 or more	____

This final section, applicable to all students in the course, concerns some of your reactions to the course.

72. Do you feel that any of your political attitudes changed during this quarter? Yes___ No___ Don't know___

a. If "yes", did this course have any bearing on the change?
Great bearing___ Slight bearing___ No bearing___ Don't know___

73. Do you plan to take more political science courses? No___ Yes___
If "yes", is this because of having taken P.S. 1?

Completely___ Partly___ Not at all___

74. Do you plan to do post graduate work in Political Science?

Yes___ No___; if "yes", is this because of having taken political science 1?

Completely___ Partly___ Not at all___

-226-

75. Do you plan to go into politics? Yes___ No___; if "yes", is this because of having taken P.S. 1?

Completely___ Partly___ Not at all___

76. Please designate your estimate of how much you learned in this last quarter in this course from the lectures, the discussion section, and the readings.

	Lectures	Section	Readings
Learned very much			
Learned somewhat			
Learned very little			
Learned nothing			

77. Please designate how much you enjoyed the lectures, section and readings.

	Lectures	Section	Readings
Enjoyed very much			
Enjoyed somewhat			
Enjoyed very little			
Enjoyed not at all			

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR KIND COOPERATION IN FILLING OUT

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE, AND FOR YOUR PATIENCE AND AID DURING THE

QUARTER. YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS ARE DEEPLY APPRECIATED.