POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES: HISTORY, STATUS, CRITICAL ANALYSIS, AND AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL

by

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Political Education in the United States: History, Status, Critical Analysis, and an Alternative Model

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The primary objectives of this study were to trace systematically the course of precollegiate political education in the United States and to offer an alternative model of citizen education. The study considers, first, the history of political education, particularly in relationship to the discipline of political science and the organizational interests of the American Political Science Association (APSA). The criticism of the prevailing modes of political education and the APSA's response are examined, as well as the reform movement of the 1960s and its impact on the schools.

Second, the study assesses the current status of political education in terms of legal constraints--state laws, state department of education guidelines, state textbook adoption practices, accrediting association requirements, and subject matter preparation of teachers. Textbooks which are representative of their types and which utilize well-known political science approaches are critically evaluated to determine the extent to which they appear to achieve commonly-stated political education objectives. Seven criteria drawn from the literature are used: (1) descriptive accuracy, (2) soundness of the analytic framework used for structuring content, (3) conceptual scope and sophistication, (4) utilization of recent research, (5) insight into the dynamics of political process, (6) use of democratic theory to evaluate

the functions of governmental units, and (7) development of skills of effective participation.

Finally, on the basis of this critical analysis of materials and practices, we (1) hypothesize that the rhetorical goal of political education--which proposes teaching the concepts of political science and/or the content of American government while at the same time inculcating the skills and attitudes of good citizenship--has never, in fact, been achievable, and (2) offer an alternative political education model based on building citizen capabilities.

This abstract is approved as to form and content. I recommend its publication.

Signed Richard G. Gibson
Faculty member in charge of thesis

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I suspect that no doctoral dissertation results solely from the efforts of the writer. This one, at least, has been made possible by the contributions and interest of friends, colleagues, and family members.

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Lee F. Anderson first suggested that precollegiate political education (as opposed to more conventional topics) was a subject worth pursuing. His ideas have been paramount in helping me to define my objectives and organize my study.

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INTRODUCTION

Whatever else can be said about the scope, research orientation, or predilictions of the discipline of political science, its spokesmen have always assumed that it should lead the way in educating the young for citizenship and civic affairs and for personal involvement in the decision-making aspects of public policy formulation. Both of these objectives

> were accepted by the discipline as correlative responsibilities during the formative years. Both, sporadic dissents notwithstanding, have since absorbed much of the profession's attention.[1]

In this regard, at least, political science is unique among the social science disciplines.

Pressure to perform this two-pronged task--educating all of America's young in those patriotic virtues and capabilities thought necessary for adequate "performance" in a democratic society while preparing some to serve as future government officials--has come from both within and without the discipline.

This paper will trace the development of secondary level political education programs--their successes, their failures, the criticisms that attended them, and most importantly, the efforts,

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[1] Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus. The Development of American Political Science. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1967. pp. 21-42. Somit and Tanenhaus suggest that American political science as a learned discipline was born in 1880 when the Columbia School of Political Science opened. The American Political Science Association was founded in 1903, accompanied shortly thereafter by the establishment of an official scholarly journal in 1906.

time, and commitment provided by political scientists and by the American Political Science Association in this cause.

The history of political education in the United States is an interesting one because what seems to have emerged is a pattern of consistent failure to accomplish the intended objectives. One is left with a nagging appreciation of the countless disciplinarians who continued the battle rather than quit the arena because success seemed so elusive. The questions which remain, of course, are pragmatic ones. What now? Will there be more of the same? Are new models emerging which seem to hold some potential for the future?

It seems that guardedly optimistic responses to these and similar questions can be given. Guarded, because we still must resort to plaintive cries for more research--more research in learning and teaching theory, political socialization, political science theory, and research methodology. In calling for additional research as opposed to emphasizing teacher training, we institutionalize a dichotomy among disciplinarians which has proved troublesome in the past and which may, indeed, be insoluble given present institutional practices.

The status and reward system of political science as well as the advancement of the discipline is built on this need for pure and applied research. So long as this is so, the task of translating the results and research findings into the precollegiate classrooms is left with: (1) those who have already "succeeded" in research and publication pursuits and can "afford" the luxury of working at precollegiate tasks, (2) those who are willing to

forego first rank departmental positions and better paying jobs, and (3) those who are not representative of the best the discipline has to offer. The association is aware of the problems and efforts to overcome it are, at least, being considered.

We are further down the road than before the impressive developmental decade of the 1960s.[2] The efforts of the last decade added a rich, variegated smorgasbord of materials to the educator's toolkit for teaching civics, American government, and problems of democracy courses. There are a number of textbooks which incorporate new, sometimes rediscovered, approaches to organizing intellectual content and new (again, sometimes rediscovered) pedagogical approaches.

Unfortunately, there is still much to be accomplished. The new and better materials were barely conceptualized when disciplinarians, college-level educators, and teachers began remarking on deficiencies. Some felt the materials were too cognitive and did not address the valuing aspects of political education. Others were concerned that the materials were too complicated for untrained teachers to use. Certainly, the majority of the new materials have not found their way into precollegiate classrooms--Johnny not only can't read, his knowledge about what is political continues to decline.[3]

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[2]See pp. 121-155 for an elaboration of social science curriculum materials development.

[3]See, for example, pp. 93-97 for an analysis of the citizenship portion of the National Assessment of Educational Progress Results.

So the question that concerned the Founding Fathers of our country and Charles Merriam and Thomas Reed and David Easton and Richard Snyder remains largely unanswered. What, exactly, constitutes a good precollegiate political education program? What should Johnny and Mary know, feel, and be able to do about politics when they graduate from the twelfth grade? These are the questions which we, finally, address.

In Chapter I, we consider civic education in the United States from the years of the country's founding through the 1950s. We have tried to determine why it took the shape it did. Certainly, we have not examined every element in the past that might have had an influence; but we have looked at those parts of the American tradition that seem to have had particular vitality in structuring the direction that civic education has taken. We have also looked at the influence of the legal constraints--state laws, state departmental guidelines, and accrediting association requirements. Throughout, we have emphasized the role of political scientists and the American Political Science Association (APSA) because it has been the discipline of political science that has carried a significant part of the burden of trying to make the twin trails of civic education and political education somehow meet.

The major concern of Chapter II is with the criticisms that have been leveled at the quality of civic education and the reforms that have been attempted by a variety of groups, including APSA. This chapter also examines the new political curricula that were developed in the 1960s.

The focus of Chapter III is on materials--materials that are readily available to secondary school civics, American government, and problems of democracy teachers. These materials have been carefully described and evaluated in the light of recent political research. In addition, we have tried to determine to what extent that which is available for precollegiate classrooms matches what is being taught at the universities by the political scientists.

In Chapter IV we address some of the problems of what still seems to be wrong with political education. We try to make the case that much of the difficulty has been related to lack of self-conscious goal setting. The goals and the rhetoric have never, in fact, matched the reality of what could be accomplished.

Finally, we propose a new goal, one which we believe captures the spirit and intent of the Founding Fathers of the United States and political educators today. We then link this to attainable objectives given the state of the art in the discipline of political science.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, as in most societies, the social philosophies of the most dominant groups have determined the form and content of political science education which has, over time, reflected the prevalent orthodoxies of religion, philosophy, economics, politics, and social structure. The twin orthodoxies that have largely determined the content of American education are Lockean liberalism and capitalism. Hartz suggests that America "has within it, as it were, a kind of self-completing mechanism, which insures the university of the liberal idea."[1] The undergirding value of liberalism is individualism, which carries with it the right to property and equality. These rights of the individual are protected against encroachments by the prohibitions embodied in the basic contract which created the government.

A system based upon such values demands as a minimum: (1) steady motion toward "greater and greater realization of the goals of individual freedom and self-fulfillment"[2]; and (2) a stable government and framework of procedures with which to adjudicate the two basic values which are inherently conflictual.

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[1]Louis Hartz. The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1955. p. 6.

[2]Kenneth M. and Patricia Dolbeare. American Ideologies: The Competing Political Beliefs of the 1970s. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1971. p. 67.

All of these ideas presuppose a carefully conceived program of civic education. The tradition of a right to property and, by extension, material possessions and to equality; and the need for a coterie of civil elites as well as a widespread consensus among non-elites has, in large part, determined what should be taught. In fact, citizenship training has become the primary intrinsic goal in education in America.

The Pre-Revolutionary Years

The form that the citizenship training was to actually take seems to be a product of the offerings of American universities. From the founding of Harvard College in 1636 until the time of the American revolution, the nine colonial colleges rather faithfully reproduced the studies that were pursued in English universities of the time.

> The predominating influences were religious and ethical. This did not necessarily mean a preponderance of divinity courses, but rather a moral approach to subjects of study, and a deep responsibility for the development of character.[3]

An examination of course offerings and textbooks indicates that ethics (later called moral philosophy), law of nations, classics, and occasionally history were taught. Treatises on the law of nature and of nations by Grotius, Pufendorf, and Burlamaqui were apparently among those used. At least some of the colleges relied upon Francis Hutchinson's A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy that used the following definition of politics:

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[3]Anna Haddow. Political Science in American Colleges and Universities: 1636-1900. New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1939. pp. 16-17.

> The celebrated division of philosophy among the ancients was into the rational or logical, the natural and the moral. Their moral philosophy contained these parts, Ethics taken more strictly, teaching the nature and virtue of regulating the internal dispositions; and the knowledge of the law of nature. This latter contained, 1, the doctrine of private rights, or the laws obtaining in natural liberty; 2, Oeconomics, or the law and rights of the several members of a family; and 3, Politics, shewing the various plans of civic government, and the rights of states with respect to each other.[4]

Seven chapters of Volume III of Hutchinson's works dealt with Politics. In these, Hutchinson postulated, for example, that a civil government originated when (1) free people united for the common good; (2) a contract was the only source of just power; (3) natural liberty was the right of acting as one chose with the limitations of civil law; and (4) those who united together were bound to obey just laws but could refuse to obey those which were not. One part of book three even appealed to patriotism. There is also ample evidence that students were introduced to Locke and Hooker.[5]

Although the evidence is somewhat more questionable about the influence of the Greeks and Romans on university-trained colonists, we do know that all of the colleges made reading of the classics a part of their programs. There is evidence that both Aristotle and Plato were used, as were Tully, Virgil, and Tacitus, among others.[6]

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[4]Francis Hutchinson. A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy. 3rd ed. Glascow: Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1764. Vol. I, p. v. Cited in Haddow, op cit., p. 18.

[5]Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[6]Ibid., pp. 3-40.

Furthermore, disputation (oral discussion on various theses which had to be defended in Latin if challenged) was often on political topics and it would seem that consulting the ancients would have been a necessary part of the preparation.

The Formative Years--Post-Revolution

Whatever the reasons--acquaintance with the Greek model of the rational, informed, and active citizen; a belief in the right to individual self-fulfillment; a feeling that patriotism and support of civil law are a function of government--the Founding Fathers and their colleagues in the institutions of higher learning believed that there should be education for citizenship.

Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin clearly felt that "the science of politics" should not be left to chance or private initiative, but should be taught and nurtured in the educational institutions of the new nation. The literature abounds with their comments discussing the importance of education for the success of popular government. George Washington, for example, stated that "it is more necessary in a Republic than in any other form of government that young men should be instructed in the science of government."

Their interests were focused not so much on the development of a corps of theoreticians as on "the education of a group of capable, practical politicians trained to implement American ideals."[7]

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[7]Bernard Crick. The American Science of Politics: Its Origins and Conditions. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1959. p. 3.

Jefferson was able, when he became Governor of Virginia in 1779, to secure the establishment of a professorship of " 'Law and Police' and the addition of 'the law of Nature and Nations' to the subjects taught by 'the Moral professor'."[8] Haddow notes that "police" refers to the regulation and government of the inhabitants of a city or county. Jefferson was also largely responsible for the establishment of the University of Virginia in 1819. By 1824, there was income for only eight professorships; but of these, one was for moral philosophy and one was for law. The importance that Jefferson placed on what was taught is evidenced in a letter he wrote in 1825:

> But there is one branch in which we are the best judges, in which heresies may be taught, of so interesting a character in our own State, and to the United States, as to make it a duty in use to lay down the principles which shall be taught. It is that of government.[9]

The documents that were finally prescribed at Jefferson's insistence to assure that no taint of Federalism reach the students were Locke's Essay Concerning the true original extent and end of Civil Government, Sidney's Discourses on Government, The Declaration of Independence, The Federalist, The Resolution of the Assembly of Virginia in 1799 on the subject of the alien and sedition laws, and the valedictory address of President Washington.[10]

Other institutions during the period immediately following the Revolution continued using Aristotle, Grotius, Locke, and Burlamaqui and The Federalist, as well as Montesquieu, Vattal,

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[8] Haddow, op cit., p. 44.

[9] Cited in Haddow, op cit., p. 128.

[10] Ibid., p. 130.

Rousseau, and Paine. There is also evidence that indicates that two other fields of study were beginning to be introduced into the American universities which, for a number of years, were important in the development of political science. These were jurisprudence and political economy. Although some of the colleges, following the Oxford model, considered jurisprudence as both an academic study and the initiation of professional training for the practice of law,[11] others felt, as did President Stiles of Yale, that

> The Professorship of Law is. . . important. . . not indeed toward educating Lawyers or Barristers, but for forming Civilians. Fewer than a quarter perhaps of the young gentlemen educated at College, enter into either of the learned professions of Divinity, Law or Physic: The greater part of them after finishing the academic course return home, mix in with the body of the public, and enter upon Commerce or the cultivation of their Estates. . . . It is greatly owing to the Seats of Learning among us that the arduous conflict of the present day has found America abundantly furnished with Men adequate to the great and momentous Work of constructing new Policies or forms of Government and conducting the public arrangements in the military, naval and political Departments and the whole public administration of the Republic of the United States with the Wisdom and Magnanimity which already astonishes Europe. . . .[12]

Like jurisprudence, courses in political economy also had much content that can properly be considered political science. Haddow, however, suggests that although the subject matter emphasis was on such areas as public finance, control of commerce and industry, and public welfare, the treatment was largely theoretical and the analysis imcomplete.[13]

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[11] Ibid., pp. 83-100.

[12] "Plan of President Stiles" reproduced from original manuscript in Yale University Library. Cited in Haddow, op cit., p. 86.

[13] Ibid., p. 97.

Francis Lieber, who is credited with being the originator of the systematic study of politics, stated (or perhaps overstated) in his inaugural address as professor of history and political science at Columbia University in 1858:

> It is now generally acknowledged that Political Economy ought not to be omitted in a course of superior education, all the reasons apply with greater force to that branch which treats of the relations of man as a jural being--as citizen, and most especially so in our country, where individual political liberty is enjoyed in a degree to which it has never been enjoyed before. Nowhere is political action carried to a greater intensity, and nowhere is the calming effect of an earnest and scientific treatment of politics more necessary. . . . One of the means to insure the difficult existence of liberty. . . is the earnest bringing up of the young in the path of political truth and justice, the necessity of which is increased by the reflection that in our period of large cities, man has to solve, for the first time in history, the problem of making a high degree of general and individual liberty compatible with populous cities. It is one of the highest problems of our race, which cannot yet be said to have been solved.[14]

Lieber also insisted that political philosophy was a necessary component of all political science programs so that man, the individual and man, the social being, would be led to understand the twin ideas of rights and duties.

Constitutional history became an important part of most college programs after 1925. Several textbooks in addition to The Federalist were prepared to supplement the document itself.

Despite the fact that much was going on in the universities that was politically oriented and there were a few specialists such as Francis Lieber who were dedicated to developing a systematic course of study, American universities were poorly equipped to

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[14]Cited in Haddow, op cit., p. 141.

undertake the dual purposes that would have fulfilled the hopes of the Founding Fathers. There were limited textbooks and meager facilities. As late as 1867, James A. Garfield said of the Harvard curriculum:

> A few weeks of Senior year given to Guizot [Origin of Representative Government] and the History of the Federal Constitution, and a lecture on General History once a week during half that year, furnishes all that a graduate of Harvard is required to know of his own country and the living nations of the world. . . . Seven years ago, there was scarcely an American college, in which more than four weeks out of the four year course was devoted to studying the government and history of the United States. . . .[15]

With respect to indoctrination of American ideals, the universities were probably more successful. In keeping with the moralistic tone that permeated American education from its beginnings, political education--to the extent that it existed--was dedicated to the task of inculcating uncritical acceptance of traditional American values. The principal goal was to develop "morally upright, God-fearing, straight-thinking citizens."[16]

Bernard Crick has noted a typical comment from an 1885 University of Iowa Commencement Address:

> Our University owes its existence to the government. Let us pay the debt by teaching its principles, its history, its purposes, its duties, its privileges, and its powers.[17]

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[15]James A. Garfield. "College Education." An Address Delivered before the Library Societies of the Eclectic Institute at Hiram, Ohio, June 14, 1867. Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict, and Company, 1867. pp. 15-16. Cited in Haddow, op cit., pp. 173, 235.

[16]Somit and Tanenhaus, op cit., pp. 1-15.

[17]Crick, op cit., p. 23n.

Precollegiate political education paralleled and was reinforced by university teachings. For a long time, citizenship training followed the English model by stressing a classical approach, including the study of constitutional history and ethics, which would put students who would later become voters, in a proper frame of mind to assume full citizenship responsibilities.

Constitutional history supplied the main content focus, with indoctrination in traditional American ideals permeating this and many other parts of the curriculum. Textbooks were the same or similar to those used at the universities. An example is Analysis of Civil Government by Calvin Townsend which, according to the title page, was designed as "a class-book for the use of grammar, high, and normal schools, academies, and other institutions of learning." Despite its title, Analysis of Civil Government did not provide an analysis of various forms of civil government. Rather, it was largely a description of the American form which was presented in idealistic terms.[18]

The author of The Citizen's Manual of Government and Law: Comprising The Elementary Principles of Civil Government; a Practical View of the State Governments, and of the Government of the United States; a Digest of Common and Statutory Law and the Law of Nations; and a Summary of Parliamentary Rules for the Practice of Deliberative Assemblies stated in the preface that:

> It is doubtful whether any other book of equal size contains as much matter to which the citizen has occasion to refer in the common concerns of life. . . .

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[18]Calvin Townsend. Analysis of Civil Government. New York: Ivison, Phinney, Blakeman, and Company, 1869.

> For the better illustration of the principles of civil government, and to show, by contrast, the superiority of our own government, an outline is given of the forms of government of the principal nations of Europe, and some of the ancient republics.[19]

Yet another high school textbook which illustrates this general approach was one entitled The Science of Government in Connection with American Institutions. The author, Joseph Alden, stated that his objective was "to aid the young in acquiring the knowledge necessary for the discharge of their duties as citizens of the United States."[20]

1865-1900

The period following the Civil War was marked by the expansion in America of business, industry, science, and knowledge. The universities were compelled to transform their narrow, classical curricula into programs which included the new natural and humanistic sciences.

Many American students had gone abroad to study in German universities and were coming back to America more interested in systematic theory, careful analysis, the scientific method, and extending the boundaries of knowledge than in the old philosophical approach. There was a general discontent with the moralistic stress on political ideals, and even more with the paucity of political content in collegiate and precollegiate curricula, which led educators

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[19]Andrew W. Young. The Citizen's Manual of Goverment and Law, new ed., rev. New York: H. Dayton, 1858.

[20]Joseph Alden. The Science of Government in Connection with American Institutions. New York: Sheldon and Company, 1866. See Haddow, op cit., pp. 235-256 for other textbooks of this genre.

near the turn of the century to intiate efforts to reshape the content of political science. Interest in and commitment to the cause of citizenship education remained among the unquestioned goals, however.

Andrew D. White, who was to become a member of the First Executive Council of the American Political Science Association, suggested in 1879 that it was far better

> to send out from institutions of higher education one well-trained young man, sturdy in the town meeting, patriotic in the caucus, vigorous in the legislature, than a hundred of the gorgeous and gifted young cynics who lounge about city clubs, talk about 'art' and 'culture' and wonder why the country persists on going to the bad.[21]

White's primary objective in establishing a political science department at Cornell was to have a facility in which future government officials and other citizen-leaders might be educated.

A contemporary and even more prestigious political scientist, John W. Burgess, gave as his secondary goal in establishing a School of Political Science at Columbia the preparation of young men for all branches of the public service. This interest apparently included training teachers of political science.[22] Committees from the National Education Association and the American Historical Association also grappled with the problem.

One of the most influential forces for reform was the Committee of Ten of the National Education Association (NEA). In its Report in 1894, the Committee recommended a high school program consisting primarily of history. The study of "civil government,"

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[21] Quoted by Somit and Tanenhaus, op cit., p. 46.

[22] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

which referred to the history and structure of government, was also suggested for grade 12. It is at least interesting that Woodrow Wilson served as a member of the conference on history, civil government, and political economy.[23]

The Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association in 1899 reinforced and established an exemplary pattern for the study of history which was already being stressed in American curricula. In 1899, it recommended four blocks of history ranging from studies of Ancient Greece and Rome to American political history and its European antecedents.[24]

The 20th Century

1900-1915

The turn of the century witnessed the founding of the professional associations of the emerging social sciences. These groups, turning their attention to school curriculum, were dissatisfied with what they saw, claiming it did not reflect the changing nature of society itself. A standing committee on the teaching of political science was appointed at the first organizational meeting of the APSA in December 1903. This committee was superseded at the Executive Council meeting of December 1904 by a Section on Instruction in Political Science. William A. Schaper (University of Minnesota)

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[23]National Education Association. Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary Social Studies. New York: National Education Association, 1894. p. 163.

[24]Byron G. Massialas and C. Benjamin Cox. Inquiry in Social Studies. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966. p. 27.

was appointed chairman by APSA President, Frank J. Goodnow (of Columbia University).[25]

In 1905, Professor Schaper presented a report entitled "What Do Students Know About American Government Before Taking College Courses in Political Science?" to the second annual meeting of APSA. The report, which contained the guidelines for the subsequent work of the section, noted:

> Students entering college are very deficient in the simplest rudiments of American government and, of course, American history. The results of a test containing questions on Congress, the Constitution, the judiciary and local government, given to about 350 freshmen in some Eastern and Western universities in 1905 suggested a strong need for compulsory American government and history courses in high school. In the universities the attainment of an acceptable or a certain proficiency in these two branches of the Social Studies should be made a requirement for graduation.[26]

While the findings of the committee are interesting, Somit and Tanenhaus suggest that the bland assumptions that schools supported by public funds should educate for democratic citizenship and the recommendation that American government courses should be compulsory at both precollegiate and undergraduate levels are considerably more significant.[27]

The Association's response to the Schaper paper was to set up another committee composed of Schaper, Paul Reisch (University of

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[25]Evron M. Kirkpatrick. A History of the American Political Science Association's Activities in the Field of Secondary Education and Government. Unpublished manuscript, p. 1.

[26]Full report published in Proceedings of the American Political Science Association. Vol. II (1905) pp. 207-228; and in Journal of Pedagogy. June 1906. Quoted from Kirkpatrick, op cit., p. 10.

[27]Somit and Tanenhaus, op cit., p. 81.

Wisconsin) and Isidor Loeb (State University of Missouri) to undertake a study of the status of government instruction. This group, along with J. A. James (Northwestern University) and James Sullivan (Principal, Warcy Avenue Baptist High School, Brooklyn) circulated over 1600 copies of a questionnaire among secondary schools and sponsored two conferences on the subject.[28]

The recommendations which were published in 1907 and carefully considered at the Executive Council meeting in December 1908 are very similar to what tends to emerge from meetings today--very long on the what and when, but with small attention paid to the how. The recommendations included:

1. Some instruction in American government should be given in elementary schools. The subject should be introduced into all grades, starting not later than the fifth grade. A teacher who understands the subject and a small collection of well-chosen books, some government publications, current periodicals, and newspapers for the teachers' use are absolutely necessary.

2. The subject should be enlarged in high school. Two approaches could be used: an examination of the local government which is near at hand, followed by a study of the state, and finally a study of the federal government; or the teacher might begin with the latter and proceed to state and local governments. City, town, and state governments should be emphasized since the citizen comes in contact with these more than with the Federal government.

3. Only those who have had some good instruction in political science in a recognized college or university should be allowed to teach the subject in high school.

4. The subject should be made a part of college entrance requirements.

5. Teacher training institutions should pay more attention to people in political science.

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[28]Copy of the questionnaire is included in Proceedings, op cit., Vol. V, pp. 221-223.

6. The recommended text for high schools is one which treats state and local government (with some comparisons of other states) in one section, and the national government in another.

7. A good collection of books, periodicals, etc., dealing with the subject should be part of every high school.

8. Students should be made to watch the procedures of government (by visiting law-making bodies) and also to read newspapers and magazines in order to follow the actual workings of the government.[29]

Again, what is noteworthy for our concerns is the "statement of purpose" accompanying the small questionnaires which the committee used. This, once more, took for granted that both college and secondary schools had an obligation to prepare the young for citizenship.

> Is it not a curious fact that though our schools are largely instituted, supported, and operated by the government, yet the study of American Government in the schools and colleges is the last subject to receive adequate attention? The results of the neglect of this important branch of study in our educational institutions can easily be seen in the general unfitness of men who have entered a political career, so that now the name of statesmen is often used as a form of reproach, and the public service is weak, except in a few conspicuous instances. Are the schools perhaps to blame for the lack of interest in politics shown by our educated men until the recent exposures arrested the attention of the entire nation?
>
> We think the best place to begin the work of regeneration and reform is in the American secondary schools and colleges. Here we find the judges, legislators, diplomats, politicians and office-seekers of the future in the making. Here are the future citizens, too, in their most impressionable years, in the years when the teacher has their attention. (emphasis mine)[30]

A future president of the Association, Charles G. Haines (Whitman College), assumed chairmanship of the Committee of Seven

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[29] Ibid., pp. 219-257.

[30] Quoted by Somit and Tanenhaus, op cit., p. 80.

on Instruction in Political Science in 1911. Besides cooperating with the U.S. Bureau of Education and with like-minded committees from the National Municipal League and the National Education Association, this Committee prepared a report which may be surprising to present-day disciplinarians because of the way priorities are ranked for departments of political science.

> . . . departments of political science are called upon to perform services of three distinct types: (1) to train for citizenship; (2) to prepare for professions such as law, journalism, teaching, and public service; (3) to train experts and to prepare specialists for government positions; . . . and for the universities a fourth group might be added including courses primarily to train for research work.[31]

Other committees and activities also attest to the interest of APSA in precollegiate education during these years. In 1913, the APSA Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure was instructed to consider such controversial issues as liberty of thought, freedom of speech, and security of tenure for teachers of political science in secondary schools. During the Annual Meeting the same year two discussions--"New Proportions of Political Instruction" and "Method and Material in Political Instruction"--were presented.[32]

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[31] Ibid., pp. 82-83. Members of the Committee in addition to the chairman were J. B. Davis, Edgar Dawson (Hunter College), Mabel Hill, F. E. Horack, F. C. Jacoby, and J. A. James.

[32] Kirkpatrick, op cit., pp. 2, 11. Members of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure were Edwin R. A. Seligman (Columbia), chairman; Richard A. Fetter (Princeton); James A. Lichtinberger (University of Pennsylvania); Roscoe Pound (Harvard); Ulysses G. Weatherly (University of Indiana); J. E. Dealey (Brown University); Henry W. Farnam (Yale); Charles E. Bennett (Cornell); Edward C. Elliott (University of Wisconsin); Guy Stanton Ford (University of Minnesota); Charles Atwood Kofoid (University of California); Arthur O. Lovejoy (Johns Hopkins); Frederick W. Padilford (University of Washington); Howard C. Warren (Princeton).

The Influential Reports

From the late 19th century until around 1915, civil government was the term generally employed to designate secondary political science courses. It was defined as "the science of citizenship--the relation of man, the individual, to man in organized collections--the individual in relation to the state." Between 1885 and 1900, about 25 new texts in civil government were published for use in political education courses.[33]

A content analysis of 37 texts indicates that during this period, writers were according more favorable treatment to North Europeans than to South Europeans and Orientals, who received considerable criticism. Selective immigration was also endorsed by most.[34]

It was about 1915, under the influence of Arthur W. Dunn, a specialist in civic education in the U.S. Bureau of Education, that the term civics became part of the vocabulary of educators. His advocacy of the community civics movement and reports from the professional associations lent legitimacy to the use of the term.

In 1913, the National Education Association established a Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education.

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[33]Russell F. Farnen and Robert M. Bjork. The Teaching of Government. Nashville, Tennessee: George Peabody College for Teachers. Unpublished paper, nd., pp. 2-3.

[34]Donald Leon Bechtel. An Analysis of Selected Civics Attitudes in High School American History, Geography, and Civics Textbooks, 1885-1914. Vermillion, South Dakota: University of South Dakota. Unpublished dissertation, 1968.

Dissatisfaction with the quality of civil government courses and an awareness of the discrepancy between stated goals and achievement indicated that both content and course patterns should be evaluated. A special committee named by the Commission published a report in 1915, entitled The Teaching of Community Civics, which stated that civics in particular and social studies in general should have as their primary objective training for good citizenship. It recommended a course in community civics for students in the ninth grade. Although it was assumed that the local community was most near and, therefore, most dear, "community" denoted not only the local but also the state and national communities. The course was to develop "young citizens" who knew about community agencies, were interested in community as well as individual concerns, were capable of initiating social reform, and were productive in social action. Not only were good citizens supposed to have knowledge of community agencies which promoted the general welfare; they were supposed to contribute to social action fostering pure food laws, schools, playgrounds, parks, factories, post offices, and railroads. Among the topics which were suggested for inclusion in the course were health, education, communication, transportation, recreation, migration, civic beauty, wealth, charities, corrections, and conducting and financing of governmental and voluntary agencies. The content and methods for treating such areas was often specified. In addition, the report also suggested an advanced or "capstone" course.[35]

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[35]U.S. Bureau of Education. The Teaching of Community Civics. Bulletin 1915, No. 23. (Prepared by a Special Committee of the

Underlying these courses was the presumption that it is "good" for citizens to be politically and socially active in bringing about reform in their own communities. The methodology did not include teaching the students participatory skills, nor provide participation opportunities, however.

One of the most influential reports prepared under the auspices of APSA, The Teaching of Government, was published in 1916 by The Macmillan Company.[36] This document was, in fact, abstracted from the report prepared by the Committee of Seven on Instruction in Political Science to which we have already referred and contains recommendations on the teaching of civics in the high school which were similar to those in The Teaching of Community Civics. It also identified the need to develop "a close working relationship between social science teaching at the college and high school levels," and the advantages of separating the teaching of government from the history department. While the similarities can be partially explained by the fact that J. Lynn Barnard was involved in the preparation of both reports, the mutual reinforcement provided by these reports served to legitimize a high school course of

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Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, National Education Association.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1915. This report represents a retreat from the earlier recommendations that American government be taught in every grade above five.)

[36]A. James Quillen. "Government-Oriented Courses in the Secondary School Curriculum," in Donald H. Riddle and Robert E. Cleary, eds. Political Science in the Social Studies. Washington, D.C.: Thirty-Sixth Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies, 1966. p. 256.

study that survives to this day. Ninth-grade civics is, in fact, one of the most widely taught courses in the high school curriculum.

A report which was prepared by the full Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in 1916, entitled The Social Studies in Secondary Education, endorsed the findings (The Teaching of Community Civics) of the special committee mentioned above. The report asserted that the development of citizenship, which was described as social efficiency, is the most important facet of social studies instruction. In addition, it added a "world community" dimension to that of the local-state-national community concept and proposed that the second half of the ninth-grade civics course be devoted to economic and vocational aspects of civics. The Commission also recommended a largely original half-year or one-year course in economic, social, and political problems of democracy. The content was to be drawn from all the existing social sciences. It was specifically noted that neither traditional courses in civil government nor courses that attempted to simplify political science were sufficient to reach the general goals set forth by the Committee.[37] The purpose of the course was to give "a more definite, comprehensive, and deeper knowledge of some of the problems of social life, and thus securing a far more intelligent and active citizenship."[38]

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[37] U.S. Bureau of Education. The Social Studies in Secondary Education, Bulletin 1916, No. 28. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1916.

[38] Ibid., p. 52.

1916-1940

In 1916 another committee on Instruction in Political Science was authorized by APSA. It was not active until 1919 because of World War I, however. At that time Edgar Dawson (Hunter College) took a leave of absence to direct a study of the teaching of government in secondary schools. A preliminary report was presented at the 1920 Annual Meeting which recommended better training for teachers, better textbooks, and an "authoritative definition regarding the content of high school civics courses." As might be expected, a new committee was established under the chairmanship of W. B. Munro, which

> was directed to define 'civics' and to consider ways the APSA could exert constructive influence in determining the scope and method of government instruction in high schools, especially by improving the APSA's relationship with secondary teachers and educational authorities.[39]

The report of this committee which was published in APSR in 1921 includes an outline for a course in political science which stressed the "problem method" technique.

> The aim of the course should not be to impart information, but rather to give the pupil an intelligent conception of the great society of which he is a member, his relation to it, what it requires of him, how it is organized, and what functions it performs. The study of governmental organizations and the functions of the public ought to be at the core. It should aim to inculcate sound ideals of citizenship, to emphasize the duties of the citizen and to afford any grasp of public problems.

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[39] Kirkpatrick, op cit., p. 2.

> The immediate problem is to impress upon the pupil the fact he is a member of the community and ought to be an active, constructive member of it.[40]

It was also in 1921 that APSA appointed two representatives each to confer about high school social studies education with members of the American Historical Association (AHA), American Economic Association, American Sociological Society, and the National Education Association. Guests from AHA, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Council for the Social Studies also attended a luncheon at the 1923 Annual Meeting, organized around the theme, "The Social Studies in the Schools."

In the following year, 1924, yet another tack was taken. A committee, which had been appointed to examine ways in which state legislatures might be required to make classes in government mandatory, presented a report. Included was a bill which could serve as the model for the legislature wishing to enact such laws.[41]

A few political scientists during this period suggested that new methodologies should be included in political education efforts. One report which emerged in 1923 stressed the role of political science as a contributor with the other social sciences in the common attack on social problems through behavioral research. The report traced the development of the discipline up to 1850, detailing its use of deductive or a priori reasoning patterns; identified its reliance on the historical and comparative method from

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[40] Kirkpatrick, op cit., p. 11.

[41] Ibid., p. 3.

1850-1900; and recognized the growing trend after 1900 for using empirical methods.[42]

A real concern was developing (one that continues to be troublesome) about the growing disparity between K-12 citizenship education and the research emphases of most political scientists. The truth of the matter is that political scientists from the time that the German model[43] was embraced have been more interested in research than in undergraduate and precollegiate teaching. Thus, although the philosophical commitment to civic education was an unquestioned and major part of the professional ethic, the difference in both the quality and content of what was going on in collegiate institutions and what was filtering down into secondary classrooms was becoming more pronounced.

It was also around this time that some disciplinarians--primarily those who were interested in the development of a "science of politics" and a research methodology which might evidence explanatory and predictive rigor--began to question the professional role of APSA in connection with citizenship education and to seek a more viable methodology with which to address political education. Typical of the concerns of this group are the remarks of William B. Munro in his 1928 presidential speech.

> All around us gigantic campaigns of civic education are being carried on, by organizations of every kind, every

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[42] Farnen and Bjork, op cit., p. 4.

[43] The German University model embraced the twin concepts of Lehrfreiheit and Lernfrecheit. Lehrfreiheit, the concept relating to disciplinarians, meant that research was the major responsibility, and academic reputation turned primarily on research attainments. See Somit and Tanenhaus, op cit., pp. 15, 16.

> bit of it inspired by the hope of improving the attitude of the citizen toward his government, and especially his sense of civic duty. A large part of this effort is based upon the naive assumption that if you only exhort people with sufficient earnestness they can be induced to accept irrational ideas embalmed in the rhetoric of patriotism.[44]

The attitude that political scientists should not be involved in teaching citizenship influenced only a minority of the membership. Much more influential were the philosophies and activities of the powerful Committee on Policy which, after 1927, was directed by Thomas H. Reed.[45] Reed set about to transform the discipline of political science and proposed a program which included public school and adult education and supervision of training and placement in the public service. Appendix VIII of a major report prepared by the Committee focused on "Political Science Instruction in Teacher Training Institutions, Colleges of Engineering, and Colleges of Commerce."[46] Under Reed's direction, a membership recruitment drive aimed at civics instructors in the high schools and teachers colleges was projected. One section of the committee's report probably fairly represents the viewpoint of the majority of the Association's membership.

> In a democratic sense, the results of research in matters of politics and government must be widely disseminated if they are to eventuate in action. Unless men and women are trained to comprehend and receive the results of research in these fields, such results can

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[44]Quoted in Somit and Tanenhaus, op cit., p. 136.

[45]Members in addition to Reed were C. A. Beard, R. A. Ogg, R. C. Brooks, J. R. Hayden, C. E. Merriam, and W. F. Willoughby.

[46]Report of the Committee on Policy. "Political Science Instruction in Teacher Training Institutions, Colleges of Engineering, and Colleges of Commerce," in American Political Science Review (APSR), Vol. 24, 1930, Supplement.

> never be practically applied. Adequate instruction in schools, colleges, and universities can alone prepare for the formation of sound public opinion, and only trained public servants can properly employ the results of research in the service of the community.[47]

A subcommittee of the Committee on Policy, the Subcommittee on Political Education, with funds provided by the Carnegie Foundation, arranged conferences to bring together school administrators, pre-collegiate social studies teachers, and political scientists to discuss the role of government instruction in the schools.[48] Among the objectives which emerged from the dialogues were to better prepare teachers and to seek a clearer understanding of the fact that civics programs should primarily be concerned with instruction about government.[49]

The first series of conferences were considered so successful that similar efforts were attempted throughout the 1930s. The Division for Citizenship Training of the Subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Earl W. Crecraft and B. A. Arneson, cooperated with the American Council on Education, the U.S. Office of Education,

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[47] Ibid., p. 3.

[48] Members of the Subcommittee were Harold W. Dodds, Earl W. Crecraft, John B. Senning, and the same William B. Munro who was beginning to question APSA's priorities.

[49] Examples of papers presented at the second conference held in Columbus, Ohio, arranged by B. A. Arneson (Ohio Wesleyan), were "The Objectives of Civics Courses in the High School"--E. G. Smith (Ohio University); "Teachers of Civics and Government in Public High Schools"--O. B. Skinner (State Director of Education); and "The Significance of the Study of Government in Our Public School System"--Carl F. Geiser (Oberlin).

Kirkpatrick, op cit., pp. 3, 11-12.

and the American Historical Association in sponsoring the study conferences. A report that appeared in 1930 suggested that a political education committee be established, that the discipline be integrated and reorganized in terms of basic concepts that could be taught, and that student imagination, interest, contemplation, and speculation be encouraged by political science teachers.[50] It was this subcommittee that sought to appoint a political scientist in every state who would serve as an unofficial ambassador at education conferences and state departments of education. APSA also cooperated with AHA in the preparation of a study which was concerned with the organization and teaching of the social sciences in both secondary and elementary schools. The report revealed a trend toward economic and social development courses and a deemphasis of political and military affairs.[51]

In 1934, another Subcommittee of the Committee on Policy, Materials and Instruction, under the direction of Arthur Holcomb and with a new member, Cullen B. Gosnell, established a task force to investigate teaching materials used in secondary social studies courses.[52] The members were quite perturbed over the trend in the schools toward teaching current social problems courses. Their concern was not one that had to do with a fundamental belief that controversial issues ought not to be taught. Rather, they believed

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[50] Kirkpatrick, op cit., p. 4.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Members of this task force were Finla G. Crawford, Chairman; B. A. Arneson; and Charles A. Beard.

that the collection, analysis, and presentation of materials suitable for teaching such topics was difficult, and often beyond the capabilities and expertise of most classroom teachers.

> Materials pour pell mell from the press, and may be supplemented in many cases, by direct observation. On controversial issues it is most often impossible to secure effective statements of all the views in conflict. Even the primary documents cannot always be obtained for immediate classroom use. Nor are teachers always trained in source methods--the finding and criticism of current materials for balanced and effective presentation.[53]

In order to start dealing with this problem, this Subcommittee prepared an illustrated textbook which focused on the ideas and functions rather than the machinery of government. It was composed entirely of those official papers covering the fiscal year 1934-35, which the editors felt were necessary to provide a broad understanding of the contemporary problems of American government. Part I of the book dealt with official programs and platforms "designed to influence public opinion and action." Included were the "Principles of the Republican Party"; "Wisconsin's Progressive Party Platform"; "The Farmer-Labor Legislative Program, 1934"; "Principles of the Socialist Party"; "Principles and Programs of the American Federation of Labor"; "Preamble and Principles of the National Union for Social Justice"; "The Epic Plan"; and President Roosevelt's Annual Message to Congress, Progress Report on Work Relief and Pending Legislation, and the Message on Taxation.

Part II of the text dealt with a variety of governmental issues such as fair electrical rates, national power resources,

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[53]Charles A. Beard and George H. E. Smith. Current Problems of Public Policy. New York: Macmillan Company, 1936. p.v.

federal policy respecting holding companies and the utilities, transportation, labor and industry, the depression adjustment in agriculture, and regional planning. The last section of the text emphasized such problems of administration as reorganization of local government, the unicameral legislature, and deficit spending.

Perhaps the most striking point about the book beyond the fact that the documents which were included were carefully selected and were intended to provide an authentic statement of the "official case" that there is absolutely no clue provided the teachers about what would be appropriate to do with the articles. Certainly, students who read the text would have had a start toward obtaining an adequate information base. They would have gotten no assistance in how to analyze the data; how to make hypotheses based on the data; how to test their hypotheses; how or from what source to obtain new information; or how to evaluate the various positions which were presented.

Programs at the Annual Meetings of APSA during this period included sections and round tables on secondary civics instruction. The 1933 program should serve as an example.

Session 1. The Goals of Civic Education in the United States--Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago.

The Development of Civic Education in the United States--George F. Zook, U. S. Commissioner of Education

Discussion Leaders: George S. Counts
Earl Crecraft

Session 2. How a State Department of Education Looks Upon the Program for the Improvement of Civic Education--George M. Wiley

What the College Teachers Can Do to Improve the Teaching of High School Civics--Howard White, Miami University.

Political Clubs as Agents of Civic Education--William E. Moshery.

Discussion Leaders: F. A. Middlebush
M. M. Chambers[54]

Charles E. Merriam, incidentally, served as a member of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association and wrote Civic Education in the United States as Part VI of its report. He also directed and wrote the summary volume of a major study of civic education in eight nations.[55]

The Committee on Policy was terminated in 1937. Although it was never able to restructure political science to reach its goals, the data indicate that American political scientists continued to consider citizenship education a primary responsibility.

1940-1969

Other than the Annual Meetings of APSA which have continually served as a forum for discussion and examination of problems relating to civic education, the main thrust of the war and post-war years was extensive cooperation with other social science organizations, particularly the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). In fact, in 1939, a formal committee was established which was appropriately called the Committee to Cooperate with the

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Charles E. Merriam. Civic Education in the United States. New York: Scribners, 1934.
Charles E. Merriam. The Making of Citizens. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

National Council for the Social Studies.[56] Fortunately, the Committee shortened its name in 1940 to the Committee on Social Studies.[57]

From 1939 until 1947, the Committee, among other activities, circulated a questionnaire on the content of senior high school courses in government; continued studying teacher preparation and certification; attempted to clarify the relationship of civics and political science to other social sciences; encouraged the development of effective teaching materials by college and high school teachers; promoted ways of using the community as a laboratory for citizenship education; prepared a study unit on civil liberties; analyzed existing legislation, administrative actions, and judicial decisions related to the teaching of social studies; investigated certification requirements; cosponsored seminars, discussion groups, and various meetings; contributed articles and teachers' guides to Social Education, the official journal of NCSS; prepared and published a teacher's manual on International Problems; and published a report on citizenship training for precollege students.

The Committee on Social Education was discontinued in 1947. In 1948, both it and the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction

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[56]Members were Roscoe Ashley (Pasadena Junior College), Phillips Bradley (Queens College), David H. Knepper (Mississippi State College for Women), Harrison C. Thomas (New York City Board of Education), Howard White (Miami University).

Kirkpatrick, op cit., p. 13.

[57]Members were Roscoe Ashley, Phillips Bradley, Myer Cohen, Robert E. Connery, Henretta Fernitz, O. Garfield Jones, David Knepper, Lane W. Lancaster, Warner Moss. Consultants to the Committee were Charles A. Beard, William A. Carr, Edgar Dawson, Erling Hunt, and Walter Myer.

were replaced by the Committee on Improved Teaching.[58] The final project of this Committee was a report on "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion" which was published in 1951. Apparently, this "opus" (as it has been called) had "little more than distinguished authorship to recommend it" and managed to face in all directions on all issues. One reviewer suggests that "Goals" reflected "faithfully the state of political science at mid-century."[59]

In any event, "Goals for Political Science", summarizing its findings from interviews and questionnaires, concluded that training for democratic citizenship was the primary goal of American political scientists. The Committee in its concern for such teaching emphasized political sophistication, the structure and dynamics of government, the attributes and values of democracy, and individual and collective action to preserve and develop democracy. Good citizens should think critically, analyze propaganda, and be familiar with American and foreign political institutions. To

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[58] James W. Fisher. "Goals for Political Science: A Discussion." in APSR, Vol. 45, No. 4, 1951. p. 1000.

[59] It may be that the most noteworthy contribution of this Committee--noteworthy from the perspective of future findings--was the attempt, under the guidance of Quincy Wright, to have the social sciences included within the purview of the National Science Foundation (NSF). APSA's involvement in developing curricula and other resources for teachers was partially funded by NSF during the 1960s and 1970s. Reference to early efforts to obtain NSF support can be found in Kirkpatrick, op cit., pp. 5-9, and Somit and Tanenhaus, op cit., p. 163.

achieve this end, the report called for improved liaison between university and high school teachers.[60]

It was also during the 1940s and 1950s that the Association's Advisory Panel on Methods of Encouraging Political Patricipation, and its successor, the Committee on Citizenship Participation in Politics, joined in supporting the Citizenship Clearing House--National Center for Education in Politics. This alliance eventually was terminated; however, APSA continued an expanded effort to work with graduate students, journalists, and professional politicians in this area through the 1960s.[61]

Individual political scientists also wrote chapters addressed to teachers and curriculum designers for New Viewpoints in the Social Sciences,[62] The Social Studies and the Social Sciences,[63] and High School Social Studies Perspectives.[64]

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[60]Important issues of APSR which discuss this and other endeavors of political scientists and full texts of some reports are Vol. XV, No. 5 (October 1946), pp. 966-971; Vol. 45, No. 5 (December 1951), pp. 966-1023; and Vol. 46, No. 2 (June 1952), pp. 304-311.

[61]Somit and Tanenhaus, op cit., pp. 197-199.

[62]Warren E. Miller. "New Viewpoints in the Social Sciences" in Roy A. Price, ed. New Viewpoints in the Social Sciences. Washington, D.C.: Twenty-Eighth Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies, 1958.

[64]Norton E. Long. "Political Science" in The Social Studies and the Social Sciences. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962.

[64]Evron M. and Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick. "Political Science" in High School Social Studies Perspectives. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1962.

The most extensive program of the 1960s was a television series on government which was jointly sponsored by APSA, NCSS, the American Associations of Colleges for Teacher Education, and the National Broadcasting System. The series, known as "Continental Classroom," tried to present both an objective and scholarly analysis of the fundamentals and background of government and the ways in which the government makes and executes public policy. The series was televised from 6:30 to 7:00 a.m., Monday through Friday over 176 stations, blanketing 90 percent of the nation's total viewing audience. Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Executive Director of APSA, estimated in 1963 that in addition to 191 colleges and universities with an average class enrollment of 25 which were offering the program for regular academic credit, more than half of the nation's high school social studies teachers and about half a million non-teachers (including high school viewers) were included in the viewing audience.[65]

APSA also conducted a preliminary survey of social studies course offerings, enrollments, and graduation requirements; began a review of teaching materials; invited outstanding social studies teachers to join APSA; and provided for regular representation at NCSS meetings. While APSA did not participate organizationally

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[65]During the first semester, 1963, Peter M. Odegard (University of California, Berkeley) presented lectures on such topics as "Geopolitics and American Government," "Democracy in America," "Separation of Powers," "The President--Policy and Administration," "Congress," and "The Grand Inquest." Guest Lecturers included Dean Rusk, Edward R. Murrow, Theodore White, and William O. Douglas. Kirkpatrick, op cit., pp. 7-8.

in the publication of Political Science in the Social Studies, individual political scientists contributed generously to its development.[66]

The Reality vs. the Rhetoric

Many influences have contributed to the course patterns and internal content of the typical social studies curricula that we find today. We have seen that historically a primary goal of the American educational system has been the development of good citizens. Many authors contend that this goal maintains its vitality in the social studies curriculum today.[67] Recommendations in the form of authoritative reports which were prepared by various professional organizations--NEA, AHA, and APSA--reinforced the concept of civic education while offering a fresh course structure in which such education might be carried out. For at least 100 years

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[66]Donald H. Riddle and Robert E. Cleary, eds. Political Science in the Social Studies. Washington, D.C.: Thirty-Sixth Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies, 1966. Political scientists who contributed were Robert E. Cleary, co-editor (Assistant Director of APSA); Donald H. Riddle, co-editor (City University of New York); Douglas A. Chalmers (Rutgers University); Paul L. David (University of Virginia); Vera Micheles Dean (New York University); Jack Dennis (University of Wisconsin); Jean M. Doriscall (North Park College); David Easton (University of Chicago); Daniel J. Elazor (Temple University); John S. Gibson (Tufts University); Scott Greer (Northwestern University); Samuel Krislov (University of Minnesota); David W. Minar (Northwestern University); James A. Robinson (Ohio State University); Paul Tillett (Rutgers); H. H. Wilson (Princeton); and Abraham Yeselson (Rutgers).

[67]Barr, Barth, and Shermis, for example, have identified three social studies traditions--Social Studies as Citizenship Transmission, Social Studies Taught as Social Science, Social Studies Taught As Reflective Thinking. The purposes of all traditions have to do with citizenship education. Robert D. Barr, James L. Barth, and S. Samuel Shermis. Defining the Social Studies: Bulletin 51. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977.

political scientists have been individually and officially committed to implementing programs and courses of study which they felt would achieve the golden objectives. The official viewpoint includes statements like the one which appeared in APSR in 1928:

> Adequate instruction in schools, colleges, and universities can alone prepare for the formation of sound public opinion, and only trained public servants can properly employ the results of research in the service of the community.[68]

Unfortunately, in spite of this and similar dicta, few, if any, political scientists became really involved in the preparation of precollegiate textbooks or materials that were reflective of "the results of research." Furthermore, the discipline of political science has been, until recently, ill-equipped to offer any conceptual tools, coherant methodologies, or generalizations to assist in the effort. In addition, although political scientists frequently exhorted one another to engage in teacher training and materials preparation, they did not move to change the reward system of the profession to make it worthwhile to do so. The rewards of the profession, in terms of status, prestige, and money, have been channeled toward political scientists engaged in research and scholarly publication rather than toward those engaged in teaching and curriculum materials preparation.

Even institutional structures and departmental rivalries have mediated against the development of a conceptually sound, coordinated course of study. Schools of education, often working with modest budgets, have not been prone to spend "their" limited funds

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[68] Quoted in Somit and Tanenhaus, op cit., p. 136.

to have political scientists teach political science methods classes or work with education professors in developing a course of study. Few social studies educators have had the content expertise to adequately put together such programs. At the same time, departments of political science hesitate to "tie up" a professor to teach classes under political science auspices. And even if a department is willing, few political scientists have background in learning theory, teaching strategies, and so on. Furthermore, such departments at major institutions are not willing to accede to the notion that they have a service role to perform in teacher training. Departments which accept such a function are located most often in smaller institutions where staff expertise and capability may be limited. Thus, the best minds from political science and education do not talk together, much less work together.

It is, then, the acceptance of an ethic laid down by the Founding Fathers of the United States, the impact of the reports discussed thus far, the immaturity of the discipline of political science, the educational philosophy and social support system of political scientists--the trainers of precollegiate teachers-- and a variety of institutional constraints that have established both the internal content of politically oriented courses and the typical secondary programs that still exist in many areas today.

CHAPTER II

GOOD CITIZENS AND THE COURSE PATTERNS DESIGNED TO DEVELOP THEM

Who or What is a Good Citizen?

Generally speaking, American schools devote much of their time to the training of "good" citizens. It should be pointed out, however, that there is little agreement on exactly what constitutes a good citizen or what attributes an effective democratic citizen should have. A special committee of NCSS listed the following characteristics of a good citizen:

> A good citizen treats all men with respect, regardless of their station in life; rejects distinctions based on race, creed, or class; exerts his influence to secure equal opportunity for all. . .; upholds the principle that all men are equal before the law. . .; believes that the right to vote should not be denied on the basis of race, sex, creed, or economic status; values, respects, and defends basic human rights and privileges guaranteed by the United States Constitution.[1]

One recent "authoritative" statement--authoritative because it emerges from the Committee on Assessing the Progress of Education--is the compendium of Citizenship Objectives which was produced in 1969. The Committee, composed of prominent educators and lay representatives, sought to develop objectives in many educational areas, including citizenship. The various objectives plus the

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[1] "Characteristics of the Good Democratic Citizen" in Ryland W. Crary, ed. Education for Democratic Citizenship. Washington, D.C.: Twenty-Second Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies, 1951, pp. 154-160. Cited in Massialas and Cox. Inquiry in Social Studies, op cit., pp. 190-191.

assessments (see pp. 94 - 95), which are still going on, are intended to:

> furnish information to all those interested in American education regarding the educational achievements of our children, youth, and young adults, indicating both the progress we are making and the problems we face.[2]

Citizenship Objectives identifies and develops the following ten broad goals. Citizens should:

1. Show concern for the welfare and dignity of others.
2. Support rights and freedoms of all individuals.
3. Help maintain law and order.
4. Know the main structure and functions of our government.
5. Seek community involvement through active, democratic participation.
6. Understand problems of international relations.
7. Support rationality in communication, thought, and action on social problems.
8. Take responsibility for own personal development and obligations.
9. Help and respect their own families (ages 9, 13, 17).
10. Nurture the development of their children as future citizens (adults).

Each of the broad goals is buttressed by subgoals which refer particularly to the four age groups which have been selected for examination: nine, 13, 17, and adults.[3]

Many observers have pointed out that the Objectives are based on adult, white, middle-class ethical standards. Operationalizing

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[2]National Assessment of Educational Progress. Citizenship Objectives. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Committee on Assessing the Progress of Education, 1969.

[3]Ibid.

them is more a process of knowing and recognizing a priori truths than understanding, analyzing, or evaluating conflicting value positions. The fourth and fifth objectives, for example, seem to seek to legitimize the classical textbook approach to the study of governments.[4]

Farnen and Bjork note that:

> descriptions of such a person [good citizen] range from one who is rabidly patriotic to one who is reasonably loyal, from the avid nationalists to the mature cosmopolitan, from the mannered conformist to the creative individualist, and so on. In this respect some definitions stress health, cleanliness, posture, and in one case, even 'the maintenance of good bodily elimination habits.'[5]

One must assume that short hair might also be among the criteria defining citizenship. In any event, the "good" citizen seems to be something of an idealized type whose civic behavior is in accordance with a set of values preferred by those who are developing the construct.

Typical Course Patterns--From Here to Good Citizenship

In addition to focusing on what characterizes the good citizen, it may be useful to consider the prevalent curriculum rationales which buttress the various definitions of citizenship. For example, one widely-held professional and public definition is that citizenship equates with worthy membership in American society. This view supports the idea that the ways in which one produces, consumes,

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[4]See, for example, Byron G. Massialas, ed. Political Youth, Traditional Schools. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972. pp. 243-248.

[5]Farnen and Bjork, op cit., p. 5.

interacts in groups, raises a family, and so on have significant implications for the society.

> Thus, any curriculum which contributes to the physical, emotional, social, or moral development of youth contributes directly to the welfare of the community and should be considered education for democratic citizenship.[6]

In large measure, all education is considered citizenship education.

A second definition emphasizes only the political aspects of citizenship; and suggests that citizenship education should have as its major objective the development of those abilities necessary to participate in a democratic society. It is argued that

> a democratic populace must comprehend and appreciate the political character of their society, its goals and objectives, its limitations, its methods of operation, and the boundaries of reasonable choice in their nation and in the international community.[7]

The third rationale is similar to the second in that it has as a major objective the development of participatory skills and zeal. Additionally, this view holds that youth should be prepared not only to adjust to rapid social change but to be able to direct and implement economic, political, and social change through federal, state, and community political institutions. This rationale challenges the traditionally-held view that our cultural heritage is best transmitted by emphasizing only the positive aspects of our historical development. Students are informed of inequities and

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[6]Randall C. Anderson. Current Trends in Secondary School Social Studies. Lincoln, Nebraska: Professional Educators Publications, Inc., 1972. p. 15.

[7]Ibid., p. 16.

inconsistencies so they can be better prepared to find solutions to those negative characteristics.

The first view of citizenship education seems to be the most prevalent in America today and estimates of time spent in this sort of citizenship instruction range upward to nearly 50 percent of the entire elementary and secondary educational experience. This figure is reached when one considers that all of the instruction in social studies and a considerable portion in English, mathematics, health, physical education, and even in the sciences have strong citizenship components.[8]

One study has concluded that there is more exposure to political education in classrooms in the United States than there is in classrooms in Russia. In the United States grades five through 12, total exposure to political education is 46 percent, compared to 38 percent in the Soviet Union. In grades five through eight, social studies, language arts, extracurricular and homeroom activities have a political component 50 percent of the time in the U.S., and 47 percent of the time in Russia. In grades nine through 12, the percentages are 41.9 and 26.8 percent respectively.[9]

It should be obvious that these high percentages do not reflect any kind of meaningful political science training. It is assumed by many school districts, for example, that having students plant trees on Arbor Day, pick up litter on school grounds, pledge

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[8] Ibid.

[9] George A. F. Bereday and Bonnie B. Stretch. "Political Education in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R." in Comparative Education Review, Vol. 7, No. 1, June 1963, pp. 1-16.

allegiance to the flag, or memorize the Gettysburg Address constitutes valid "citizenship education."

Hess and Torney have reported that teachers of children in grades one through eight tend to focus on the importance of authority, obedience to law, and conformity to school regulations and to disregard the importance of participation.

> Indeed, it seems likely that much of what is called citizenship training in the public schools does not teach about the city, state, or national government, but is an attempt to teach regard for the rules and standards of conduct of the school. If it does indeed characterize the school, this type of socialization is oriented toward authoritarian values rather than toward acceptance and understanding of the need for active participation in a political system.[10]

Competent teachers could, of course, provide this sort of training operating under the first rationale if they were adequately prepared and wished to provide students with an understanding of political concepts. This is true because the first citizenship rationale seems to mean anything the school district personnel wishes it to mean.

Teachers and/or school districts which operate using the second and third rationales would, however, be more likely to help students achieve some political competence. Both of these focus on government and governmental institutions, traditional domains of political science. Unfortunately, the two rationales are so broadly conceived that almost any objective might be construed appropriate

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[10]Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney. The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship During the Elementary School Years. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Report of Project No. 1078 of USOE, 1965, p. 372.

to reach the general goal. In addition, curriculum materials that are available for civics, American government, and problems of democracy courses, where presumably such citizenship instruction might take place, are almost uniformly inadequate. Many educators also suggest that the third rationale, focusing as it does on negative aspects of our system, fosters cynicism and alienation rather than understanding of the political system.[11]

All of the above rationales were operational in 1971 when political scientists and others assessed the quality of political education in the United States. The assessments of quality were devastating.[12]

The social studies curriculum that is responsible for these rationales are accommodated in a course pattern that emerged in 1916 and followed the design recommended by the Committee on Social Studies of the National Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association. It included two cycles of study, one for grades seven through nine and the other for grades ten through 12. Civics replaced ancient history at the ninth grade. Community civics which would be started in grades seven or eight would be reemphasized and extended to include state, national, and world communities as well as the economic and vocational aspects of civics. The problems course in the twelfth grade was intended to develop intelligent and active citizens capable of dealing with vital social problems which were of

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[11]Anderson, op cit., p. 16.

[12]See Chapter IV for a full discussion of this topic.

immediate interest to students. It should be remembered, however, that history courses continued to dominate the social studies curriculum in spite of the addition of these new political science components:

Grade 7: European history (one semester geography optional)

Grade 8: One semester American history, one semester civics

Grade 9: One year civics, or civics and economic history

Grade 10: European history

Grade 11: American history and/or European history

Grade 12: Problems of democracy (one or two semesters)

Course patterns today are strikingly similar to the 1916 pattern. Most of the student's formal instruction in government continues to occur in American history courses which are traditionally and almost universally taught at fifth, eighth, and 11th grades (teachers of these courses need no academic preparation in political science); and in the ninth grade civics and twelfth grade American government and/or problems of democracy course.[13] Such political science courses as international relations and advanced civics were largely introduced and legitimized during the Depression and post-World War II years--the era of so-called progressive education. During this period the problems course was modified to reflect a more active student role--good citizenship through participation, problem solving, cooperating in social projects, and so on. In many areas, American history or Culture Studies have replaced European history at grade seven.

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[13]See pp. 77-89 for patterns of teacher preparation.

Grade 7: American history, selected peoples and nations, geography, social studies

Grade 8: American history, social studies

Grade 9: Civics, occupational-vocational orientation, state history

Grade 10: World history, modern history

Grade 11: American history, social studies, electives--sociology, economics

Grade 12: American government, problems of democracy, American history

In the summary on the preceding page and in the following tables, the typical curriculum patterns are represented. In junior high school, the prevalent pattern is social studies or geography in grade seven; American history in grade eight; civics in grade nine; world history in grade ten; American history in grade 11; and problems of democracy or American government in grade 12. Although the United States does not have a federally imposed curriculum, what is taught in Boulder, Colorado, is also likely to be taught in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Norfolk, Connecticut, and San Jose, California. Textbook publishers produce books for a national market on the assumption that most schools follow this pattern.

This is not to say, however, that there are not regional differences, nor that the internal content of the courses is identical. State legislatures and state departments of education can, and often do, influence instruction to some extent.[14]

There have been several recent summaries of the current program in high school social studies which will give some indication

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[14]See pp. 63-71 for analysis of state laws.

of trends in social studies curricula as well as total numbers of students or schools involved. Table I, which follows, indicates that in the ninth grade, the major offering is civics with about 25 percent of the schools offering geography. In grade 12, government and problems of democracy share equally with economics in percentage of schools offering, which indicates these three subjects are the predominantly available electives. International relations fares poorly at all grade levels. One is compelled to hypothesize that the schools offering this subject must have teachers with an interest and commitment to the area.

Table II provides data for the school year 1960-61. It is apparent that: (1) the greatest enrollments in political science courses occur in grades 11 and 12 when both American government and problems of democracy courses are available; (2) the ninth and tenth grade civics program accounts for the second highest enrollment; (3) problems of democracy is only about one-half as popular as either of the other two programs; and (4) international relations and seventh- and eighth-grade civics are behind in terms of enrollment. In terms of full-year exposure, the ninth- and tenth-grade civics course outdistances the 11th- and 12th-grade government/civics course, followed by problems of democracy, seventh/eighth-grade civics, and international relations. When considering the exposure to half-year programs, the ordering changes, with 11th- and 12th-grade government/civics outdistancing ninth-tenth civics.

It is also interesting to compare the civics/government/problems of democracy/international relations enrollments with history, geography, economics, sociology, and psychology. Only five percent

TABLE I

Offerings and Enrollments in Grades 9-12 in Schools Accredited by North Central Association: 1963[15]

Course	Percent of schools offering in: Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12	Percent of Schools not Responding*
Civics	40.2	4.6	--	--	60.4
World History	14.9	85.3	25.0	20.7	4.6
Geography	24.3	15.2	15.8	15.5	63.4
U.S. History	0.8	6.0	87.2	14.9	0.8
Government	--	--	10.9	50.3	48.9
Problems of Democracy	0.8	2.2	8.4	50.0	47.3
Economics	--	2.2	18.2	50.0	46.5
Sociology	0.3	1.6	8.2	14.7	84.2
International Relations	0.3	1.1	4.6	11.4	87.0

*Last column means that course is not offered. The total percentage for a course usually exceeds 100 because many schools allow a course (rows) to be taken by students in adjacent grade levels. The total percentage for grade 10-12 (columns) exceed 100 because some schools offer a choice of courses at these levels.

Circled items indicate courses in which the content is primarily political science.

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[15]Bertram A. Masia. "Profile of the Current Secondary School Social Studies Curriculum in North Central Association Schools" in The North Central Association Quarterly, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1963, pp. 205-213. Cited in Massialas, Inquiry in Social Studies, op cit., p. 28.

TABLE II

Offerings and Enrollments in Grade 7-12 of Public Secondary Schools by Subject: 1960-61[16]

Subject Field and Subject	Total	Pupils enrolled in: Half-year Courses	Full-year Courses
SOCIAL STUDIES	11,802,499		
Grade 7	267,553	12,667	254,886
Grade 8	233,156	9,584	223,752
HISTORY, GRADES 7-8			
United States	1,695,956	118,497	1,557,459
State	651,790	183,200	468,590
World	324,947	33,598	291,349
CIVICS, GRADES 7-8	54,498	32,555	21,943
GEOGRAPHY, GRADES 7-8	1,045,069	206,335	838,734
SOCIAL STUDIES, GRADE 9	54,004	4,889	49,115
SOCIAL STUDIES, GRADE 10	8,653	1,317	7,436
OCCUPATIONS	82,216	50,275	31,941
ORIENTATION	87,124	44,475	42,649
CIVICS, GRADES 9-10	732,609	163,314	569,295
HISTORY, GRADES 9-12			
United States	1,994,068	26,978	1,957,090
State	374,517	182,688	191,829
World	1,471,531	41,192	1,430,339
Ancient/Medieval	103,960	26,666	77,294
Modern	75,108	14,542	60,566
Miscellaneous	11,908	6,438	5,470
WORLD GEOGRAPHY, GRADES 9-12	585,541	111,111	474,430
MISC. GEOGRAPHY, GRADES 9-12	9,609	2,183	7,426
CIVICS/GOVT., GRADES 11-12	780,123	343,423	436,700
PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY	380,453	95,056	285,397
ECONOMICS	293,175	217,401	75,774
PSYCHOLOGY	140,377	88,041	52,336
SOCIOLOGY/SOCIAL PROBS.	289,408	177,779	111,609
CONSUMER EDUCATION	30,245	14,489	15,756
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	17,006	12,073	4,933
HONORS/ADVANCED PLACEMENT	3,223	842	2,281
MISC., GRADES 7-12	4,672	2,712	1,960

Total number of students enrolled in public junior or senior high schools in 1960-61: 11,732,742.

Circled items indicate enrollment in courses that are primarily political science in content.

[16] Grace S. Wright. Summary of Offerings and Enrollment in Public Secondary Schools. Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1965. pp. 39-46.

as many seventh- and eighth-grade students enroll in civics as enroll in United States History. Both state and world history attract more students at this level. The discrepancy between civics and geography enrollments is almost as marked. The data do not lend themselves to comparisons at the ninth-tenth grade level as all social studies courses except civics are categorized into nine-12 groupings. The same is true of data that might be compared to the 11th-12th government/civics or problems of democracy courses. However, because world history is most typically taught at grade ten and United States history at grade 11, one can hypothesize that government/civics is the most popular 12th-grade course. Problems of democracy, while running ahead of economics, sociology, and psychology, does not evidence such a commanding lead.

Table III presents data compiled by Howard H. Cummings, a specialist for geography and social science in the U.S. Office of Education. Gross figures are provided for 1964 ninth-grade civics and 12th-grade civics/government and problems of democracy--the three most popular politically oriented courses. Comparison of the two tables indicates about the same total enrollments. The advanced civics/government course may be gaining to some extent on problems of democracy.[17]

Table IV picks up totals provided on Table II, computes enrollment in terms of the percentage of grade enrollment and compares these to enrollment in 1948-49. The figures are remarkably constant but underscore the relative decline of the problems course.

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[17] See pp. 63-71 for further data about required courses.

TABLE III

Government Courses Offered in Secondary Schools for Grades 9-12: 1964[18]

Courses	Grade	Total	Half-Year	Full-Year
Community Civics	9	770,000	150,000	550,000
Civics and Government	12	770,000	340,000	430,000
Problems of Democracy	12	340,000	82,000	258,000

TABLE IV

Number of Pupils Enrolled in Selected Subjects in Grades 9-12 with Percents. This number is of Total Enrollment in the Grades in which the Subject is Usually Offered: 1948-49; 1960-61[19]

	1960-61		1948-49	
Subject Field, Course, and Usual Grade Level	Number of Pupils	Percent of Total Enrollment	Number of Pupils	Percent of Total Enrollment
SOCIAL STUDIES				
U.S. History (11)	1,994,068	104.3	1,231,694	99.2
World History (10)	1,471,531	69.4	896,432	58.9
Elementary Civics (9)	732,609	30.0	Not Available	
Advanced Civics (12)	780,123	44.7	431,916	42.1
Problems of Democracy (12)	380,453	21.8	282,971	27.6
Economics (12)	293,175	16.8	254,770	24.8
Psychology (12)	140,337	8.0	46,547	4.5
Sociology/Social Problems (12)	289,468	16.6	185,901	18.1

Total enrollment (1960): Grade 9--2,441,668; Grade 10--2,119,393; Grade 11--1,912,465; Grade 12--1,745,750.

Total enrollment (1948): Grade 9--1,641,406; Grade 10--1,490,678; Grade 11--1,241,505; Grade 12--1,025,913

Circled items indicate enrollment in courses which are primarily political science in content.

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[18]Howard H. Cummings. "The Social Studies in the Secondary School Today" in Willis D. Moreland, ed. Social Studies in the Senior High School, Curriculum Services No. 7. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1965, pp. 4-5.

[19]Grace S. Wright. Subject Offerings and Enrollments in Public Secondary Schools. Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1965, p. 100.

Unfortunately, data compiled for the 1970-71 school year (in Table V) does not compare neatly with data for 1948-49 and 1960-61. For example, the percentage figures for pupils is of pupils enrolled in the grade level at which the course is offered in the earlier data; the percentage figure in the 1970-71 data is of pupils enrolled in all secondary grades. A second difficulty comes with the different breakdown of courses. In Table V, "Other political science" includes advanced political science, contemporary civilization, comparative systems, political theory, state governments, and contemporary American problems. "Current events" includes international relations and contemporary world affairs. Conceivably, courses called advanced political science might have been classified in the "Civics or government, grades 11-12" on the earlier tables. Certainly, contemporary American problems would have been subsumed in the "Problems of democracy" category.

Totals and percentages of total enrollment for the two years, while not as instructive, give some indication of the pattern of enrollment in government-related courses, however. In 1960-61, 1,964,689, or approximately 17 percent of all students, were enrolled in these programs, while in 1970-71, 2,959,668, or approximately 16 percent, were enrolled.

Perhaps the most notable developments in course offerings and enrollments in the past decade according to the 1970-71 data have been: (1) the greater variety of courses offered, (2) the extent to which advanced or college level courses are made available to pupils in high school, and (3) the offering of traditional upper level high school courses to younger pupils. Another finding is that a

TABLE V

Number and Percent of Public Secondary Schools Offering Specified Courses and Pupils Enrolled in Such Courses with Percents. This Number is of Total Enrollment, 1970-71[20]

Subject Area & Course	Schools Offering Courses		Pupils Enrolled	
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total
U.S. History, 7-8	9,365	35.6	1,705,285	9.3
U.S. History, 9-12	14,768	56.2	3,064,401	16.7
World History, 7-8	2,614	9.9	435,525	2.4
World History, 9-12	13,597	51.7	1,699,041	9.2
State History, 7-8	5,797	22.1	850,197	4.6
State History, 9-12	3,036	11.6	292,775	1.6
American History and World Backgrounds	3,656	13.9	568,527	3.1
Black History (U.S.)	937	3.6	136,668	0.7
Other History	4,408	16.8	565,673	3.6
American Studies	1,579	6.0	269,435	1.5
Asian & African Studies	1,488	5.7	269,855	1.5
World Cultures	1,289	4.9	346,293	1.9
Geography, 7-8	3,406	13.2	771,069	4.2
Human/Cultural Geography	1,453	5.5	165,442	0.9
World/Global Geography	9,880	37.6	1,028,461	5.6
U.S. Government	11,768	44.8	1,643,202	8.9
Community Civics	5,492	20.9	615,034	3.3
Current Events	3,834	14.6	305,098	1.7
Problems of Democracy	3,729	14.2	227,488	1.2
Other Political Science	2,170	8.3	168,886	0.9
Social Studies, 7	3,859	14.7	628,621	3.4
Social Studies, 8	4,147	15.8	804,133	4.4
Social Studies, 9	1,800	6.8	319,670	1.7
Anthropology	891	3.4	130,351	0.7
Economics	10,296	39.4	782,923	4.3
Enviromental Problems	181	0.7	8,844	0.1
Psychology	5,779	22.0	508,792	2.8
Sociology	8,734	33.2	797,533	4.3
All Other Social Sciences	4,358	16.6	459,568	2.5

Total number of students enrolled in public junior and senior high schools in 1970-71: 18,406,617.

Circled items indicate political science offerings in schools and the number of pupils.

[20] Diane B. Gertler and Linda A. Barker. Patterns of Course Offerings and Enrollments in Public Secondary Schools. Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1972, pp. 10-12.

multiplicity of short courses have been introduced into the curriculum. The average number of courses per pupil rose from 6.4 percent in 1960-61 to 7.1 percent in 1970-71.[21]

Table VI shows enrollment trends in selected years from 1890 through 1973. The most apparent evidence is the remarkable growth in the high school population for the period. Percentage figures relate a more illuminating story. Percent of students enrolled in ninth-grade community civics to total enrollment in 1928 is 13.39; in 1934 is 10.42; in 1961 is 8.91; and is 3.34 in 1973 for a general decline. Percent of enrollment in civics and government in 1928 is 6.64; in 1934 is 3.96; in 1949 is 7.99; in 1961 is 9.49; and in 1973 is 9.72, describing a down to up configuration. Percent of enrollment in problems of democracy in these years is 1.04, 3.48, 5.24, 4.62, and 2.21, respectively, declining sharply between 1961 and 1973. Ostendorf suggests that the problems course has probably been supplemented by specific courses such as the U.S. Constitution, basic American law, and state government.[22]

Willis Moreland reported a study of high school social studies offerings in all 50 states in 1962. The data are based on a sampling of 500 schools selected to represent a cross-section of all secondary schools. Fifty-six percent (281) of the schools returned

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[21]Diane B. Gertler and Linda A. Barker. Patterns of Course Offerings and Enrollments in Public Secondary Schools, op cit, p. 8.

[22]Logan Ostendorf. Summary of Offerings and Enrollments in Public Secondary Schools, 1972-1973. Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1975, p. 18.

TABLE VI

Number of Pupils Enrolled in Certain Subjects in Grades 9-12 of Public Secondary Schools: United States Selected Years, 1890 through 1973[23]

Subject	1890	1900	1910	1915	1922	1928	1934	1949	1961	1973
Total Enrollment:*	202,963	519,251	739,143	1,165,495	2,155,460	2,896,630	4,496,514	5,399,452	8,219,276	13,438,263
U.S. History					329,565	517,331	779,489	1,231,694	1,994,068	3,463,637
Ancient History	55,427	198,125	406,784	589,067	371,392	301,794	304,025	192,847	191,068	96,488
Medieval & Modern History					330,836	327,313	278,236			140,010
World History						175,628	536,178	876,432	1,471,531	1,545,436
Civics & Government						192,497	268,338	431,916	780,123	1,306,152
Communities Civics, Grade 9		122,465	114,965	183,294	416,329	387,910	465,954	0	732,609	448,896
Problems of Democracy						30,200	156,707	282,971	380,453	298,157

Note: When necessary, the subjects reported in previous surveys were analyzed, and appropriate comments were recombined, separately listed, or eliminated (with corresponding changes in the number enrolled) in an effort to maintain as close compatibility as possible with the data of the current (1960-61) survey.

*For the years 1910 to 1934, the figures represent the number of pupils enrolled in the last four years of public secondary schools that returned usable questionnaires. For 1890, 1949, and 1961, the figures represent the total number of pupils enrolled in the last four years of all public secondary schools.

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[23] Logan Ostendorf. Summary of Offerings and Enrollments in Public Secondary Schools, 1972-73, op cit., p. 18.

usable questionnaires. Moreland found that civics was the most commonly required course at the ninth grade and the most commonly required and elected course at the 12th grade. American government constituted a close second as a required course, but stood fifth as an elective. It was also required twice as often as the problems course. In a number of schools, the one-semester course in American government was often required in combination with a one-semester problems course. Moreland noted that traditional courses predominated in the secondary schools program, but suggested that many schools were experimenting with new and different content.[24]

A study in 1963 eliciting information about 1962 course offerings of the 130 large cities with 100,000 or more population replicated a survey conducted in 1953 and, hence, shows trends. Based on a 100 percent response, the data indicate that while over half (64%) of the city school systems require either civics or American government at some secondary levels, that civics is being moved from the ninth to the 11th or 12th grade. Only 47 percent of these systems required civics at any level in 1953. The problems course declined from 36 percent in 1953 to 34 percent in 1962. World history, on the other hand, moved into a tie for second in popularity with civics or government behind American history, but well ahead of problems.[25]

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[24] Willis D. Moreland. "Curriculum Trends in the Social Studies" in Social Education, Vol. 26, No. 3, February 1962, pp. 53, 73-76, 102.

[25] Emlyn Jones. "Social Studies Requirements in an Age of Science and Mathematics" in Social Education, Vol. 27, No. 1, January 1963, pp. 17-18.

Yet another study reveals patterns of political science course offerings by size, region, community, academic features, and other demographic data. Smaller communities tend to offer American government and a comparative and international politics course while large communities emphasize problems of democracy offerings. The school grade configuration (9-12 or 10-12) and size of the school do not seem to influence whether or not the American government course is offered; however, the larger the size of the graduating class, the greater the likelihood that a problems of democracy and/or international relations course will be offered. Schools which have accelerated curricula or a high percentage of college preparatory students are likely to offer both the American government and problems courses and about one-fifth have international relations courses.

The same study indicates that both the South and West stress American government rather than problems of democracy, while the reverse tends to characterize the Northeast. If international relations and comparative politics are taught at all, it is likely to be in the Midwest.[26]

Yet another study was made in 1963, by the Educational Testing Service. Public, Catholic, and independent schools were randomly sampled. The study showed changes in offerings between 1958 and 1963. While civics and American government courses were taught in the public schools, this was not the case in either the

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[26] M. Kent Jennings. "Correlates of the Social Studies Curriculum, Grades 10-12" in C. Benjamin Cox and Byron G. Massialas. Social Studies in the United States. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967, pp. 289-309.

independent or Catholic schools. Fifty-eight percent of the public schools offered American government in 1963, 62 percent offered civics, and 32 percent offered problems of democracy. Forty-seven percent of the Catholic schools taught the problems course.

Overall, the percentage of schools offering all three courses increased during the five year period. However, the trend shows a greater emphasis on teaching American government except in the Catholic schools. Both Catholic and independent schools lag far behind the public schools in extent of political science offerings except in the case of the problems course.[27]

The ETS study also contains evidence on course content by providing typical topic breakdowns. The questionnaire which was used listed key topics in each course to ascertain if they were studied for two or more weeks. These findings appear on Table VII. Farnen and Bjork suggest that the data may indicate that "everything seems to be taught in over half the courses offered." Therefore, other indices should be examined in order to gain a broader, more accurate perspective of what is really happening in the classroom.

Farnen and Bjork use a simple frequency analysis of major subject areas found in representative statements of teaching goals, curriculum guides, government texts, and new and experimental curricula to generate the following as the most frequently found categories:

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[27]Scarvia B. Anderson, et al. Social Studies in Secondary Schools. Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, 1964.

TABLE VII

Course Topics Studied for Two or More Weeks[28]

Courses Taught	Percentage of Schools Teaching the Topic for Two or More Weeks: Public	Catholic	Independent
AMERICAN GOVERNMENT (senior high)	90	88	94
National Government: Structure and Functions (except Politics and Defense)	97	94	97
Foreign Policy and Defense	83	84	84
State and Local Government: Structure and Functions	92	89	85
Public Opinion, Pressure Groups, and Politics	82	92	81
Taxation	71	67	58
CIVICS			
National Government	93	86	97
State Government	95	83	88
Local Government	92	78	82
Citizenship, Public Action	93	74	92
Group Guidance	58	47	52
PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY			
Personal Problems	76	71	59
Public Opinion, Pressure Groups, and Politics	84	90	91
Economic Problems	92	98	91
Social Problems	90	97	89
Foreign Relations	90	96	89

Number in sample: Public schools, 388 (grades 7-12)
Catholic schools, 248 (grades 9-12)
Independent schools, 233 (grades 7-12)

[28] Ibid., p. 20.

1. Basic interests and values (e.g., toleration, reasoned patriotism, dignity and worth of the individual, social consciousness).

2. Basic political understandings (e.g., nature of politics, freedom versus license, equality of opportunity).

3. Respect for individualism (e.g., autonomy, compromise, pluralism).

4. Basic citizenship, terminology and vocabulary (e.g., terms such as popular sovereignty, democracy, majority rule).

5. Critical thinking and judgment (e.g., problem solving, social scientific method and attitude propaganda analysis).

6. Sociological and psychological factors (e.g., social change, role, status, power).

7. Group factors (e.g., group participation, civic action, rules of order).

8. The family (e.g., loyalty, economic units, recreation, problem solving).

9. Social problem solving (e.g., recognizes racial, economic, and other problems and proposed solutions and evaluates results).

10. Economic factors (e.g., economic efficiency, conservation, collective bargaining, consumership).

11. Foreign, international and intercultural problems (e.g., war and peace, realization of vital national interests, armaments).[29]

Farnen has also prepared another way to consider the field by analyzing political education documents in terms of subtopics or special areas of emphasis--political knowledge, political sophistication, political values, and political activity or behavior.

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[29]Farnen and Bjork, op cit., pp. 11-12. This survey was made by Farnen in 1967 in conjunction with the ETS participation in the citizenship assessment of the Committee on Assessing the Progress of Education (CAPE).

The presumption is, of course, that materials are indicative of what is actually presented in the classroom. Table VIII reveals this analysis.

One other group of findings also needs to be considered in this section. Moreland found in his study that in American secondary schools: (1) separate course offerings are more usual than broad or block programs; (2) the most prevalent courses are American and world history; (3) there is little variation in grade levels at which the courses are offered; and (4) there is an increase in the number of social studies courses being taught.[30]

These data plus others that have been cited would seem to confirm that: (1) most students are confronted with political phenomena in a historical context either in the predominant history courses or in government courses which emphasize historical background; (2) because curricula are structured to accommodate separate courses which generally focus on this or that discipline, and because curricula are redesigned incrementally rather than comprehensively, serious overlaps and/or deficiencies in a general education sense are likely to occur; (3) finally, the pattern of teaching one subject at one grade level, another at a second, and another at yet a third is so firmly entrenched that adjustment which would take into account the research findings in political socialization and learning theory is not likely to be made.

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[30] Moreland. "Curriculum Trends in the Social Studies," op cit., pp. 73-76.

TABLE VIII

Results of Content Analysis of Civic Education Documents Illustrating Current Patterns[31]

*** = Much Emphasis
** = Some Emphasis
* = Little Emphasis

Types of Documents	Political Knowledge	Political Sophistication	Political Values	Political Behavior
Goal Statements	Comprehension, Foundations and Basic Concepts of Government*** Constitutional Rights*** International Relations and Organizations* Political Processes and Institutions*	Interpretation, Critical Thinking* Problem Solving*	Receptive to and Responsive to Patriotism, Loyalty, Tolerance*** Group Problems*	
Curriculum Guides	Constitutional Rights*** Historical Background of Government*** International Relations* Intercultural Studies*		Group Problems*	
Experimental Curricula	Historical Background*	Stress on Political Conceptualization, Understanding, Analysis, and Synthesis*** Ability to apply political theories to public problems*** Gaming and simulation** Government and the economy*	Evaluation of Responsible Citizenship; interests and values* Personal rights and liberties* Group problems**	Skills in applying how to work in political parties*** Bargaining and compromise*** Critical thinking, judgment & problem solving***
Texts	Responsible Citizenship*** Basic Concepts of Government***	Government and the economy* Comparative government* Political theory*	Basic civic values*** Group problems*	Critical thinking, judgment, and problem solving**

[31]This survey was conducted by R. F. Farnen in conjunction with preparing the U.S. National Report to the International Civic Education Committee of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Attainment (IEA), located at the UNESCO Institute, Hamburg, West Germany.

CHAPTER III

THE LEGAL CONSTRAINTS

We have already pointed out that despite the fact that there is no federally imposed curriculum in the United States, it is possible to identify a national social studies curriculum pattern. Furthermore, this curriculum pattern has persisted for over 60 years with only modest adjustments being made in its broad outline. The evidence is likewise reasonably clear that the internal content of particular courses--civics, American government, and problems of democracy--are more similar than they are dissimilar from school to school.

We have suggested that an overriding concern with educating for productive and meaningful citizenship has been the major ethic that has supported and legitimized the prevailing curriculum pattern. Neither the fact that the meaning of citizenship has never been clearly conceptualized nor satisfactorily defined, nor the widespread dissatisfaction with the "products" that have emerged from the educational system have dissuaded educators from perpetuating the status quo.

At this point, let us turn to the legal constraints--state laws and state department of education guidelines--in order to determine the extent to which they are determinative in structuring state programs.

State Laws and State Department of Education Guidelines

It is patently clear that historically those who have been directly responsible for the formulation of public school policies have believed that the social studies in general and political science in particular have a primary responsibility toward citizenship education. Hence, in most states the study of government has been required by law. Data obtained by the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government in a 1963 study indicated that "47 of the 50 states participating have made some statutory provision for required instruction in citizenship. This subject matter requirement includes American history; the Constitution; national, state, and local government; and so on.[1] Many states also require instruction in patriotism, representative government, American institutions and ideals, and the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Additionally, a lesser number require courses in elections and party politics, and even The Federalist Papers. Such statutes are usually broadly phrased, however, and only mandate that certain topical knowledge be taught. Rarely does legislation stipulate when a given course must be studied, the term of study, or if an examination in the subject must be passed prior to graduation.

In addition to these "general" requirements, special conditions may influence states to pass curriculum regulations. For example, in the 1950s and early 1960s, public concern over the

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[1]Robert A. Taft Institute of Government. Citizenship Education: A Survey for Citizenship Among the Fifty States. New York: Robert A. Taft Institute of Government, 1963, pp. 5-10.

"Communist threat" convinced legislators in several states that special instruction about the evils of Communism should be required. Ehman et al cite an excerpt from a concurrent resolution (54, 1960) of the Louisiana legislature which is typical. It is also a manifestation of ways in which legislatures can influence political science instruction.

> Whereas, it is the belief of the Louisiana Legislature that every high school and college student in the State of Louisiana should be required to take a separate course or unit of study as part of the regular and mandatory curricula at some time during the latter portion of his high school or college studies respectively, which would not only give to each student a clear understanding of and deep loyalty to the ideals, principles, traditions, advantages, and institutions of representative democracy and free capitalism in a federation of soverign states as established by the drafters of The Constitution of the United States; but, which would at the same time, by comparison, teach every student why Communism and Socialism are evil and vicious, why they destroy the freedom, well being, dignity and happiness of the individual, and why they are our implacable enemy, to the end that these students will understand the propaganda and dishonesty of Soviet Russia, Red China, and the other apparatus and affiliates of organized communism and national socialism. . . .[2]

For the analysis which follows, the state social studies consultant or some other appropriate officer in those states which do not have subject area specialists was contacted. We asked these persons to send copies of pertinent laws and guidelines relating to civics, American government, and problems of democracy courses.

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[2]Richard S. Miller. Teaching About Communism. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966, p. 768. Cited in Lee Ehman, Howard D. Mehlinger, and John J. Patrick. Toward Effective Instruction in Secondary Social Studies. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1974, pp. 22-26.

Responses were received from 36 states and the Canal Zone. By using these data plus information compiled in 1971 by the Virginia State Department of Education, we have a comprehensive picture of what is going on in all states except Florida and New Mexico.

In only three states--Alaska, Arkansas, and South Dakota--are there no requirements for, at least, American history.[3] In Alaska, two and one-half units of social studies are required for graduation, but the content of these courses is not specified. Arkansas requires that American history be taught, but students are not compelled to take it. Although the State Department of Education in South Dakota suggests a course of study containing social studies offerings, there is no requirement that they be presented.

The remaining states, all of which work under either legislative mandate or requirement from the Department of Education, rank along a continuum describing "a little to a lot" in what is required. California, for example, mandates the broad item, a course in political and economic systems. Hawaii requires only American and state history. Maryland and the Canal Zone require U.S. history as a standard for graduation. Montana requires U.S. and Montana history and American government. Other states specify American history, including the Constitution of the U.S. and state constitutions, in the guidelines. Minnesota requires

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[3]James High reported in 1962 that "every state has some sort of legal requirement for the study of American History [sic] and government at some point in the student's school career." James High. Teaching of Secondary School Social Studies. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962, p. 209.

both American history and social problems, but allows the content for these programs to be selected and written at the local school district level.

The vast majority of the states specify that government, U.S. and state constitutions, and some form of "citizenship training" be included in the school curriculum. Arizona mandates that one year at both the elementary and high school levels be devoted to the essentials, sources, and history of the U.S. and Arizona constitutions; and to instruction in American institutions and ideals. Colorado requires history and civil government of the State of Colorado and the United States, including the history, culture, and contributions of minorities including, but not limited to, the Spanish Americans and American Negroes. Honor and respect for the American flag and the United States Constitution is to be taught no later than the seventh grade, and continue into high school and the state colleges and universities.

Many of the states require that instruction in flag etiquette be provided and that the Boards of Education make arrangements to fly the national banner over all schools in their jurisdiction. Illinois regulations state that the U.S. history course should be taught with the objective of imparting a comprehensive idea of our democratic form of government and the principles for which our government stands. Several days are set aside by the legislature to be devoted to special civic instruction. These include Arbor Day and Bird Day, Leif Erickson Day, American Indian Day, and Illinois Law Week when the school should foster the importance of law and the respect thereof.

> During that week, the public schools may devote appropriate time, instruction, study, and exercises in the procedures of the legislation and the enactment of laws, the courts and the administration of justice, the police and the enforcement of law, citizen responsibilities, and other principles and ideals to promote the importance of government under law in the State. (P.A. 76-1183)

Students are tested on patriotism and principles of respresentative government, proper use of the flag, and the method of voting as a condition of graduation.

During instruction in U.S. and North Dakota history, civil government, and constitutions, North Dakota students are expected to learn the vital importance of truthfulness, temperance, patriotism, purity, public spirit, obedience to parents, deference to old age, and respect for honest labor of every kind.

Many states such as Georgia, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, and Ohio, want students to know about local government and the mechanics of voting. Iowa specifies that there must be instruction on voting statutes and procedures, registration requirements, use of paper ballots and voting machines, and methods of casting absentee ballots.

Nevada mandates instruction in U.S. and Nevada government and constitution (the history and origin), and American institutions and ideals. The section of law relating to citizenship training is as follows:

> 389.050. <u>High School Instruction in Citizenship, Physical Training</u>
>
> 1. All school officers in control of public high schools in the state shall provide for courses of study designed to prepare the pupils for the duties of citizenship, both in time of peace and in time of war. Such instruction shall include:

(a) Physical training designed to secure the health, vigor, and physical soundness of the pupil;

(b) Instruction related to the duties of citizens in the service of their country.

It shall be the aim of such instruction to inculcate a love of country and a disposition to serve the country effectively and loyally. (295:32:1956)

Pennsylvania mandates similar courses of study and requires that:

such instruction shall have for its purpose also the instilling into every boy and girl who comes out of our public, private, and parochial schools their solumn duty and obligation to exercise intelligently their voting privilege and to understand the advantages of the American republican form of government as compared with various other forms of government. (Section 1605. School Laws of Pennsylvania.)

One final example should serve to indicate the kind of laws concerning citizenship instruction that govern American schools.

NEBRASKA SCHOOL LAWS, 1969-1970

79-213. An informed, loyal, and patriotic citizenry is necessary to a strong, stable, and prosperous America. Such a citizenry necessitates that every member thereof be in full acquainted with the nation's history, that he be in full accord with our form of government, and fully aware of the liberties, opportunities, and advantages of which we are possessed and the sacrifices and struggles of those through whose efforts these benefits were gained. Since youth is the time most susceptible to the acceptance of principles and doctrines that will influence men throughout their lives, it is one of the first duties of our educational system to so conduct its activities, choose its textbooks, and arrange its curriculum in such a way that the love of liberty, democracy, and America will be instilled in the heart and mind of the youth of the state.

(1) Every school board shall at the beginning of each school year, appoint from its members a committee of three, to be known as the committee on Americanism, whose duties shall be: (a) To carefully examine, inspect, and approve all textbooks used in the teaching of American history and civil government in the school. Such

textbooks shall adequately stress the services of the men who achieved our national independence, established our constitutional government, and preserved our union and shall be so written as to develop a sense of pride and respect for our institutions and not be a mere recital of events and dates. (b) Assure themselves as to the character of all teachers employed, and their knowledge and acceptance of the American form of government. (c) Take all such other steps as will assure the carrying out of the provisions of this section. (d) Beginning with the school term in 1971, all American history courses approved for grade levels as provided in this section, shall include and adequately stress (i) contributions of all ethnic groups to the development and growth of America into a great nation, (ii) contributions to art, music, education, medicine, literature, politics, science, and government, and (iii) the war services in all wars of this nation.

(2) All grades of all public, private, denominational, and parochial schools, below the sixth grade, shall devote at least one hour per week to exercises or teaching periods for the following purposes: (a) The recital of stories having to do with American history, or the deeds and exploits of American heroes. (b) The singing of patriotic songs and the insistence that every pupil shall memorize "The Star Spangled Banner" and "America." (c) The development of reverence for the flag and instruction as to proper conduct in its presence.

(3) In at least two of the three grades from the fifth grade to the eighth grade in all public, private, denominational, and parochial schools at least three periods per week shall be set aside to be devoted to the teaching of American history from approved textbooks, taught in such a way as to make the course interesting and attractive, and to develop a love of country.

(4) In at least two grades of every high school, at least three periods per week shall be devoted to the teaching of civics, during which courses specific attention shall be given to the following matters: (a) The Constitution of the United States and of the State of Nebraska. (b) The benefits and advantages of our form of government and the fallacies of Nazism, Communism, and similar ideologies. (c) The duties of citizenship.

(5) Appropriate patriotic exercises suitable to the occasion shall be held under the direction of the school superintendent in every public, private, denominational, and parochial school on Lincoln's birthday, Washington's birthday, Flag Day, Memorial Day, and Veteran's Day, or

on the day preceeding or following such holiday, if the school is in session.

(6) Every school board, the Department of Education, each county superintendent of schools, and the superintendent of each individual school in the state shall be held directly responsible, in the order named, for the carrying out of the provisions of this section, and neglect thereof shall be considered a dereliction of duty and cause for dismissal.

79-214. Each teacher employed to give instruction in any public, private, parochial, or denominational school in the State of Nebraska shall so arrange and present his instruction as to give special emphasis to common honesty, morality, courtesy, obedience to law, respect for the national flag, the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of Nebraska, respect for parents and for the home, the dignity and necessity of honest labor, and other lessons of a steadying influence which tend to promote and develop an upright and desirable citizenry.

79-215. The Commissioner of Education shall prepare an outline with suggestions such as in his judgment will best accomplish the purpose set forth in section 79-214 and shall incorporate the same in the regular course of study for the first twelve grades of all schools in the State of Nebraska.

79-216. Any person violating the provisions of section 79-201 to 79-215 shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not less than five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars, or imprisioned in the county jail for more than ninety days, or both such a fine or imprisonment.

It is interesting that several of the state coordinators sent laws or courses of study on the free enterprise system in response to my request as well as information regarding what should properly be taught in civics, American government, or problems of democracy courses. As has been suggested, several states specify that instruction be provided about the threat of communism and socialism. Ohio allows students to participate in courses on social problems, economics, foreign affairs, the U.S., world government, communism,

and socialism, but only after they have been armed against these threats by studying geography, U.S. history, state and local governments in Ohio, and Constitutions of the U.S. and Ohio. One would have to assume that many consider capitalism as important a component of citizenship as democracy or constitutionalism. Washington and Wyoming, on the other hand, want students to participate in courses with economics, sociology, political science, geography, and psychology content so they will understand current problems.

Do these specifications really describe the content of what American youth are getting in the classroom? The answer to this is "to some extent," but not because the requirements are there. It must be admitted that there is always the implied threat that state funds may be withheld if the requirements are not met, but in only one state--Connecticut--could we find evidence that local boards of education have to file courses of study with the state department of education.

Usually, the state laws and education department requirements are so broadly stated that a wide variety of specific classroom objectives could be accommodated within their meaning. What are probably more definitive in determining what students are actually presented are state department courses of study, state textbook adoption practices, and the individual classroom teacher.

State Department Curricula and Textbook Adoption Practices

The courses of study prepared by the various state departments vary widely, as might be expected, but unlike the mandates

of legislatures, they generally encourage local school district inventiveness. The following is the state of Virginia's secondary curriculum:

Grade Seven:		Life in Our Society
Grade Eight:	INTERCHANGEABLE	Civics (or other electives)
Grade Nine:		World History and/or Geography
Grade Ten:		World History and/or Geography
Grade Eleven:		Virginia and United States History
Grade Twelve:		Virginia and United States History

> The suggested sequence outlined above is designed to accommodate [sic] and allow local school systems flexibility in making curriculum decisions. The topics are identified to insure continuity and to provide a broad framework wherein significant concepts and generalizations, constructive attitudes, and skills of thinking can be developed. Sequence is expressed in terms of grade levels. Interchangeable indicates that topics are not locked into a particular grade level, but will be emphasized in the total social studies program.[4]

In another section of the Curriculum we find the following:

> What factual knowledge should students learn from the social studies? What should be taught or known about the disciplines of history, geography, or political science? To resolve this dilemma, teachers should collect and organize into concepts the multiplicity of facts that confront them. Not all facts can or should be learned; furthermore, fragments of information often have little relevance in themselves. The use of concepts is a means of organizing subject matter content in a meaningful pattern within a single teaching unit or a given year of instruction.
>
> Selected ideas or concepts from the various disciplines which contribute to the social studies program are identified below:

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[4] The Social Studies Curriculum in the Secondary Schools of Virginia. Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Department of Education, 1974, p. 19.

Political Science

Law
Philosophy-Ideology
Decision-Making
Citizenship
Leadership
Interdependence
Institution[5]

The following are major generalizations which were developed by John Jarolimek and presented as organizer ideas:

POLITICAL SCIENCE

1. Every known society has some kind of authority structure that can be called its government; such a government is granted coercive powers.

2. A stable government facilitates the social and economic development of a nation.

3. All societies have made policies or laws about how groups of people should live together.

4. Each society has empowered a body (that is, tribal council, city council, state assembly, parliament) to make decisions and establish social regulations for the group that carry coercive sanctions.

5. The decisions, policies, and laws that have been made for a given society reflect and are based on the values, beliefs, and traditions of that society.

6. Throughout the history of mankind, man has experimented with many different systems of government.

7. The responsibilities of governments can be grouped into five large categories: (1) external security; (2) internal order; (3) justice; (4) service essential to the general welfare; and (5) under democracy, ensuring freedom.

8. The consent of the governed is to some extent a requirement of all governments and without it a government will eventually collapse; but in a democracy consent of the governed is clearly

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[5] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

recognized as a fundamental prerequisite of government.

9. A democratic society depends on citizens who are intellectually and morally competent to conduct the affairs of government.

10. Certain facts are necessary for democracy to succeed. These include: (1) an educated citizenry; (2) a common concern for human freedom; (3) communication and mobility; (4) a degree of economic security; (5) a spirit of compromise and mutual trust; (6) respect for the rights of minority groups and the loyal opposition; (7) moral and spiritual values; and (8) participation by the citizen in government at all levels.[6]

These, then, are the guidelines developed in a state that has very specific laws stating there should be instruction on civil government, history of the U.S. and Virginia, the Constitution, Declaration of Independence, Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, Virginia Bill of Rights, and history of the flag.

Connecticut offers another case in point. The pertinent Connecticut statute states that all tax-exempt elementary and secondary schools

> shall provide a program of United States history, including instruction in the United States government at all levels, and in the duties, responsibilities, and rights of United States citizenship. (pp. 10-11)

Their guide takes a conceptual approach to curriculum design and proposes the following as useful concepts from political science: change, stability, citizenship, decision making, government, ideologies, interdependence, power and authority, and values. Some of the generalizations accompanying these concepts are:

> Revolution may indicate fundamental change in a political system while reform may indicate superficial change.

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[6] Ibid., pp. 33-34.

> Citizen obligation to state and federal government may lead to conflict.
>
> There is usually disagreement over who has the right to make binding decisions and their nature.
>
> Political systems adopt many different forms (e.g., dictatorships, republics).
>
> Not all people achieve equal benefit from a condition of interdependence.[7]

Particularly interesting for our purposes are the following statements:

> This booklet, designed to assist those who will establish such a program, K-12 [a program to implement the state law] presents concepts and generalizations from the several social science disciplines according to maturity levels. These then should become the basis upon which a modern social studies curriculum is built. Each school system should establish social studies programs geared to the interests, needs and abilities of its students. It should take into consideration also its educational and community resources, both human and material. Programs so designed will fulfill the intent of this statute. . . .
>
> The fact that programs of studies in the social studies will not be uniform throughout the state is by no means undesirable; it is indicative of the diversity of educational needs within the state.[8]

Oregon law is reasonably explicit in stating that there must be special emphasis on instruction in honesty, morality, courtesy, obedience to law, respect for the national flag, the Constitutions of the U.S. and Oregon, respect for parents and the home, the dignity and necessity of honest labor, and other lessons which tend to promote and develop an upright and desirable citizenry (336.067). In addition, school districts are required by Oregon

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[7] Social Studies Concepts and Generalizations: A Framework for Curriculum Development. Hartford: State Department of Education, 1972, pp. 51-52.

[8] Ibid., Foreword.

Administrative Rules to identify the survival level competencies in the area of social responsibility (among others) which they are willing to accept for all students graduating from the K-12 program. These include the competencies required to function effectively and responsibly as a citizen in the community, state, and nation. Thus, it seems Oregon is going even further than most states and is demanding a local option approach to the problem.

Textbook adoption patterns offer yet a different constraint configuration. Approximately one-third of the states, located primarily in the South, are so-called textbook adoption states. This means that textbook lists are developed at the state level from which local districts must make district textbook selections if state funds are to be used in making the purchase. State textbook adoptions would certainly be considered a constraint, but their effect may be modified for at least a couple of reasons. First of all, local districts have to make selections from the approved list only if state funds are involved in the purchase. Local districts, particularly the larger ones, usually have access to some other sources of money with which to make some purchases. This means that the smaller and less affluent districts feel the most pressure from adoption patterns.

Second, many states are quite open in the selection of materials that go onto the adoption lists. It must be remembered that state department personnel are professional educators and at least 45 states have social studies professionals in the state departments. Although most are history or social studies specialists rather than political scientists, they do know what is being

published and what is the most sound from a learning theory perspective. In a word, the state departments often have the time and expertise to make better textbook decisions than do local district personnel. These lists certainly contain publications which will appeal to traditional, less innovative teachers. Most state lists, however, offer some choices which should be attractive to creative teachers. What really happens in the classroom is generally what the individual classroom teacher makes happen and is thus largely dependent on the quality of teacher preparation. If the textbook structures the course of study, it is because teachers are not capable of rising above it. See Chapter VI for a further examination of this hypothesis.

Subject Matter Preparation in Political Science

Reference to curriculum course patterns which reveal the extent to which history is dominant can be taken as an indication of the kind of subject matter preparation which characterizes most social studies teachers. Given the influence of the 1915-1916 reports on the school district curriculum patterns, it is at least surprising that college programs do not more accurately reflect the intent of the reports which included a recognition that disciplines other than history represent legitimate areas which should be included in the social studies curriculum. Nonetheless, college programs generally do not.

To make subject matter preparation explicit, we will look at typical college programs, starting in the late 1940s and early 1950s, on the assumption that many social studies teachers working

in schools today were trained during that era. Massialas and Cox note a report presented in 1937 in which it was assumed that the social studies major should consist primarily of history courses.[9] Although the author thought that such preparation might legitimately be broadened, he considered the cognate fields of only secondary import.

> The history teacher should have special preparation in geography, economics, sociology, and political science. No one of these, however, should be regarded as a second field of education.[10]

By the mid-1940s, however, the courses offered to pre-teachers outside of history were not only suggested as electives to support history majors, but were also perceived as an integral part of the broad social studies teaching major. These broad social studies teaching majors were beginning to be offered as an alternative among the majors available in history and selected social sciences. Massialas and Cox indicate that those from the Universities of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Colorado were typical.

Sixteen hours of history and 29 additional hours divided among three other social sciences constituted the courses required in the American Institutions program of the University of Wisconsin in 1944-46. The 1949 distributed major program in the broad field of history, social studies, and geography at the University of

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[9]William D. Bagley. "The Teacher of the Social Studies" in Report of the Commission of the Social Studies. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, Part XIV, 1937.

[10]Quoted in Massialas and Cox. Inquiry in Social Studies, op cit., p. 280.

Colorado was composed of not less than 18 hours of history and not less than nine hours each in three other social sciences chosen from economics, geography, political science, and sociology. The University of Minnesota, Duluth, in 1950-51 demanded that a major in social studies be made up of 62 hours, of which 36 hours must be in history and at least five hours each should be in sociology, geography, political science, and economics and business.[11]

The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards in 1958 analyzed the quantitative requirements of the 294 teacher preparation institutions in the United States accredited by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education. Of the 294 institutions, 155 reported history as a teaching major and 152 reported social science as a teaching major, but only 17 reported geography; ten, economics;three, sociology; and two, political science and psychology.[12]

The number of history major programs compared to the number of individual social science discipline programs should be frightening to those who believe that the concepts, generalizations, and research methodologies of the various social science disciplines can enhance student understanding of the human phenomena. Even more startling should be an indication of what, in fact, constituted the broad social science major. Table IX offers programs typical of those in the report.

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[11] Ibid., p. 281.

[12] The Education of Teachers: Curriculum Programs. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, 1959, pp. 173-192.

TABLE IX

Typical Teacher Preparation Programs[13]

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY		UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA	
33 Semester Hours (one-third history)		42 Semester Hours (one-third history; one-half history if electives in history)	
World history	6	History	15
American history	6	Political science	6
American government	3	Geography	6
Geography	6	Economics	3
Sociology & Anthropology	6	Sociology	3
Economics	6	Electives	9

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA		UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA	
(one-third to one-half history)		(at least one-half history)	
I. Broad social studies major (one-third to one-half history)	66-71	I. Broad social studies major (one-half history)	48
Core Subject (economics, geography, political science, sociology, or history)	30-36	History (24 hours)	
If history is core subject, then remaining hours are divided among four social sciences	30	Economics (6 hours)	
If history is not core subject, then 23 hours must be in history		Political Science (6)	
		Geography (6)	
		Sociology (3)	
		Electives (3)	
II. Social Studies minor (one-half history)	46	II. History minor (all history)	26
History (23 hours)		III. Major in social studies discipline (one-half history)	24
Related social science (23 hours)		History minor required	24
		IV. Social Studies teaching minor (one-half history)	24
		History (24)	
		Related social studies (24)	

[13] Ibid., pp. 295, 323, 332, 403.

In 1961, the National Council for the Social Studies published guidelines for an ideal teacher training program. In an effort to achieve both depth and breadth, it was suggested that pre-teachers prepared themselves by taking at least 48 semester hours. In order to have depth, the program should provide a major concentration of at least 24 hours in either history and one of the other social sciences; and for breadth, approximately 24 hours in at least three of the social science disciplines other than the one chosen for major concentration (with the understanding that the field of history would be included).[14]

By 1966, NCSS had modified this position somewhat. Guidelines for the Preparation of Social Studies Teachers, which was approved by the Board of Directors, included the following recommendations:

1. The undergraduate preparation of all teachers of the social studies should include appropriate course work in areas of general education, professional education, and academic subject matter. The following distribution of course work indicates a suggested minimum and a range extending to a possible maximum, given as a percentage of total credit hours: general education, 25-30 percent; professional education, 15-25 percent; academic teaching fields, 50-60 percent (including professionalized subject matter for elementary teachers). Professional education should include such things as field experience, observation participation, student teacher and/or internship experience as part of an appropriate sequence of course work and related activities.

2. Secondary social studies teachers should have a broad, appropriate preparation in the social sciences, including such areas as anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, psychology, sociology--with depth in one field. The choice of majors should range over the entire field to insure

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[14] Massialas and Cox, op cit., p. 284.

> that each social studies department has teachers with diverse backgrounds.[15]

The total number of hours suggested in the Guidelines was again recommended in 1971 in Standards for Social Studies Teachers. A more explicit recommendation was that the prospective secondary teacher should have a close acquaintance with three social sciences including research experience in one.[16]

An influential segment of scholars, professional educators, and teachers hold the position that the professional preparation of secondary teachers should consist primarily of rigorous training in preferably one but no more than two of the social science disciplines. This group also proposes a discipline-centered curriculum for the secondary level.[17] To understand how dismally American education falls short of this goal, one needs to recognize that only three percent of the undergraduates in American universities major in political science.[18]

Those educators who believe that the secondary curriculum should focus on integrating data and concepts from all the social science disciplines recommend that teachers be familiar with the nature and method of several of the social sciences. They view the teacher not as a scholar or specialist, but someone who can provide

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[15]"Guidelines for the Preparation of Social Studies Teachers" in Social Education, Vol. 31, No. 6, October 1966, p. 490.

[16]"Standards for Social Studies Teachers" in Social Education, Vol. 35, No. 8, December 1971, pp. 847-848.

[17]Randall C. Anderson, op cit., p. 101.

[18]Robert O. Byrd. "A Curriculum for the Future" in DEA News, No. 7, Fall 1975, p. 6.

a wide variety of useful information necessary to help students understand the human condition.[19] Other specialists recommend that teachers should have at least a master's degree with a subject matter major or 15 semester hours in one discipline and a subject matter minor of nine to 12 semester hours in another related discipline.[20]

Despite all the recommendations and guidelines, however, the typical social studies degree program for teachers is still heavily history oriented. Martin Chancey in a study of 22 high schools in and around Cleveland, Ohio, found among other things that there has been:

> a general downgrading of the importance of politics in our schools, reflected in an inadequate training of government teachers and in the time actually devoted to this study. Ohio law calls for one year combined study of American history and government. A majority of teachers actually devote only 10-15% of classroom time to government and the rest to history. Many teachers have training in history, few if any in political science. In all too many instances, a government teacher's sole background is physical ed. . . . Most teachers rely almost exclusively on textbooks, most of which are dull, outdated, onesided, and reactionary.[21]

The implications of programs in which such a heavy concentration of history is required are strikingly evident. First of all, it is perfectly reasonable to assume that pre-teachers would tend

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[19]Anderson, op cit., pp. 101-102.

[20]Walter E. Sistrunk and Robert C. Mason. A Practical Approach to Secondary Social Studies. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1972, p. 241.

[21]Martin Chancey. "A Study on the Teaching of Politics in Secondary Schools in N.E. Ohio" in DEA News, No. 6, December 1975, p. 3.

to consider human activity in a narrative, sequential, and descriptive fashion rather than in an analytical and predictive way.[22] In the second place, a background in history does not necessarily prepare a teacher to deal adequately with the most controversial and value-laden aspect of the curriculum--the political science course. The evidence indicates that most government courses are taught in a formal, descriptive, and bookish way. Significant issues, inherent conflicts, and political activities are studiously avoided. Harmon Zeigler, in a study entitled The Political World of the High School Teacher, concluded that teachers tend to be unpolitical especially in terms of their views of the classroom as a forum for expressing political opinions or discussing controversial issues.[23]

A third consequence of the emphasis on history in the education of social studies teachers is the growing discrepancy between teacher preparation and the courses that are taught in the schools. It seems absurd to assume, as has been done in the past, that teachers who are well grounded in history can teach any social studies course offered. It is almost equally absurd to assume that six hours of undergraduate political science, which may or may not be sequential, will provide a satisfactory foundation for a teacher of American government. While most teachers have some political science course work, few have taken upper division or graduate courses. In 1965, only 25.5 percent of the civics teachers and

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[22] Massialas and Cox, op cit., p. 285.

[23] Harmon Zeigler. The Political World of the High School Teacher. Eugene, Oregon: The Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1966, p. 156.

14.6 percent of the government teachers in Kansas had ever had a college course in political science.[24]

There is one other way to consider the subject matter preparation of teachers, and that is from the perspective of what high school accrediting associations and state certification requirements demand in terms of hours. These, like typical college programs, do not speak to the quality of preparation--only to the quantity.

Accrediting Associations and State Certification Requirements

There are six regional associations which determine standards to which elementary and secondary schools must conform in order to be officially accredited institutions. North Central, the largest association, includes Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. The Southern association includes Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The Northwest encompasses Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington. The Middle States includes the Canal Zone, Delaware, Washington, D.C., Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. The New England association includes Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont; and the Western, California, Guam, and Hawaii.

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[24]Harlan Hahn. "Teacher Preparation in Political Science" in Social Education, Vol. 29, February 1965, pp. 86-89.

North Central requires that all social studies teachers: (1) hold a baccalaureate degree from an accredited institution of higher learning or have their degree from an unaccredited institution validated by the completion of four graduate semester hours in an accredited facility; (2) have completed 40 hours of work distributed in general education; (3) have had student teaching; (4) have had 18 semester hours of course work in education; and (5) have had 24 semester hours in "the field of social studies, appropriately distributed in the subject to which the teacher is assigned."[25]

Although Northwest recommends a major, it specifies a minimum that "all subject matter teachers shall have a minimum of 24 quarter hours in each field or area, including 9 quarter hours in subjects closely related to courses assigned."[26]

The other associations (with the exception of the Middle States, for which no information was forthcoming), indicate they have no specific subject matter requirements. The Associate Executive Secretary of the Southern Association states:

> The standards of the Commission on Secondary Schools do not specifically indicate the number of hours in any subject which teachers should have in order to meet our standards. Rather, we say that a teacher should be certified in his or her areas of work according to the requirements of the particular state in which they may teach or shall have a college major in the area in which they are teaching. In other

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[25]"Policies and Standards for the Approval of Secondary Schools, 1975-76." Chicago: Commission on Schools, n.d., pp. 19-22.

[26]Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges. "Standard for Accreditation of High Schools." Pendleton, Oregon: Commission on Schools, 1975, p. 29.

> words, our standards require that the teachers either be certified or have a college major in order to teach in a particular subject matter area.[27]

Although school districts in the Western association apparently must report and justify each instance where teachers are teaching outside their major field, they are more independent in New England. The Director of Evaluation of this association states:

> As a matter of fact, both traditionally and in fact, independent schools have rejected the concept of teacher credentialling as a measure of staff competence.[28]

Every state requires that teachers obtain state certification in order to teach in state supported schools. The requirements for certification tend to be very specific and vary widely from state to state. A few generalization can be made, however. (1) All states now require a baccalaureate degree; (2) many require an institutional recommendation, which legitimizes a school of education function in teachers' certification; (3) a few states specify that all teachers have college hours in U.S. history and U.S. government; (4) all states demand a certain number of hours for subject matter specialists, but most tend to lump everything together in a sort of social studies or history/social studies puddle. In some instances, government is specified as one of the social studies along with geography, economics, sociology, etc. In others, political science is the term used; and (5) only Georgia, which requires 40 quarter hours, and Ohio, which requires 20 semester

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[27]Joseph M. Johnston, Personal letter dated October 23, 1975.

[28]Ralph O. West, Personal letter dated October 22, 1975.

hours, recognize political science as a legitimate and separate subject area.[29]

Certainly, none of the above data can be particularly reassuring to those who believe that government ought to be taught by teachers with more than a modest amount of political science. It should be equally disheartening to those who are convinced that the discipline has a great deal to offer to enhance human understanding. We are now cognizant of the fact that few secondary social studies teachers have had much college training in political science. What do we know about the quality of what little training they have had?

Part of the answer comes from the discipline of political science itself. From the outset, American doctoral programs, mirroring their German prototype, have been designed to produce scholars capable of turning out original research. Rigorously and systematically trained American scholars have achieved far more than their colleagues in other nations and thus the discipline has benefitted. On the other hand, the emphasis on productive scholarship has meant that "the majority of new doctorates went into academic life. . . admirably unprepared for the pedagogical duties promptly thrust upon them."[30] In addition, this basic problem is aggravated by a professional value system that defines academic achievement and scholarly competence in terms of

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[29]Elizabeth W. Woellner. Requirements for Certification for Elementary Schools, Secondary Schools, Junior Colleges: Thirty-eighth Edition, 1973-74. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

[30]Somit and Tanenhaus, op cit., p. 39.

publication rather than teaching skills. Given this orientation, it is understandable why more effort might be channeled into research and writing efforts. Somit and Tanenhaus go so far as to suggest that even APSA (apparently, all the historical busywork notwithstanding) has been research rather than teaching oriented.[31]

We are left then with academics who have not been afforded adequate preparation in pedagogy, strategy, or teaching techniques who must work within a profession which is oriented toward research rather than teaching excellence. The reward system in the profession is, in fact, primarily predicated on the extent of publication. The quality of the preparation of teachers suffers doubly. It suffers, first, because they may not have the opportunity to learn from first-rate teachers; and it suffers, secondly, because of the unhappy tendency of teachers to model themselves after their own teachers and thus perpetuate mediocrity.

Conclusion

It has been assumed by American elites since the founding of the first colonial institution of higher learning, that American schools had a function of socializing the young in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. This notion which primarily had a strong moral and ethical component became more pronounced after the Revolution when it was assumed that both citizenship education and training for public service were particularly necessary in a republican form of government. For a variety of reasons, but primarily because government has long been considered the domain

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[31] Ibid., p. 54.

of political science, political scientists have assumed the responsibility of assisting in this task. The professional association, APSA, has accepted and legitimized this collective resolve.

The course of citizenship education has not been smooth nor particularly successful, however. Among the causes are (1) the fact that no one really knows what a good citizen should know or be able to do (at least, there is not consensus on these matters); (2) the fact that teachers have not been properly trained to produce students with citizenship skills (assuming that political science has anything to offer to facilitate this training); (3) the fact that political scientists have embraced the rhetoric but not the reality of participating in teacher training and materials preparation.

In Chapter IV we will examine some of the criticisms that citizenship education has engendered, and the responses of APSA and other agencies to these criticisms.

CHAPTER IV

CRITICISMS OF PREVAILING MODES AND BEGINNINGS OF REFORM

The criticisms of civic education which have been with us since before the turn of the century became even more intense in the 1960s. Critics called the social studies a disaster rather than an academic area. The content of the civics course was termed thin and outdated, taught at the wrong grade level, and based on a faulty conception of citizenship. Problems of democracy was called "a hodge-podge of content and a refuse of life adjustment."[1]

One author, John J. Patrick, in a bruising indictment written as late as 1970 stated:

> Civic education in American schools has lacked a clear focus and a tightly knit conceptual framework. Disparate topics such as consumer economics, life adjustment, occupations, health, personal grooming, and descriptions of government agencies are thrown in together to form the content of instruction. Bland descriptions, superficial moralizing, and distortions of reality blight standard instructional materials.[2]

Patrick goes on to note the enormous gap between the content of civics instruction and knowledge about politics produced by

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[1] A. James Quillen, op cit., p. 262.

[2] John J. Patrick. "The Reconstruction of Civics Education in American Schools" in Mary Jane Turner. Materials for Civics Government, and Problems of Democracy: Political Science in the New Social Studies. Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., 1971, p. 1.

social scientists during the past two decades; the tendency to confuse values with fact; the paucity of key concepts to organize the instructional content; and emphasis on rote learning rather than critical inquiry. Most textbooks state that students should inquire, analyze, and think critically. Few make an effort to engage students in abstract, complex mental operations. Even worse, "some textbooks urge students to engage in sublime normative discussion while neglecting to prepare them to cope successfully with the rigors of careful value analysis."[3]

A number of studies demonstrates that traditional civics has been impotent in imparting knowledge or influencing beliefs. For example, a study by Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings of a national probability sample of 1699 12th graders from 97 secondary schools found only miniscule changes in political attitudes and sophistication as a result of formal civics instruction. The authors concluded that students who had taken one or more courses during grades ten, 11, and 12 did not show significantly more political interest, sense of political efficacy, civic tolerance, or desire to participate in politics than those who had not taken such courses.[4]

A five-nation study conducted by Russell F. Farnen and Dan B. German in 1968-69 supports the Langston-Jennings findings. Over 8,900 students in the United States, West Germany, England,

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[3] Ibid., p. 2

[4] Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings. "Political Socialization and High School Civics Curriculum" in American Political Science Review, Vol. 62, September 1968, pp. 852-867.

Sweden, and Italy were surveyed. The U.S. findings indicate that formal political education does not have a meaningful influence on the political information and attitudes held by a majority of American students.[5]

Patrick found that a high percentage of 472 high school students from nine communities in various parts of the country were unable to distinguish American ideals about political opportunity and recruitment to political affairs from political reality. When responding to a true-false statement, 41 percent indicated they thought it was true that "any person born in the United States has the same chance as any other person to become President of the United States some day." Forty-two percent indicated as true the statement that "non-whites have the same chance to become United States Senators as white individuals."[6]

The Measurement and Research Center at Purdue has been regularly conducting surveys of stratified samples of approximately 9,000 to 11,000 high school students since 1941. Surveys conducted in 1949, 1951, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1963, 1964, and 1966 have dealt with various aspects of orientations toward democratic principles and political tolerance. Different sets of questions have been repeated, making possible comparisons over ten-year

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[5]Russell F. Farnen and Dan B. German. "Youth, Politics, and Education" in Byron G. Massialas, ed. Political Youth, Traditional Schools. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972, pp. 161-177.

[6]John J. Patrick. "The Impact of an Experimental Course, American Political Behavior, on the Knowledge of Secondary School Students." Paper presented at the 66th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, California, September 8-12, 1970, pp. 11-12.

spans. A summary of those questions regarding students' attitudes toward applications of the Bill of Rights indicate that a significant number of teenagers display a lack of commitment to such democratic principles as freedom of speech and press and the constitutionally guaranteed rights of minorities.[7]

Ellen Shantz studied the nature of students' political attitudes rather than the way in which civics courses change attitudes by surveying 107 juniors in four social studies classes in a suburban high school. She found that the majority of these students were participation oriented in the sense of being interested, but negatively oriented toward discussing public affairs with friends and seeking out appropriate reading materials. Furthermore, they did not perceive themselves as the citizens who actually make decisions of social policies and problems.[8]

A recent and comprehensive survey of students' political knowledge and attitudes was conducted by the National Assessment of Educational Progress. One hundred thousand respondents in four age categories--nine, 13, 17, and adult--were sampled. All of the results have not been released; however, Tables IX and X give some indication of what Americans know and how they feel about certain things.

It is difficult to know exactly what these data mean. It appears that the improved performance of 17-year-olds over 13-year-olds refutes to a certain extent the earlier socialization

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[7]Cited in PS, Vol. 4, No. 3, Summer 1972, p. 444.

[8]Ellen Shantz. "Sideline Citizens" in Massialas, ed. Political Youth, Traditional Schools, op cit., pp. 64-76.

TABLE X

Political Knowledge[9]

POLITICAL SCIENCE	National Level of Acceptance Performance (Percent) Age 9	Age 13	Age 17	Adult
1. Knows some of the individuals and groups responsible for making government decisions.				
The duties of Health Dept/Inspection	36	--	--	--
Responsibility for fair trial/Judge	74	--	--	--
Head of town goverment/Mayor	58	--	--	--
Academic most interested in government/Political Scientists	--	50	72	74
Cabinet position/Unreleased	--	39	67	66
Foreign Affairs/Unreleased	--	27	38	64
Government responsibility/Local	--	67	83	89
Government responsibility/State	--	47	65	70
Government responsibility/State	--	60	87	89
Government responsibility/Federal	--	83	94	96
Establish central branch of university/State	--	71	84	79
Raise mail rates/Federal	--	72	90	95
Lower tax on imports/Federal	--	73	89	92
Increase garbage collection/Local	--	77	92	92
2. Understands some of the rights and responsibilities granted in Constitution.				
Statement of civil rights/Const.	--	63	84	78
Basic constitutional rights/Unreleased	--	77	--	--
International Relations/Unreleased	--	26	49	46
Supreme Court/prayer in schools case	--	--	49	52
Supreme Court/power to declare act of Congress unconstitutional	--	35	71	62
Supreme Court/Unreleased	--	--	9	--
Supreme Court/Unreleased	--	30	56	66
3. Knows something about the election process and the role of political parties.				
Elected & appointed officials/Senators	--	74	89	90
Nomination of presidential candidates/ National Convention	--	17	49	60
Using sample ballot/all five parts	--	--	41	44
Evaluating politicians/where to get information	--	42	62	69
Evaluating politicians/raising appropriate questions	--	70	75	76
4. Understands some of the processes involved in political socialization				
Cooperation in social situations	92	--	--	--
Cooperation in school	97	--	--	--
Why society has rules	--	67	84	69

[9] The First Social Studies Assessment: An Overview. Washington, DC: National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1974, pp. 33-34.

TABLE XI

Political Attitudes[10]

	National Level of Acceptable Performance (Percent)			
	Age 9	Age 13	Age 17	Adult
A. Rights of the First Amendment				
1. Believes in the freedoms of the First Amendment and can justify that belief.				
-Making fun of religious difference	73	87	91	--
-Should young citizen write to public officials?	--	58	80	73
-Freedom of speech, press/Unreleased	--	73	80	77
-Right to petition/Unreleased	--	--	81	82
-Public criticism of U.S. troops abroad	--	--	81	81
-Freedom of speech, worship/Unrel.	--	64	78	78
-Religious freedom for elected officials	--	59	63	56
-Newspaper's right to criticize public officials	--	41	66	71
-Freedom of speech, press/Unreleased	--	--	58	70
-Freedom of press/Unreleased	--	--	82	80
-Right to assemble in public park	--	54	80	72
-Freedom to picket rock festival	--	--	42	56
-Freedom to picket police station	--	--	40	44
B. The worth of the individual				
3. Respects the rights and views of others				
-Religious observance	87	--	--	--
-Class consciousness	27	68	--	--
-Conformity to peer pressure	30	71	84	89
-Golden Rule	82	83	84	86
-Willingness to listen	--	72	75	59
-Should race influence employment?	--	74	90	90
-Political obligation to minority groups	--	--	79	78
4. Believes in the "Rule of Law" and can justify that belief.				
-Legal protection for all/Unreleased	--	75	85	77
-Legal protection for all/Unreleased	--	--	89	81
-Vandalism--crime or prank?	--	55	51	--
-Citizen responsibility/Unreleased	--	--	70	91

[10] Ibid., pp. 52-53.

studies that hypothesized that attitudes were fairly set when children left elementary school. On the other hand, the evidence shows remarkable similarity between 17-year-olds and adults, a finding which supports those studies which presume that older students' responses tend to draw closer to those of their teachers.[11]

It would be pleasant to believe that 90 percent of the 17-year-olds and adults really believe that race should not influence employment or that 79 percent and 78 percent respectively believe they have a political obligation to minority groups. One feels intuitively, however, that some of the responses are more an indication of what the respondents believed the questioners wanted to hear than a measure of a strongly-held attitude.

Given the number of government and history courses in which the Constitution is taught, one is shocked at the apallingly few respondents who know that the Supreme Court is a branch of the government which can declare acts of Congress unconstitutional--35 percent of the 13-year-olds, 71 percent of the 17-year-olds, and 62 percent of the adults respectively. An even fewer number seem to know how to use a simple ballot.

National Assessment data also seem to indicate that few Americans "participate" effectively. For example, only 25 percent of the 17-year-olds were able to mention four techniques for political participation; fewer than half knew three ways in which citizens

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[11]See, for example, David Easton with R. D. Hess. "The Child's Changing Image of the President" in Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 24, pp. 632-644.

might influence the government; and only a meager 11 percent could give five ways for exerting political influence.[12]

Although the results are open to discussion, they seem to indicate deficiencies in American education that should be corrected.

Richard Remy, Co-Director of the APSA's Political Science Education Project, conducted a national, but not representative, sampling of high school seniors in order to ascertain students' (the clients) own perceptions and attitudes about their civics and government instruction. During their high school careers, 74 percent of those sampled had taken at least one course in civics and government (primarily ninth-grade civics) and 26 percent had had two or more courses (mainly 12th-grade American government or problems of democracy in addition to the civics). Among other things, Remy tried to determine how satisfied students are with their political science instruction. The bulk of the students were mixed in their feelings about their courses. That is, 57 percent agreed with some of the standard criticisms but disagreed with some. Twenty-four percent were satisfied or favorably disposed toward their instructional experience, and 19 percent were very critical. Table XI reproduces the questions to which students responded.[13]

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[12] National Assessment of Educational Progress: Citizenship. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, pp. 59-63.

[13] Richard C. Remy. "High School Seniors' Attitudes Toward Their Civics and Government Instruction" in Social Education, Vol. 36, No. 6, October 1972, pp. 590-593.

TABLE XII

Student Ratings of Common Criticisms of Civics & Government Courses[14]

Percent Felt Accurate	Criticism (* Number responding)
66	Civics and government courses pay too much attention to the fundamental aspects of government (e.g., the steps in how a bill becomes a law) and do not pay enough attention to how people actually behave politically. (1376)*
55	Civics and government courses don't give a fair comparison of the American political system with other systems. (1356)*
50	Civics and government courses don't pay enough attention to controversial political issues, such as race relations, political demonstrations, and issues of war and peace. (1381)
49	Civics and government courses don't use new knowledge about politics developed by social scientists such as economists, sociologists, and political scientists. (1369)
49	Civics and government courses lack a clear focus. Rather than concentrating on developing students' understanding of politics and government, they try to cover too many topics such as economics and geography that are not fully related to politics and government. (1371)
45	Civics and government courses don't give students a realistic picture of the way American politics works. (1367)
43	Civics and government courses don't give any practical knowledge students need to participate in politics. (1363)
42	Courses in civics and government fail to develop students' ability to critically examine their own political values and the values of society. (1370)
42	Civics and government courses fail to provide students with much new information about politics. Much of what is taught the students already knew before they took the course. (1375)
41	Civics and government courses fail to develop students' ability to think systematically and critically about political information and arguments. (1375)

[14] Ibid., p. 592.

Other data which Remy collected are also pertinent. Precollegiate political science courses have been consistently criticized because the focus is on information and facts rather than on development of analytical and evaluative competence. Seventy-five percent of the students in this sample wanted revision of course content in the direction of increased emphasis on the development of skills of critical inquiry.

Remy asked the students what were their primary sources of information and ideas about politics. Figure 1 indicates that only 14 percent of the students selected the school as their primary information source. It is Remy's contention that civics and government courses which emphasize factual information are likely to be redundant, and thus uninteresting and dull. Neither do they satisfactorily achieve the objective of teaching important skills of inquiry and analysis.

Figure 1

Student Perceptions of Their Primary Source of Information and Ideas about Politics[15]

The World		The United States
38%	Newspapers and Magazines	39%
35	Television	25
13	Teachers and School	14
8	Parents	12
6	Friends	10
N = World 1357		United States 1358

[15] Ibid., p.594.

Response to another question dealing with perceptions of new knowledge in civics and government courses compared to other courses underscores the "redundancy theory." The respondents indicated that only 27 percent of what they learned in civics and government courses was new knowledge as compared to 77 percent that was considered new learning in science courses.[16]

Figure 2

Amount of New Knowledge in Civics and Government Courses Compared to Other Courses[17]

	Percent of Everything I Learned New
Science Courses	77%
Mathematics Courses	72
Literature Courses	50
World History Courses	30
Civics and Government Courses	27
U.S. History Courses	16

Ns range from 1273 to 1430.

A national poll conducted in 100 schools by Louis Harris and Associates and published in Life in May 1969 supports Remy's findings by illustrating students' understanding and expectations of their courses. We have circled "Current Affairs, politics" on Table XII because, presumably, all programs (except history) which have political science content are subsumed in this category.

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[16]Langton and Jennings, op cit., discuss the redundancy theory at some length. The theory is partially refuted by Lee H. Ehman. "Political Efficacy and the High School Social Studies Curriculum" in Massialas. Political Youth, Traditional Schools, op cit., p. 98.

[17]Remy, op cit., p. 594.

TABLE XIII

What Students Think of Their Courses[18]

	Most Useful	Least Useful	Most Difficult	Most Important	Most Boring	Most Irrelevant	Changes Needed to Quality	Improve Relevance
English (grammar, composition)	33%	14%	21%	52%	25%	14%	6%	4%
Mathematics	28	17	35	50	19	14	6	4
Science	20	16	22	13	14	13	11	8
Business and Secretarial	18	5	6	9	7	6	10	8
History (including Black)	15	18	12	12	19	18	8	7
Current Affairs, politics	9	7	4	7	8	5	11	11
Foreign Languages	8	13	13	5	10	10	15	6
Shop, technical	8	3	1	3	2	3	13	16
Home economics	6	2	*	2	2	2	2	3
Art	5	3	1	2	1	2	4	5
Physical Education	3	10	*	2	1	9	3	5
Music	2	4	*	1	1	4	2	4
Drama, Public Speaking	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	2
Agriculture	1	1	*	*	*	1	2	2
Driver Education	1	*	*	*	1	*	2	1
Personal Hygiene	1	2	*	1	1	2	2	4
Humanities, Ethics	*	2	*	2	3	3	3	4
Psychology	*	1	*	1	*	1	5	5
Literature	*	2	1	2	2	2	2	*
Geography	*	2	1	*	1	1	1	*
Family Planning	*	*	*	1	1	1	5	6

*Less than 0.5%.

[18] Life 66, No. 19, May 16, 1969, p. 31. Cited in Ehman, et al., op cit., p. 4.

Only 16 percent of the respondents found "Current Affairs, politics" the most useful or the most important. Seven percent, on the other hand, found the area least useful, and an additional 13 percent found it either boring or irrelevant. Only foreign languages and technical shop had more students recommending changes to improve quality, and only technical shop had more recommending changes to improve relevance.

APSA Assessment

Concerned because of widespread criticisms of the high school civics and government programs; aware of the results of studies that indicate that there is little persuasive evidence that past efforts to inculcate values or encourage participatory zeal have achieved their intended ends; but armed with a more coherent body of knowledge and an expanded research methodology, APSA mounted yet another organizational effort to improve the quality of the precollegiate political science education in the late 1960s.

The Committee on Pre-Collegiate Curriculum Development in Political Science was appointed in the spring of 1969 by President David Easton and charged with the task of studying efforts to improve political science curriculum development. Under the chairmanship of Paul Abramson, this committee issued a report, "The Challenge of Pre-Collegiate Education," which recommended among other things the establishment of a permanent advisory committee on precollegiate education.[19]

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[19]"The Challenge of Pre-Collegiate Education" was published in PS, Vol. 2, No. 3, Summer 1969. Committee members in addition to Paul Abramson were Lee F. Anderson, Charles O. Jones, Howard D.

The Pre-collegiate Education Committee which was established by the Executive Council of APSA in January 1970 held its first meeting on March 19, 1970, in Washington, D.C. The prestige of the political scientists who served on this new committee and the institutions they represented indicate the importance which was attached to the topic of precollegiate education by the Association. Members were Richard C. Snyder (The Ohio State University), Chairman; Paul R. Abramson (Michigan State University); Robert E. Lane (Yale University); Howard D. Mehlinger (Indiana University); David Easton (Chicago University); Fred I. Greenstein (Wesleyan University); and Jewel L. Prestage (Southern University).

Following the Committee's appointment, a grant was obtained from the U.S. Office of Education to create the APSA Political Science Education Project (PSEP). PSEP, which was assigned to support and facilitate the work of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, operated out of Indiana University under the auspices of the Political Science Department and the Social Studies Development Center its first year and out of Northwestern University the second. Since that time the project has been located at The Mershon Center, The Ohio State University. Directors of PSEP are Lee F. Anderson and Richard C. Remy.

The Committee was charged with two primary responsibilities by the Association:

> First, the Committee is to provide the profession with a continuing assessment of the discipline's relationship with elementary and secondary education.

Mehlinger, Jewel L. Prestage, George E. Vonder Muhl, and L. Harmon Zeigler.

> Second, the Committee is to develop and to begin to implement a long range strategy through which the intellectual resources and talents of political science can be more effectively mobilized in support of improved political science education at the pre-collegiate level.[20]

In 1971 the Committee published its appraisal of prevailing patterns and materials used in precollegiate political science education.[21] It was based on an examination of the most widely used elementary and secondary curriculum materials along with much of the extant commentary, analysis, and critiques of these materials; a questionnaire distributed to the members of the profession; a study of the relevant educational and political socialization research; an extensive survey of the attitudes, beliefs, and analytical skills of a select national sample of high school seniors; and consultation with teachers, students, and curriculum specialists. From these sources, the Committee drew together a set of generalizations depicting the characteristic weaknesses in the generally prevailing modes of political science education in elementary and secondary schools. Much of what was learned parallels and reinforces findings noted above; however, because they were generated by disciplinarians, the five most pertinent generalizations are quoted and discussed briefly below.

> Much of current political science instruction in elementary and secondary schools transmits a naive, unrealistic, and romanticized image of political life which confuses the ideal of democracy with the realities of politics.[22]

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[20] PS, Vol. 4, No. 3, Summer 1971, p. 432.

[21] Ibid., pp. 431-446.

[22] Ibid., p. 437.

Few materials satisfactorily interpreted American politics and government in terms of a realistic appraisal of governmental functions and processes. The relationship of governmental leaders to citizens, to the formulation of public policy, and to public opinion and interest groups was seldom explained or analyzed. Excessive reliance was placed on exhortation rather than rational analysis, on ideal rather than behavior, with no attention to the reasons for the discrepancy, much less its significance.

The researchers found that most texts displayed explicitly middle-class biases, myths, and dreams through the pictures and textual material they contained. This is, of course, particularly devastating when it is realized that prejudicial attitudes toward the poor, the non-white races, and many ethnic groups are shaped, or at least reinforced, in the classroom. The researchers noted in this regard that although

> most of the current textbooks make some effort pictorially to depict blacks as an integral part of American life, they present virtually no textual materials dealing candidly with the issues of present racial discrimination and the current status of blacks in American society.[23]

The researchers go on to say:

> On the whole, instruction about civics and government places undue stress upon historical events, legal structures, and formal institutional aspects of government, and fails to transmit adequate knowledge about political behavior and processes.[24]

A strong emphasis on structural detail accompanied by questions that test memory, rather than analysis of why things happen

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[23] Ibid., p. 438.

[24] Ibid., p. 439.

as they do, was found to be typical. Perhaps worse than this, materials and courses presented a series of unintegrated fragments and lacked a broad interpretive framework for analyzing socio-political processes. Reliance was placed on a purely formal, structural approach to subject matter rather than on utilization of such traditionally basic political science concepts as power, authority, legitimacy, justice, freedom, class, conflict, consensus, and decision making as tools of analysis.

> On the whole, instruction in civics and government reflects an ethnocentric preoccupation with American society, and fails to transmit to students an adequate knowledge about other national societies of the international system.[25]

Throughout all levels of education, other nations were cast in an unfavorable light. The very criteria by which they were judged were chosen according to American values, and definitions of good were reduced to "like us." Similar ethnocentric tendencies characterize treatment of American foreign policy in most textual material. Comparative studies, for the most part, consisted of studying nations and areas individually rather than comparing them in terms of categories such as governmental functions, structures, quality of performance, and relationships of external to internal factors. Few texts attempted to develop within students any understanding of major social processes within the international system. Nor did any of the materials reviewed introduce any of the major concepts which international relations scholars use to analyze

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[25] Ibid., p. 442.

international politics, such as power, integration, systems, equilibrium, communication, decision making, and sovereignty.

> On the whole, instruction about civics and government fails to develop within students a capacity to think about political phenomena in conceptually sophisticated ways; an understanding of, and skill in the process of social scientific inquiry; or a capacity to systematically analyze political decisions and values.[26]

At the elementary level, the researchers found that elementary textbooks have not been organized to develop in children critical inquiry skills that are necessary before any real understanding of political phenomena can be attained. The widely used "expanding horizons" approach to curriculum structuring does little more than describe realities with which the students are already familiar, particularly when no effort is made to provide useful frameworks with which comparisons may be made. Furthermore, it was suggested that in too many cases the social studies have not been regarded by administrators and teachers as a proper locus for intellectual endeavor. Rather, they have been perceived as primarily useful to the extent that they reinforce reading skills.

At the secondary level, the organization of textbooks again has not been geared to helping students learn to cope with political abstraction or engage in fruitful inquiry. Memorization of "essential" facts that seem to be those students "ought" to know has been stressed at the expense of learning useful political concepts that facilitate understanding. Students have been routinely encouraged by both the textual materials and the classroom teacher

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[26] Ibid., p. 443.

to make normative value judgments without critically analyzing the basis of those values or understanding the consequences of operationalizing them.

> On the whole, instruction in civics and government fails to develop within students an understanding of the capabilities and skills needed to participate effectively and democratically in politics.[27]

Bland descriptions, extensive moralizing, and overgeneralization characterized standard instructional materials. Textbooks tended to stress legalistic descriptions of governmental institutions and ethical prescriptions about political behavior rather than the sociocultural foundations of political behavior and the extra-legal factors that so importantly influence public policy decisions and the functioning of government. Conflicts about values and processes of conflict resolution--the controversy, competition, and processes at the heart of politics and government--were generally ignored. In addition, although students were urged to be critical thinkers, most classroom materials provided meager instruction about how to think critically, cope successfully with the demands of careful value analysis, or make responsible democratic decisions.

Sources and Directions of Reform

Societal Pressures for Change

Coupled with the evidence that the classroom was not producing students capable of responding adequately to their environment, strong societal demands were also creating pressures for

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[27] Ibid., p. 443.

restructured and reinvigorated politically-oriented courses of study. The launching of Sputnik in 1957 spurred a dramatic revolution in the teaching of mathematics and science. Since this revolution was not soon reflected in the social science programs, there developed a growing concern about the apparent imbalance in classroom emphasis.

Concern for the state of social science education was also increased by the many changes in 20th-century life resulting from scientific and technological developments. New industries such as atomic energy and new occupations created by the fast pace of automation not only brought about conditions of relative affluence and increased leisure time but also brought disturbing dislocations and inequities. As American society continued adapting its social structure to technological innovations, there was increasing centralization of power and leadership, creating new roles for government.[28] The question that became paramount in the minds of concerned Americans was whether this centralization of power and decision making could be reconciled with autonomy for the individual. Such concerns began to force a redefinition of the traits and competencies desirable for all students and citizens in a participatory society. Education for all citizens assumes a greater complexity than does education for elites.

Fred M. Newmann has, for example, noted that most forms of citizenship education have virtually ignored the psychological dimensions of citizen action--learning to cope with ambiguity,

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[28]Donald W. Robinson. Promising Practices in Civic Education. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1967.

to compromise and yet maintain a sense of integrity, to develop commitment, and yet maintain enough openness to be effective. Neither have curriculum materials nor conceptual frameworks been developed which are designed to assist students in increasing their ability to exert influence in public affairs.[29]

Also to be considered was the fact that in many important ways both national governments and their citizens function in a transnational society, or in a number of transnational societies. "This reality was also reflected in the trend toward the development of a genuine world community."[30] The existence of common problems, common perceptions, and increased facilities for crossnational communication made obsolete the old notions about autonomous nation-states. The increasing interrelatedness of all the global components of man's activity made the task of understanding the world about them a formidable challenge for adolescents.

Recognition of these vital problems and issues, which intimately affect everyday life, seemed to call for greater creativity and innovation in the search for solutions. Basic value conflicts over civil rights, the right to dissent, morality, the population explosion, depletion of natural resources, famine, disease, poverty, drug use, and the ever-present hazard of nuclear warfare demanded resolution. Chadwich Alger suggested that "conventional" education presented a major difficulty in this connection.

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[29]Fred M. Newmann. Prospectus for a Proposal for Citizen Action Curriculum for the Secondary School. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1974, mimeo, p. 2.

[30]Herbert C. Kelman. "Education for the Concept of a Global Society" in Social Education, Vol. 32, No. 6, November 1968, pp. 661-666.

> Education can liberate or imprison--Images of the past and preoccupation with certain events filter out much of the world of the present. This also makes it impossible to think about the future.[31]

Given the societal demands and presented with substantial evidence of inferior education, many groups of educators--including a number of political scientists along with other social scientists--determined to join efforts aimed at improvement. The result was the "new social studies" movement starting in the early 1960s. This movement can be generally characterized as discipline-based, inquiry-oriented, concerned with sociopolitical behavior as well as formal institutions of governance, and filled with innovative pedagogic strategies and methods. The dimensions of this movement are delineated below.

Response of the Political Science Profession

APSA Objectives

As has been noted, the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education was established in 1970 to consider the deficiencies in political science instruction and to begin to implement a long range strategy through which the intellectual resources of political science might be brought to bear on the task of improving political education.

The Committee recognized the difficulty of constructing a single, detailed typology of objectives for precollegiate political science education that could be accepted uniformly by all. However, it found enough agreement on basic purposes to be served by the

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[31] James M. Becker. An Examination of Objectives, Needs, and Priorities in International Education in U.S. Secondary and Elementary Schools. Final Report. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1969, p. 308.

schools in teaching about politics to offer the following objectives:

A. Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should transmit to students a knowledge about the "realities" of political life as well as exposing them to the cultural ideals of American democracy. . . .

B. Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should transmit to students a knowledge about political behavior and processes as well as knowledge about formal governmental institutions and legal structures. . . .

C. Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should transmit to students knowledge about political systems other than the American system and particularly knowledge about the international system. . . .

D. Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students a capacity to think about political phenomena in conceptually sophisticated ways. . . .

E. Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students an understanding of and skills in the process of social scientific inquiry. . . .

F. Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students a capacity to make explicit and analyzed normative judgments about political decisions and policies. . . .

G. Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students an understanding of the social psychological sources and historical-cultural origins of their own political attitudes and values, and a capacity to critically analyze the personal and social implications of alternative values. . . .

H. Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students an understanding of the capacities and skills needed to participate effectively and democratically in the life of the society.[32]

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[32] PS, Vol. 4, No. 3, Summer 1971, op cit., pp. 443-444.

Given the APSA's long-professed interest in the "proper" political education of the young and the less-than-conspicuous successes that the interest has produced, one might easily dismiss this effort as well-meaning but destined to be ineffectual. It should be noted in this regard, however, that this set of objectives comprises only part of a long-range strategy for improving precollegiate political science education developed by the Pre-Collegiate Education Committee. Other elements of this strategy involve the development of a support system consisting of four principal elements:

A. a national network of university based research, development, and service centers,

B. a cluster of political science departments with a special interest and organizational commitment to teacher education,

C. a sub-culture or sub-discipline of political scientists professionally interested and involved in research, development, and service activities in the field of pre-collegiate education,

D. national leadership and staff assistance.[33]

Furthermore, the Committee decided to promote collaborative relationships with other disciplines and other organizations.

A variety of materials, programs, and projects have been coordinated, stimulated, and/or supported by the Committee. Among these are those which are related to the development, dissemination, and utilization of new curriculum materials; those which are related to teacher education; and those which are related to the social organization and culture of schools. Among those in the first

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[33] Ibid., pp. 447-448.

category are: (1) a series of papers dealing with political science theory and social studies curriculum developed by Cleo Cherryholmes at Michigan State University; (2) a book entitled Materials for Civics, Government, and Problems of Democracy: Political Science and the New Social Studies by Mary Jane Turner, University of Colorado; (3) a book entitled Global Dimensions in the New Social Studies by John H. Spurgin and Gary R. Smith, University of Denver; and (4) three university-based centers--one at Northwestern University, specializing in elementary social science education, one at Southern University, specializing in political socialization, and one at the University of Arizona, specializing in research in teaching social studies and curriculum development.

Examples of projects which are related to teacher education are workshops in international relations for secondary social studies teachers conducted at the Center for Teaching International Relations, Denver University; week-long workshops for social studies supervisors conducted by the Social Science Education Consortium and the Department of Political Science, University of Colorado; teacher workshops in the Western states which focused on new materials and strategies for teaching about democratic processes and procedures in upper elementary and secondary schools, directed by Richard Longaker, UCLA; and a course entitled "Social Science and Elementary Schools" developed at Northwestern University.

Projects which are related to the social organization and culture of schools have included a series of workshops which brought together teachers, administrators, students, and community

representatives to design new patterns of school organization which would enhance student and community involvement in decision making, at Columbia University; a field agent program designed to encourage experienced social studies teachers to assume change agent roles, at Indiana University; and a Chicago-based program which was intended to expand student and parent involvement in school decision-making processes, at the University of Illinois/Northwestern University.[34]

Other activities of the Pre-Collegiate Committee and its members are indicative of involvement and concern. In 1972, Richard C. Remy of The Ohio State University, completed a directory of political scientists interested in precollegiate curriculum development and teacher education. The listing, which first appeared in the October 1972 issue of Social Education (pp. 637-643), contains the names of approximately 500 people who have doctorates in the discipline and/or teach in political science departments. The directory was designed to provide teachers and schools with the names and addresses of political scientists in their states who have interest and experience in working to improve political science education.

An alternative approach to the study of politics and government in American high schools, Comparative Political Experiences, is a two-semester instructional program developed by the High School Political Science Curriculum Project located at Indiana University. This project, which started in 1972, is sponsored by

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[34] Ibid., pp. 455-457.

APSA with funds from the National Science Foundation. Instructional materials were first tested in schools in 1973 and continued to be tested and revised through 1976. The published version of the course will appear in 1978. Instructional objectives include: (1) the effective use of political knowledge to interpret political information and experiences, (2) the appropriate use of basic intellectual skills to analyze and evaluate political information and experiences, and (3) the development of political participation skills and the acquisition of participation experience necessary for effective political action in group settings.

Members of the Committee have also made presentations at the 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, and 1977 annual meetings of the Association. The program for 1975, for example, included the following panels:

Panel 1. Forum-Workshop: Citizen Education in a Multi-Ethnic-Society--The Agenda and Curriculum of a Cultural Democracy

Presiding: Jewel L. Prestage, Southern University
F. Chris Garcia, University of New Mexico

Panel 2. Comparing Political Experiences: A Report on the APSA High School Political Science Curriculum Development Project.

Participants: Judith Gillespie, Indiana University
Howard Mehlinger, Indiana University
John Patrick, Indiana University

Panel 3. A Round Table Discussion Between Political Scientists and Social Studies Teachers

Presiding: Judith Gillespie, Indiana University
Richard C. Remy, The Ohio State University[35]

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[35] PS, Vol. 8, No. 2, Spring 1975, p. 160.

Current members of the Committee are Richard C. Snyder, Chairperson (The Ohio State University); Lee F. Anderson (Northwestern University); Laurily K. Epstein (Washington University, St. Louis); F. Chris Garcia (University of New Mexico); Leslie B. McLemore (Jackson State University); Howard Mehlinger (Indiana University); Jewel L. Prestage (Southern University); Frank Sorauf (University of Minnesota); and Judith Torney (University of Illinois at Chicago Circle).

Other Ideas

The newly-created Division of Education Affairs (DEA) of the American Political Science Association should also be viewed as an important indicator of the profession's interest in political education, including precollegiate education. Specifically, the DEA is the staff arm for the Association's Steering Committee on Undergraduate Education (SCUE), but it also takes initiative in other educational activities and coordinates the work of the SCUE with the educational work of all other APSA committees.

Many issues of DEA News, the official newspaper of DEA, contain articles, editorials, and philosophical statements about precollegiate as well as undergraduate education.[36] Number 7, the Fall 1975 issue, for example, has for its feature two articles,

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[36]The Program Evaluation of the Division of Educational Affairs reveals interesting data about the real interest of political scientists insofar as they wish to be personally involved in precollegiate efforts. A large majority of the respondents found almost all of the DEA News features at least "somewhat useful." "Only essays on college governance and materials on precollegiate education were found 'not at all useful' by majorities or near majorities. . . ." PS, Vol. 11, No. 1, Winter 1978, pp. 54-63.

both of which appear under the general title, "Preparing for the Teaching Profession." Both are of particular interest to us because it has only been recently that teaching has interested professionals.

John A. Vasquez suggests that past reform efforts of the Association, which have been devoted to attaining four goals

> finding an institutional base; raising the teaching issue within the profession; developing curriculum materials which can directly improve classroom teaching; and providing opportunities for scholars to 'retool' themselves so that they can employ new approaches[37]

have not had much direct impact on the training of future teachers. Vasquez proposes a strategy for reform which would include (1) using professional publications and panels as a forum for discussing reforms; (2) making formal recommendations to the business meetings of the professional associations; (3) initiating deliberations with graduate school committees; and (4) encouraging change by developing curriculum materials on pedagogical change for use in summer institutes.[38]

Willis Hawley, in the companion article, argues that three important elements have been neglected in the teacher training process--learning about learning, evaluation, and how institutional structures affect teaching. After pointing out the necessity for dealing with such crucial questions as "the impact of the institution's social and psychological environment and the effects of

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[37] John A. Vasquez. "Preparing for the Teaching Profession" in DEA News, No. 7, Fall 1975, p. 5.

[38] Ibid.

such incentives as pay increases, promotions, and perquisites" on teaching, Hawley states:

> Nonetheless, a training program for college teachers should include the following elements, among others:
>
> 1. How the structure of academic disciplines affects innovations in teaching.
>
> 2. How the absence of direct observation by colleagues affects feedback, discussion, and incentive to seek counsel from other teachers.
>
> 3. Whether administrative decisions about allocating faculty slots to departments are responsible for student demand brought about by good teaching. (That is, is it dysfunctional for faculty to teach well if the major outcome of the effort is larger class size?)
>
> 4. How equity criteria, such as identical course loads for all teachers, result in a misallocation of resources, and why this is so difficult to overcome.
>
> 5. How various strategies can increase the emphasis placed on teaching in advancement decisions. (This is more complicated than it sounds. The conventional wisdom of 'publish or perish' is no longer applicable to most universities, which value good teaching and seek it when recruiting--especially for junior faculty. What, then, keeps teaching from being, in effect, a residual criterion for the rewards which universities can bestow?)
>
> Attention to each of the three categories mentioned briefly here can profitably decrease the emphasis presently placed on putting techniques or gimmicks into the classroom because they seem 'innovative' or because they 'worked' for someone else. Teaching is fundamentally a creative process; but unlike art, it can be judged successful only if it meets the needs of others--the students.[39]

As far as the content of what should be taught is concerned, it seems that APSA today is expanding on themes explicated by social scientists over a decade ago. Norton E. Long, for example,

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[39] Ibid.

stated that political education should have a threefold objective: acquainting students with factual information and a means of ordering it; imparting an understanding of the methods of inquiry and verification; and imparting appreciation of the basic values of our society.[40] Bernard Berelson in the same source tried to reconcile goals such as those proposed by Long (and the Committee) with the goal of teaching good citizenship by proposing

> that we--all of us involved--want to give high school students the best introduction we can, within limits of practicality, to the best available knowledge from the social science disciplines as a means to the end of producing responsible citizens. (emphasis in the original)[41]

The Kirkpatricks, during the same year, on the other hand, strongly opposed the ideal that high school instruction in political science, or instruction using knowledge from political science, should have the making of good citizens as its main objective. They believed that an assumption that this is a valid objective has to depend on a distorted conception of how citizens are developed, a distorted conception of democracy and unrealistic perception of political science. They suggested that

> one of the most important responsibilities of the secondary school teacher is to inform students about the existence of a field of inquiry into government and politics and give them some indication of the complexity and difficulty of many public problems.[42]

Whatever may be the most logical and meaningful way to structure precollegiate political science education and to prepare teacher

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[40] Morton E. Long, op cit., pp. 88-89.

[41] Bernard Berelson, ed. The Social Studies and the Social Sciences, op cit., pp. 6-7.

[42] Evron M. and Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, op cit., p. 121.

trainers, it is apparent that both the APSA and individual practitioners have moved far beyond earlier simple-minded presumptions about what should constitute a viable political science program.

Social Science Curriculum Projects

Also responding to societal demands and pressures and encouraged by funding from several sources--primarily the U.S. Office of Education and the National Science Foundation--a number of social science curriculum materials development projects were established in the 1960s to bring about a transformation of both the methodology and content of elementary and secondary social studies courses. Some of these focused primarily on the content of political science; many others contained important elements of political science.

The total picture of what was thought important to accomplish was complicated by the dramatic onrush of new knowledge which characterized the 1950s and 1960s. What had never in reality been possible--a presentation of the total body of social science knowledge--had become patently impossible in view of the amount of new data being processed daily and the speed with which one piece of information replaced another. New methods of selecting content (as opposed to the conventional wisdom supposedly embodied in "coverage of the field"), new methods of organizing facts so that they relate to other knowledge in ways that contribute to perspective and understanding, and new ways of teaching intellectual skills were sought for immediate service.

Using the Structures of the Disciplines

New ideas on how best to handle the knowledge explosion can be traced back to several key individuals, one of the most important of whom is Jerome D. Bruner, a learning theorists at Harvard University. Because his influence on the new social studies curriculum materials has been profound, an understanding of what the various curriculum development projects have attempted must begin with him.[43] Certain main themes developed by Bruner have, to a large extent, guided the direction the new social studies curricula have taken.

Bruner's primary concern was with the quality and intellectual aims of education. He felt that the aims of education should be to train well-balanced citizens for a democracy and to aid students in developing their maximum potential.[44]

According to Bruner, the ways in which these goals could be realized were, first, by teaching the structure of a subject or discipline rather than facts and techniques, in order to establish viable relationships that would be useful in understanding new information. Second, basic concepts and generalizations from all disciplines should be used, related in some way to the child's experiential frame. Finally, the desire to learn should be stimulated through the excitement of personal discovery.[45]

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[43] Thomas Cassidy. "Political Science in the New Social Studies" Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. Unpublished dissertation, July 1970, p. 2.

[44] Jerome D. Bruner. The Process of Education. New York: Vantage Press, 1970, p. 8.

[45] Ibid., pp. 1-20.

It should be noted in this regard that many political scientists involved in the new social studies have not been willing to ennunciate a structure of discipline in the Brunerian sense nor have they believed there is a commonly accepted definition of political science which is considered totally satisfactory. They have, however, established some areas of agreement about the dimensions and boundaries of the discipline. For example, most political scientists would agree that their field of study is related to "legal government" although they may take different approaches to this concept. Some approach the terrain by describing governments; some prescribe what governments should do, and how; some prefer to utilize the scientific method to develop generalizations that fit together into a structure of knowledge; and some suggest normative doctrines and proposals for political action.[46]

Whatever the approach of the individual disciplinarian, however, the over-arching goal of the social studies curriculum projects has been to provide for students the opportunity to gain the cognitions and analytic skills necessary to understand social reality and live optimally in an environment the students themselves help to create. The reason political science has been included is that it is felt that it offers a unique body of methods, generalizations, and theories for understanding an important slice of that reality.

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[46]Charles S. Hyneman. The Study of Politics. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1969, pp. 28-54.

New Knowledge About Political Socialization

Recent research in political socialization has also made an important contribution to curriculum development. In and of themselves, these findings did not prescribe new and improved approaches to political education for elementary or secondary schools. They did, however, point to some critical problems in education, narrow the range of possible alternatives, and raise some very basic questions about past practices and future possibilities in political education.[47]

The entire notion of civic education rests upon the necessity and desirability of transmitting favorable political orientations--knowledge, norms, and values--from one generation to the next. If it were not for this generation-to-generation politicization, no political system could persist. What our forebears knew intuitively has, in the past twenty years, been verified empirically. It also seems that the more limited assumption that a democratic system particularly needs an educated citizenry to remain viable has merit.[48] What is not so clear is what kinds of orientations are critical, when and how they are optimally transmitted, and how one learning relates to another.

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[47]John J. Patrick. Political Socialization of American Youth: A Review of Research with Implications for Secondary School Social Studies. Bloomington, Indiana: High School Curriculum Center in Government, March 1967, p. 65.

[48]See, for example, Seymour Martin Lipset. Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1959; and Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba. The Civic Culture. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963.

The research certainly indicates that most Americans acquire very early enduring supportive attitudes about the nation and the political system. The primacy of the early years in developing attitudes of trust, efficacy, and change cannot be discounted. However, this generalized support for the structure and ideal of a democratic nation frequently is not translated into actions and feelings of individuals and groups. Many individuals who are very supportive of democracy in the abstract do not see the implications of democracy for, as an example, their own views about minority groups and minority opinions.

On the other hand, recent data suggest that the political learning curve may take on a variety of shapes during a person's life. Attitudes such as political trust and cynicism may not follow precise patterns across age groups. Thus, major changes can occur during the high school and later years.[49] Ehman also has data which support the supposition that prolonged exposure to high school civics and government courses, particularly those in which there is discussion of political and social controversial issues, raises levels of political efficacy and interest.[50]

Because of these and other findings, developers began to structure curricula that would give students an opportunity to examine critically the values inherent in the American political

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[49] M. Kent Jennings and Richard Neimi. "Patterns of Political Learning" in Harvard Education Review, Vol. 27, No. 3, Summer 1968, pp. 443-467.

[50] Lee H. Ehman. "Political Efficacy and the High School Social Studies Curriculum," op cit., pp. 90-102.

system and in their own personal belief systems--and to resolve whatever conflicts may exist. These educators believed that this could only be accomplished by providing young people with the tools to think about their beliefs and examine traditional practices in an educational atmosphere conducive to reflective thinking.[51]

Understanding Value Conflicts

Another problem that confronted the curriculum builders of social studies programs was the selection of content. In the early 1960s Donald Oliver and his associates at Harvard University explored in depth the approaches to selecting social studies content taken by the Commission of Social Studies of the American Historical Association (1916) and the Committee on Concepts and Values of the National Council for the Social Studies (1957). After finding both schemes deficient for the purposes they hoped to achieve, they proposed a criterion for content selection that has been employed in at least three major curriculum projects.

Basic to the Oliver thrust is an explicit value judgment regarding the purpose of governmental functions in society. This value judgment is that each individual has a right to make personal choices regarding appropriate conduct for seeking personal fulfillment and that a primary duty of government is to preserve that freedom of choice. Where this type of freedom is promoted and protected, it is assumed that conflict and disagreement will also exist, because different individuals see fulfillment and the ways

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[51] John J. Patrick. Political Socialization of American Youth: A Review of Research with Implications for Secondary School Social Studies, op cit., p. 71.

to achieve fulfillment according to different frames of reference.[52] Therefore, after students have developed to a stage where they can describe their own culture and have acquired the specific beliefs of their family or clan as well as some of the more general beliefs and values of the total society, the content of the social studies should be changed. The focus should be on conflicts and on differing definitions and interpretations of the meaning of such terms as liberty, freedom, equality, security, and other valued goals.[53]

Types of New Curricula Containing Political Science Content

Out of the totality of social science curriculum packages that were developed during the 1960s by the various nationally funded curriculum development projects, we find wide variations among those that have political content. In general, it can be said that the developers of these materials have attempted to select and organize their content in terms of the fundamental concepts, propositions, and questions that structure the inquiries of scholars in the social sciences and humanities. In other words, they tend to employ conceptual frameworks in order to facilitate student comprehension of relationships between information and ideas.

It also seems to be true that most of the new curricula tend to be more realistic, relevant, and interesting than traditional materials. Controversial issues, conflict, and conflict management

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[52] James P. Shaver and Harold Berlak, eds. Democracy, Pluralism and the Social Studies. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1968, pp. 17-42.

[53] Ibid., p. 35.

are examined. Of critical importance is the fact that competing values and viewpoints are explored and analyzed. The scientific mode of inquiry is regularly used and students are encouraged to question, collect data, hypothesize, test their hypotheses, draw inferences, and make tentative generalizations. A vast array of social science skills--such as classification, categorization, model building, and data processing--are taught to enhance the analytical abilities of students.

Of course, the materials vary in scope, level of generality, and quality. Some of the projects have produced only a few units, while others have generated very extensive sets of materials, up to complete K-12 curricula. Some of the projects have dealt primarily with individual disciplines in the social sciences; others have drawn upon many or all of the social sciences. Some of the materials were primarily designed for sequential and cumulative use, while others were developed to "plug into" traditional courses to enrich and supplement them. Some resources were developed for abler students, others specifically for average or for disadvantaged youth.

Materials which have significant political science content can be classified as falling into five categories: those emphasizing (1) interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary approaches to the social sciences, (2) a particular discipline other than political science; (3) particular geographic areas, (4) political science, and (5) law and its role in society.

Inter/multidisciplinary Materials

The materials in this group are quite varied, but have the common characteristic that content from a number of the social sciences is used, without particular emphasis on any one. In general, they accept the notion that common concepts, methodological techniques, and levels of analysis from all the social sciences can usefully be acquired by students.

Within the group, there are two divergent approaches. In the first, there is emphasis on the concepts and methods of the social sciences; in the second, the focus is on social and political controversies and the values that underly them, with the social sciences, as such, playing a minor role.

Professor James R. Scarritt of the University of Colorado's Political Science faculty has given one rationale for the first approach:

> I believe there is an underlying unity in human social behavior; therefore, I would advocate a unified approach to teaching at the pre-college level. I view the political system as the analytical subsystem of society which is crucial for the selection and attainment of societal goals and the study of it would thus deserve an important place in the integrated social science curriculum. Political science concepts and theories should play an important part in the exploration of how the polity relates to the other subsystems--economic, cultural, societal, etc.--as well as in the explanations of the internal workings of the political system itself; but always with an emphasis on their relationships to concepts and theories from the other social science disciplines.[54]

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[54]Mary Jane Turner, op cit., p. 13.

Examples of curricula which most clearly represent this point of view are:[55]

Carnegie-Mellon University. The Humanities in Three Cities. Edwin Fenton, Director. Grades 9-12. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Education Development Center. From Subject to Citizen. Peter Dow, Director. Grades 7-12. Denoyer-Geppert Company.

Educational Research Council of America. Concepts and Inquiry. Raymond English, Director. Grades K-9. Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

San Francisco State College. Taba Program in Social Science. Mary C. Durkin, et al., Directors. Grades 1-8. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

A rationale for the second approach, giving much less emphasis to the social sciences as such, has been made by Professor Richard B. Wilson, also of the University of Colorado's Political Science faculty:

> In spite of the "Behavioral Revolution," there remain a substantial number of political scientists who doubt the existence of an underlying unity in human social behavior. At least many of them doubt that the behavioral uniformities which have thus far been identified can capture the essence of political life or provide a grand design for comprehending and shaping the polity. Political scientists of this persuasion are more inclined to hold with the view of Oliver (stated on page 137), that central to the political process are a set of values designed to maximize individual choice and to facilitate personal fulfillment. Because a polity appears to these people as necessarily assuming the form of a social service and regulatory state, they would emphasize the central and instrumental role of legal government in realizing these values. Such persons would not reject or omit the empirical results of behavioral research, but they would insist on arranging the output around the central value issues of the time rather than viewing

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[55]The listed project directors are those who were responsible for development. In most cases the projects are no longer active. Materials from most are available from textbook publishers.

this output as a self-sufficient achitectonic structure for explaining the social universe.[56]

Project materials which most clearly reflect this view are:

Harvard University. Public Issues Series. Fred M. Newmann and Donald W. Oliver, Directors. Grades 7-12. American Education Publications.

Utah State University. Decision Making in a Democracy. James P. Shaver and A. Guy Larkins, Directors. Grades 9-12. Houghton Mifflin Company.

Project Materials Using a Single Discipline (Except Political Science) as Organizer of Social Science Concepts

A second approach to organization has been to use the generalizations and methodologies of one discipline to give direction to the explanation and use of concepts from a number of disciplines. Ridgway F. Shinn, Jr., for instance, suggested that although the viewpoints and methodologies of history and geography are distinct, they are in some sense integrative in nature. Either could, therefore, provide the curricular framework within which it would be possible to relate concepts from other disciplines in a meaningful way.[57] Edith West of the University of Minnesota after determining the terrain of each of the social science disciplines, the types of questions asked by practitioners of the discipline, the conceptual theories, and the methods of inquiry, chose concepts from anthropology as the organizers for a K-12 curriculum.[58]

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[56] Ibid., p. 14.

[57] Ridgway F. Shinn, Jr. "Geography and History as Integrating Disciplines" in Social Education, Vol. 28, No. 7, November 1964, pp. 395-400.

[58] Project Social Studies Curriculum Development Center. Progress Report: No. 1. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, n.d.

Economics, geography, history, social psychology, and sociology have also been used in similar ways. Examples are:

Anthropology

University of Georgia. Anthropology Curriculum Project. Marion J. Rice and Wilfrid C. Bailey, Directors. K-12. Project.

Economics

San Jose State College. Economics in Society. Suzanne Wiggins Helburn and John G. Sperling, Directors. Grades 9-14. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Carnegie-Mellon University. Comparative Economic Systems. Edwin Fenton, Director. Grades 10-12. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Geography

Association of American Geographers. Geography in an Urban Age and The Local Community: A Handbook for Teachers. Nicholas Helburn, Director. Grades 7-14. The Macmillan Company.

History

Amherst Project. Units in American History. Richard H. Brown, Director. Grades 9-12. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Carnegie-Mellon University. The Shaping of Western Society, Tradition and Change in Four Societies, A History of the United States, and The Americans: A History of the United States. Edwin Fenton, Director. Grades 8-12. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Psychology

University of Michigan. Social Science Laboratory Units. Robert S. Fox and Ronald Lippitt, Directors. Grades 4-8. Science Research Associates, Inc.

Sociology

American Sociological Association. Episodes in Sociology Series, Inquiries in Sociology, and Readings in Sociology. Robert C. Angell, Director. Grades 9-12. Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

Carnegie-Mellon University. Introduction to the Behavioral Sciences. Edwin Fenton, Director. Grades 9-12. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Area Studies

Beyond the obvious desirability of enhancing students' understanding of a variety of cultures, areas, and regions, curriculum developers have suggested mainly two reasons for this kind of focus. First, the study of other cultures offers a rich variety of views of man. Second, such study gives students practice in applying to another milieu such universal concepts as the nature of man, progress, man's relation to environment, and the purposes of government. Examples of materials in which the political science content is organized by region or area:

University of California at Berkeley. Asian Studies Inquiry Series. John U. Michaelis and Robin J. McKeown, Directors. Grades 9-12. Field Educational Publications, Inc.

University of California at Berkeley. World Studies Inquiry Series. Robin J. McKeown, Director. Grades 7-12. Field Educational Publications, Inc.

Materials with Primary Focus on Political Science Content

Examples of materials packages in which political science provides most of the content are:

University of California at Los Angeles. Your Rights and Responsibilities as an American Citizen, Conflict, Politics, and Freedom, and Voices for Justice. Richard P. Longaker and Charles N. Quigley, Directors. Grades 4-12. Ginn and Company.

Carnegie-Mellon University. Comparative Political Systems. Edwin Fenton, Director. Grades 9-12. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

University of Indiana. American Political Behavior. Howard Mehlinger and John J. Patrick, Directors. Grades 9-12. Ginn and Company.

Tufts University. Lincoln Filene Center Social Studies Program. John S. Gibson, Director. Grades 4-12. Project.

Although the content foci of the above curricula are primarily drawn from political science, each curriculum employs a different approach to organizing that content. For instance, Comparative Political Systems uses a conceptual scheme stressing five main concepts--political decision makers, political decision making, political institutions, political culture, and citizenship--to structure the inquiry of students.

The authors of American Political Behavior structure such basic behavioral science concepts as culture, socialization, status, role, social class, and decision making into a logical and systematic framework; translate them into terms high school students can understand; and provide opportunity for practice in their proper use by suggesting investigations through which the concepts are made operational.

The Longaker-Quigley materials--Your Rights and Responsibilities as an American Citizen, Conflict, Politics, and Freedom, and Voices for Justice--are designed to increase students' grasp of the fundamental principles of democratic procedure and assist students in analyzing underlying values and assumptions when dealing with the realities of political and social life.

The Lincoln Filene Center Social Studies Program utilizes a "governing process model" with which to make political phenomena intelligible to elementary and non-college-bound secondary students.

The basic components of the governing process are, according to the model: the people, or the governed; the officials, or the governors; the political process; the structure of government; decision making; policy; and policies of external polities.

Law-Related Materials

Generally, these programs seek to demonstrate the functions, techniques, processes, and limits of law on the premise that such a study is a particularly effective way of teaching major goals and objectives of political science education. A second premise of law programs seems to be that

> studying about the law brings to social studies a body of learning that is itself of distinctive value to general education--a body of learning without which the study of political and social ordering would be somewhat deficient.[59]

Yet a third premise is explicated by Paul A. Freund in an article in Social Education. He notes that a facility for moral reasoning which may carry over into all aspects of life can successfully be taught with law materials.[60]

Examples of materials in which the content focus is on political science and law are:

Constitutional Rights Foundation. The Bill of Rights: A Handbook for Teachers and The Bill of Rights: A Sourcebook for Teachers. Vivian Monroe, Director. Grades 6-12. Benziger Brothers.

Cornell University. The American Legal System and Justice and Order Through Law. Robert F. Summers and A. Bruce Campbell, Directors. Grades 7-12. Ginn and Company.

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[59] A. Bruce Campbell, personal letter dated June 4, 1973.

[60] Paul A. Freund. "Law in the Schools: Goals and Methods" in Social Education, Vol. 37, No. 5, May 1973, pp. 363-367.

Law in American Society Foundation. Justice in America and The Trailmarks Series. Robert H. Radcliffe, Director. Grades 7-12. Houghton Mifflin Company.

Reactions and Reappraisal

The Values Orientation

The new products were hardly beyond the conceptualization stage when some academicians began to have second thoughts about quality and new thoughts about possible new directions. Early on there were those who questioned the heavy cognitive orientation of the new social studies. Some discerned that cognition would not be a likely result without an equal emphasis on affect. In fact, many materials which were produced later in the developmental cycle reflected this concern.

At the same time, the "structures of the disciplines" notion came under fire. Many reported, and rightly so, that several of the disciplines (e.g., political science) have not evolved to the point where a conceptual structure could be articulated. In the case of political science, the professionals had difficulty in obtaining agreement on which of the discipline concepts and generalizations would be most useful to teach.

Other critics hit at perhaps an even more troublesome problem with the "structures" approach, because it focused on the question of what is the purpose of political education? If political education is perceived to be needed to: (1) train mini-political scientists, (2) produce students capable of reasoned, dispassionate analysis of political phenomena, (3) ready students for either political service or college, then the "structures" approach makes some

sense. If, on the other hand, the purpose of political education is to: (1) build general support for the political system; (2) produce students who are not only capable but also eager to participate in the system; and (3) provide opportunities for value clarifying and developing skills of moral and ethical analysis, then "structures" would not do.

Donald Oliver and James Shaver, for example, conceptualized their rationale which, although it was developed almost concurrently with many of the "structures" rationales was, in some sense, a reaction to them.[61] For both Oliver and Shaver, the social sciences per se did not offer appropriate conceptual frameworks with which to help students think reflectively. The Oliver and Shaver model proposed answers to some of the questions noted above (e.g., the main goals of political education should be to teach analytical skills that enable one to think about and "know" about public issues). On the other hand, in spite of the fact that their approach was cognitive and intellectual, it offered no assistance in improving political science education.

For others, even a commitment to cognitive "valuing" was disturbing because they believed that value clarification rested as much (or more) on an affective as on a cognitive base. These people noted that in addition to helping students define their values and be able to justify them both logically and morally, it was equally important for the teachers and program developers to devise strategies and procedures to help students increase their

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[61] See pp. 130-131.

ability to empathize with others from a wide variety of different cultures and backgrounds. In other words, it was felt that the ability to empathize was basic if students were to understand, although not necessarily accept or agree with, values different from their own or those of their parents or peers.[62]

These two antithetical positions did not exhaust the values repertoire. A third group reacted negatively to the relativistic stance inherent in this second methodology. Lawrence Kohlberg, the most influential educator from this school, believes (and has attempted research to empirically verify) that there are at least six hierarchical stages of moral and ethical development through which many people may (but not always do) pass.[63]

The Kohlberg model states:

> At the preconventional level (I), the cultural labels of "good" and "bad" are interpreted in terms of physical consequences (e.g., punishment, reward, exchange of favors) or in terms of physical power of those who enunciate the rules and labels. The Physical Power stage (1) characteristically orients toward punishment, unquestioning deference to superior power and prestige, and avoidance of "bad" acts. Regardless of value, physical consequences determine goodness and badness. The Instrumental Relativism stage (2) is basically hedonistic. Right action consists of that which instrumentally satisfies one's

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[62]See, for example, Carl Ubbelohde and Jack R. Fraenkel, eds. Values of the American Heritage: Challenges, Case Studies, and Teaching Strategies. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977, pp. 146-213; and Louis E. Raths, Merrill Harmon, and Sidney B. Simon. Values and Teaching. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1966; and Douglas Superka, et al. Values Education: Approaches and Materials. Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., 1975.

[63]These stages correspond roughly to Jean Piaget's cognitive development model. See, for example, Jean Piaget. Six Psychological Studies. New York: Vintage Books, 1968.

> own needs and occasionally the needs of others. Elements of fairness, equality, and reciprocity are present, but interpreted pragmatically not as a matter of loyalty, gratitude, or justice.
>
> The conventional level (II) is characterized by active support of the fixed rules or authority in a society. Maintaining the expectations and rules of Concordance or good boy/good girl stage (3) orients toward pleasing others and gaining approval. There is conformity to stereotypical images of majority behavior. Also behavior is frequently judge by intention: "He means well" becomes important for the first time. The Law and Order stage (4) is typified by doing one's duty (obeying fixed rules), showing respect for authority, and maintaining the given social order. Respect is earned by performing dutifully.
>
> The postconventional level (III) is characterized by a clear effort toward autonomous moral principles with validity apart from the authority of the groups or persons who hold them and apart from individual identifications. The Social Contract stage (5) has legalistic and utilitarian overtones; strong constitutionalism pervades. Right action is defined in terms of individual rights, critically agreed upon by the whole society. Awareness of the relativism of personal values is attended by an emphasis upon procedural rules for reaching consensus. The stress is on the legal point of view, but with the possibility of changing law in terms of rational, social utility rather than freezing it in terms of law and order. The Universal Ethic stage (6) moves toward conscientious decisions of right based on principles that appeal to logical comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency. Those principles are abstract and ethical; they include justice, the reciprocity and equality of human rights, and respect for individuals.[64]

Operationalizing this model in terms of political education means that teachers must determine the two stages at which most numbers of their class respond and then structure classroom experiences in which there is discussion of moral dilemmas around the reasoning at these two consecutive stages of the scale. Furthermore,

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[64] June L. Tapp and Lawrence Kohlberg. "Developing Sciences of Law and Legal Justice" in The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 27, No. 2, 1971, p. 86.

it is assumed that interaction between peers, rather than exhortation by authority figures, is more likely to facilitate progression up through the higher stages.

The Social Action Orientation

Fred M. Newmann, himself an early curriculum developer with the Harvard Public Issues Series, is also a critic of the accomplishments of the 1960s, although from a different perspective. Newmann believes that the efforts were worthwhile and necessary but believes it is now time to move on as educational goals which anticipate or call for political action are largely meaningless without related objectives for the learning of competencies necessary for effective participation.

> It is possible, however, that, in paying so much attention to complex derivatives or facets of competence such as advanced cognitive operations that make up 'critical thinking' stages in the development of moral reasoning, or affective education aimed at self awareness, we may have lost sight of the central task of helping individuals exert purposeful impact in their own environment.[65]

In short, Newmann believes that it is imperative for education to undertake the task of helping students develop the ability to exercise influence in public affairs--apply their knowledge and skills in the political arena.[66]

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[65]Fred M. Newmann. Education for Citizen Action: Challenge for Secondary Curriculum. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1975, p. 36.

[66]For a complete rationale, see Fred M. Newmann. "Learning to Exert Influence in Public Affairs Through Social Action: A Rationale," paper presented to conference on social science and social action. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, May 11, 1973, p. 33; and Fred M. Newmann, et al., Skills in Citizen Action. Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Company, 1977.

Newmann's proposed agenda for the schools and/or curriculum development involves implementing a model in which students, first of all, become competent in formulating policy goals. This component of the model is made up of principled moral deliberation and responsible social research. In order to work for the support of the goals upon which one has decided (the second component) students would need to gain knowledge about the political-legal process, advocacy skills, group process knowledge skills, and organization/administration skills. The final component, which has to do with resolving psycho-philosophical concerns, is necessary because these concerns can interfere with productive action. Commitment, openness, a healthy balance between personal and "cause" orientations, allocation of personal power, leadership/follower roles, service-maintenance vs. change, integrity, personal motive, and social justifications are among the issues that are included in the model.[67]

To operationalize Newmann's agenda would require that classroom instruction in knowledge and skills be interlaced with practical applications in social action projects. Students would, in effect, be involved in trying to change the policies of public or private institutions outside the classroom.

A middle-ground approach between these strictly cognitive and social action extremes has been adopted by the High School Political Science Curriculum Project of the Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University, in the program entitled

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[67]Newmann, Education for Citizen Action, op cit., pp. 76-108.

Comparing Political Experiences. (Comparing Political Experiences is sponsored by APSA with funds from the National Science Foundation.)

> The overriding purpose of the program is to increase individual and group growth simultaneously by developing basic political competencies. Ideally, an individual acting in the models of the goal of the program would pursue synergistic relationships between his own actions and the group's goal.[68]

The school itself is viewed as a micro-political system that operates according to the fundamental principles of political behavior found in all political systems. Concepts, principles, and methodology from political science are used to guide students in their systematic observation and analysis of the political life of the schools. In addition, the students' political knowledge is put to work as the students participate in the schools' on-going political system as observers, supporters, advocates, facilitators, or organizers. The developers believe that:

> First, the schools can provide a type of control over the match between political principles and participation experiences which neither community or classroom activities can ensure. . . . Secondly, schools can provide a continuity of participation experiences which cannot be duplicated in community or simulated classroom efforts.[69]

John Patrick, one of the developers of CPE, feels so strongly about the importance of instruction in participation skills in political education courses that he suggests that no program

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[68]Judith A. Gillespie and John J. Patrick. Comparing Political Experiences. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, 1974, p. 7.

[69]Judith A. Gillespie. "Instructional Uses of School Political Experiences" in Social Science Education Consortium Newsletter, November 1972, p. 2.

evaluation is adequate unless the quality of participation objectives is evaluated along with cognitive, skill, and affective objectives.

A Problem With Conflicting Goals

Patrick has noticed another problem with the new curricula, this one having to do with inquiry oriented programs. All of these programs have included objectives which stress skills such as analyzing, hypothesizing, verifying, generalizing, and so on--skills of critical thinking. At the same time, they have stated that students would be better citizens and more likely to participate as a result of interacting with the materials.

> Some political educators have not understood that teaching students to be competent critical thinkers and inquirers logically precludes their positing various fixed attitudinal outcomes. Consistent advocates of teaching skill in and affect for critical thinking have only one absolute, which is the process of inquiry. Other attitudinal outcomes of this process cannot be fixed, if one is to teach the process properly. As A. F. Griffin said: 'Reflection cannot guarantee that attitude will change in a particular direction. The attempt to promote specific changes in attitude would, of course, be undemocratic since it would require a rejection of reflective thought as the sole basis for conceptual thinking.'[70]

The Notion of Minimum Competencies

Yet another criticism of the reforms embodied in the new social studies has been enunciated by educators and political philosophers who have posited the notion that it is more realistic

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[70]John J. Patrick. "Main Themes in Political Education." Unpublished paper prepared for a conference on Political Education in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America at Indiana University, Bloomington, September 15-19, 1975, p. 4.

and thus desirable to deal with minimums rather than ideals. This group would provide a checklist of skills or competencies which "stand at the heart of things political" for transmission to students.

Richard Ghiardina, for example, suggests that there are political competencies which should be taught as part of general education. Furthermore, he states that the possession of these competencies are liberalizing, in the sense that having them would liberate individuals from total dependency upon forces beyond their control.

Ghiardina goes on to propose a set of competencies which, although formulated for the undergraduate introductory course, could presumably be refined and achieved in precollegiate settings. His summary objectives are:

> The student will understand that politics involves power relationships and that power relationships are basic human relationships having both causes and consequences.
>
> The student will understand that politics involves both the making of decisions from among competing claims and the enforcing of those decisions through appropriate means. The student will also be able to demonstrate this understanding in simulated decision-making contexts.
>
> The student will understand that political decision-making implies the existence of structures and processes which are both formal and informal, which have both utility and limitations, and which are accessible to varying extents, depending upon the particular structure and processes in question.
>
> The student will understand that political decision-making is not value-neutral, and that it both stems from and leads toward value choices. The student will also be able to apply alternative values in a decision-making context and project the consequences of such an application.

> The student will understand that political decision-making basically means people making decisions affecting both themselves and other people.
>
> The student will understand that political decision-making can be utilized to lead the attack both for and against change. The student will also be able to indicate the components necessary to the search for alternative political futures and especially to the bringing about of change in the political structures themselves.
>
> The student will understand that politics are purposive and that purposes may or may not be arrived at rationally.
>
> The student will understand the pros and cons of involvement in the political process and be able to reach conclusions about his own desired role in that process. The anticipated result will be that the student will come to prefer involvement to non-involvement.[71]

The most interesting thing about Ghiardina's competencies is that they represent so little that is new, beyond the fact that the statements are cast in behavioral rather than content terms. The very casting of them in these terms might, however, provide a better handle and clearer perspective of what is appropriate for political science curriculum planners with minimal backgrounds.

On the other hand, the very language of competencies can be fraught with problems. During the 1970s the accountability movement has attracted the attention of educators and legislators throughout the United States. It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine the reasons for the renewed emphasis on accountability. Suffice it to say that every state has mandated some sort of school district "accounting"; 33 states have mandated that instruction in

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[71]Richard Como Ghiardina. "Liberalizing Skills: The Role of Political Science in General Education." Paper presented for the Annual Meeting of the APSA, San Francisco, September 4, 1975, pp. 7-18.

civic competencies be included as part of the K-12 curriculum. The consequence is, of course, that as school districts and state departments work to prepare accountability instruments, they tend to develop lists of competencies that can be easily measured and achieved by the lowest students in the schools. The burden of the classroom teacher in preparing students as "competent citizens" often becomes little more than teaching about where to get a driver's license or how to use a voting machine.

The Effect of the Context on the Content

A final reaction to the new social studies and the old social studies as well has come from educators who would argue that contextual conditions may, in fact, be more important in socializing students than any content that might be implemented. These people talk about "the hidden curriculum" which correlates roughly to the context of education--the authority patterns which prevail in the school environment. They point out that the school is not, and never has been, a democratic institution. The teacher is the authority in the classroom--the one who determines who sits where, what course content will be, how much group discussion will be permitted, and so on. Students seldom are allowed to assist in making decisions even about those things that affect them personally. Many suggest that passive, rather than active, learning is encouraged in the interest of discipline.

Authority patterns in the total school are bureaucratic with a division of labor according to function, prescribed status and

role definition, and a hierarchical organizational pattern.[72] Again, the students who comprise the majority of the school population are not often allowed to participate in school decisions. Even the notion of electives, which is predicated on the idea of involving students in setting their own educational goals operates in a constrained and artificial way.

Two concerns are raised about this pattern. First of all, if we are to believe the research in political socialization, democratic attitudes about such things as authority, participation, or active vs. passive roles are more likely to be internalized than will democratic values in most schools. Hess and Torney, in their nationwide survey of political learnings of children in grades one through eight found that the educational climate of most classrooms was not a democratic one. Concern with discipline, obedience, and maintaining authority marked the typical teacher.

> This type of socialization is oriented toward authoritarian values rather than toward acceptance and understanding of the need for active participation in a political system.[73]

Second, to the extent that the social structure or context of political education is determinative, it can be assumed that the goals of traditional materials (which support passive learning styles, lower-level cognition) would fit better in the classroom than would the newer, inquiry-oriented programs.

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[72]Sarane S. Boocock. An Introduction to the Sociology of Learning. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972, pp. 172-186.

[73]Hess and Torney, op cit., p. 372.

> When innovative instructional materials are adopted by a school with a 'closed' educational climate, there is a very awkward fit between the manifest and the 'hidden' curricula of the school. The most keenly designed instructional materials may be blunted and distorted if used within an inappropriate context. A study of the relationships of instructional innovations and educational climates concluded that 'the effectiveness of innovations is, in the last analysis, dependent upon the total climate of the school. The use of new techniques will be conditioned by the dominant ideas and values of the institution as well as the motivation and competence of the teacher. A fertile mind for stimulating problem-thinking and question-asking, for example, can wither on the vine in an atmosphere where the teachers rely on predefined structured organization and predictable sequence.'[74]

Thus, the school environment tends to work against democratic values in a general sense and against the newer curricula which are more likely to foster those values in a specific sense.

The Impact of the New Social Studies

The importance of the new social studies reform movement that has occured since 1960 cannot be judged in terms of the intrinsic merits of the programs produced. It can, in fact, be evaluated only in terms of the extent to which it has impacted the schools--the only place where it really makes any difference.

"Use" figures are remarkably scarce considering the amount of time and money expended in developing the new materials. A study published by the Social Science Education Consortium and the

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[74]John J. Patrick. "Main Themes in Political Education," op cit., pp. 57-58. Quotation from Barbara Beber and Patricia Minuchin. "The Impact of School Philosophy and Practice on Child Development" in Norman V. Overly, ed. The Unstudied Curriculum. Washington, D.C.: The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1970, pp. 27-52.

ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education states that:

> . . . little has been done to assess the impact of the large expenditures of time, money, and expertise that was involved in developing the programs. Little is known about the extent to which the teachers are using these materials. Less is understood about why teachers choose, or do not choose, to use the products. There is scant evidence from teachers using the materials about their effectiveness in the classroom.[75]

In 1974, Turner and Haley sent questionnaires to 4,981 randomly selected secondary schools in California (1,392), Colorado (1,074), Connecticut (1,574) and Texas (941) requesting, among other things, information from teachers about the extent to which the teachers were using certain new social studies programs. Three of the programs consist of materials which can validly be taught in civics or American government courses. Of the 980 respondents, 14 percent indicated they were using the Holt Social Studies series, a component of which is Comparative Political Systems; ten percent were using American Political Behavior; and seven percent were users of Justice in Urban America.[76] It should be noted that although the percentage of teachers using these programs is not high, more teachers are using these programs than nine of the other ten

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[75]Mary Jane Turner and Frances Haley. Utilization of New Social Studies Programs. Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., and ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1975, p. 1.

[76]See Chapter V for an evaluation of each of these programs. Justice in America, which is described in Chapter V, is a revised but very similar version of Justice in Urban America.

programs studied. Similar findings have been released in surveys conducted by Bragaw, Gunther and Dumas, Hahn, and Switzer, et al.[77]

Yet another finding emerged in both the Turner/Haley and Switzer studies, although neither hypothesizes about its meaning. In general, teachers who primarily perceived themselves to be teachers of American government (or geography, anthropology, sociology) were far more likely to be users of the new materials related to their discipline than were teachers who perceived of themselves as primarily social studies or history teachers. Unfortunately, teachers who fall into the last two categories constitute by far the greatest number.

Figures such as these certainly indicate that the direct products of curriculum reform have not taken the world of social studies by storm. Many have pointed out, on the other hand, that surveys of users of the primary materials do not really tell the whole story. The purchase and use of secondary materials--those generated by publishers as the result of or under the influence of the first generation curriculum products--provide a better picture of school response to change. Although most publishers are remarkably resistent to share "use" figures, many new programs reflect ideas conceptualized by the curriculum developers. Most textbooks,

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[77]Donald H. Bragaw. "Social Studies Survey." Unpublished social studies survey. Albany: State Department of Education, 1969; John Gunther and Wayne Dumas. The National Social Studies Projects: A Survey of Curriculum Implementation in Missouri and Kansas. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, 1971; Carol L. Hahn. Relationships Between Potential Adopters' Perceptions of New Social Studies Materials and Their Adoption of Those Materials in Indiana and Ohio. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University. Unpublished dissertation, 1973; and Thomas J. Switzer, et al. "Dissemination and Implementation of Social Studies Project Materials." A research

for example, have accompanying teacher's guides which provide some background information useful to modestly educated teachers; many contain questioning strategies calculated to get at higher level questions; some offer activities which move beyond lecture models; many make a claim to being inquiry or discovery oriented.

Talking with social studies editors and publishers' representatives has convinced us that for the present, at least, this is just about as far as things are going to go. If teachers are more comfortable using old and familiar formats, that is what will be marketed. In sum, textbooks do look different from those published in the 1940s and 1950s. They do not encompass all the content changes promoted by the curriculum developers; nor will they.

Packaging procedures underwent, perhaps, the most dramatic revolution. Flexibility of design, use of paperback textbooks, the addition of audiovisual components, integration of primary source documents and the almost routine inclusion of a teacher's guide; all have characterized publishers' products. This direction also seems to be changing, however, not because teachers do not like the new look but because of the economy pinch. Most publishers are once again offering single hardback texts with support beyond the teacher's guides in the form of inexpensive ditto masters and test booklets.

Use figures, whether large or small, are interesting and can be be taken as one measure of impact. Unfortunately, they are not particularly helpful in providing a measure of classroom

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report prepared for delivery at the 54th Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, Chicago, 1974.

effectiveness. Even though we know a few teachers know about and use the federally funded programs, and many more are using products that reflect some, if not all, of the innovations, we do not know how these materials are being used. If it were possible to say, on the basis of field test data and other evaluations (which we really cannot because of the great diversity and quality of these evaluations), that as a result of using product X students will be more able to perform well in this or that area, we still could not presume that this would occur for all students. The reason for this is that the results are predicated on the assumption that specified teaching strategies and precise procedures will be used by the teachers. There is no way of knowing how many teachers use innovative materials in traditional ways.

One small qualification of the above statement might be inferred from two studies: the one by Turner and Haley and a survey entitled "Curriculum Information Network." The Network gathered information about materials through a twice-yearly questionnaire survey of several hundred volunteer teachers. In general, both studies found that teachers rated new materials higher than traditional materials which might be considered a rough measure of classroom effectiveness. Although the teachers in the Turner/Haley study were randomly selected, the Curriculum Information Network survey is somewhat flawed by the fact that volunteer (and presumably elite) teachers were questioned.[78]

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[78]Irving Morrissett. "CIN (Curriculum Information Network" in Social Education, Vol. 37, No. 7, November 1973; Vol. 38, No. 6, October 1974; and Vol. 39, No. 2, February 1975.

The purpose of the first four chapters has been to give an indication of the historical development of precollegiate political science education in the United States. It has been suggested over and over again that political scientists have always been involved in efforts to upgrade the quality of political education. The decades of the 1960s and 1970s have been particularly marked by aggressive and systematic expenditures of time, money, and energy in this process.

There is no one who could say that there has been no change in American classrooms, in textbooks, in teaching strategies, and so on, as a result of these efforts. There are many who will say that there has not, in fact, been any significant change, however.

In Chapter V we will examine the "domain of the textbooks" in a further attempt to assess the current state of political education. It will be our contention that because teachers are singularly unprepared to teach political science, they largely depend upon textbooks to structure whatever it is they will be passing on to students. We will particularly be addressing the question of quality--from a political science perspective--a concern with which we have not yet dealt.

CHAPTER V

THE CONTENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION AT THE PRECOLLEGIATE LEVEL

Why Teachers Teach What and How They Do

The Pedagogy of Precollegiate Classrooms

As has been noted, the legal determinants of what is taught in political education courses at the precollegiate level--state mandating laws and department of education guidelines--are typically diffuse and nondemanding. The choice of what is taught and how it is taught is rather a matter of two interrelated phenomena which will be examined in this chapter.

The classroom strategy aspect of the "how" question is much the simpler problem to unravel. Teachers of civics, American government, and problems of democracy courses are generally not as well prepared in their discipline as one would hope. Whether they have had college training in political science or not, it must be assumed that their classroom behavior is reflective of what they did "learn" in college. It is almost cliche to note that classroom teachers tend to model the behavior of their own teachers. Thus, the most prevalent methodologies found in secondary classrooms are those of the universities and colleges--the lecture, directed discussion, and question/answer. These strategies, which may not be the most appropriate for secondary students, also seem to lose something in the translation. Rather than leading students to ask good questions, make inferences, analyze,

hypothesize, and evaluate, they tend to encourage a sort of academic regurgitation. Teachers' statements, textual material, primary sources are all elevated to fountainheads of authoritative facts which students are expected to vomit back at examination time, unprocessed and unassimilated.

Importance of the Textbook

The second part of how teachers teach political science has to do with the way in which they deal with the subject matter--the analytical framework they utilize to structure the learning itself. What we are talking about here is the "approach."

According to conventional wisdom, teachers use the approach or approaches which are reminiscent of their own collegiate experience. Given the fact that most teachers have not progressed much beyond introductory courses and are probably not familiar with the most sophisticated or recently developed theoretical frameworks, it is reasoned that these emphases are not utilized by most American precollege teachers. For example, there is no evidence which suggests that structural-functional analysis, mathematical approaches, game theory, communication models, political development, or organizational theory among others have found their way into secondary classrooms.

We would agree that teachers do not employ that much that reflects current developments in political research but based on our experience in working with hundreds of high school teachers, we would argue that the conventional wisdom concerning the importance of the collegiate background is wrong. Rather, we would

hypothesize that it is textbooks and the approaches that are inherent in them, and not collegiate experience, that are determinative in leading teachers to do what they do.

There are two reasons why we suggest this is so. The first has to do with time. Most secondary teachers have at least five classes per day, five days a week. A few teach six per day. The majority of these are responsible for two or more different courses. Those who repeat the same course throughout the day often have a slow class or an advanced class along with the average classes. This means that only the most fortunate of teachers have as few as two preparations per day. That figures to be ten preparations per week. The rest of the teachers are responsible for fifteen or more, often in different disciplines. These teachers just do not have the luxury of being able to prepare thoughtful syllabi or to incorporate what they learned in college.

The second reason has to do with the advent of the new social studies. Although we cannot be absolutely sure that new materials are not being taught in traditional ways, at least some of the teachers say they are employing the new strategies and approaches. In addition, teachers have convinced enough publishers that teachers' guides are such important components of programs that most include them in the textbook offerings.[1] There would be no real reason to have a teacher's guide unless it were going to be used along with the textbook in structuring the course. Certainly, there is no empirical data which supports our hypothesis. It is

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[1]It is interesting that college professors seldom rely on guides or prestructured syllabi.

of sufficient importance, we believe, that there should be a research effort to support or refute the contention.

In addition, and equally important, we believe the content of what the teachers teach is also pre-selected by the textbooks. So important are the textbooks in our view that it is impossible to obtain an understanding of what is going on in precollegiate political science classrooms without a careful analysis of them.

Criteria for Evaluating Secondary Level Political Science Textbooks

In order to undertake this analysis, it is necessary to select criteria for evaluation. Norton E. Long has formulated a three-fold objective for political education which, if accepted, can be used to measure quality of materials. That is, the degree to which Long's objectives have been achieved by the textbooks can be the measure of their quality. Long states that the purposes of political education (and hence of the materials which teach it) should be:

1) to acquaint students with factual knowledge and a means for ordering it;

2) to impart an understanding of the methods of inquiry and verification; and

3) to impart appreciation of the basic values of our society.[2]

Long's objectives are obviously not the only ones which have been proposed in the literature. They have advantages, however, which most of the others do not have. They are parsimonious, first of all. Yet they are sufficiently elegant to capture most

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[2]Norton E. Long, op cit., pp. 88-89.

of what the others offer. They are also reasonably straightforward--stated in language that does not require extensive elaboration and explanation. In some instances, we may have extended the goals beyond Long's original intent, but we do not think we have detracted from their usefulness.

In order to achieve the first objective, materials should (a) be descriptively accurate and (b) provide an analytical framework for structuring the content. Long's second objective could be partially measured by (b) above, but in addition the material should (c) offer a degree of conceptual scope and sophistication, and (d) reflect the latest research.

A fifth criterion with which to evaluate material is not reflected in Long's objectives but is mentioned widely in the literature. It has to do with providing a sense of the dynamics of politics. One of the objectives proposed by APSA, for example, states that:

> political science education in elementary and secondary schools should transmit to students a knowledge about political behavior and processes as well as knowledge about formal governmental institutions and legal structures. . . .[3]

Our fifth criterion, therefore, is that materials should (e) provide insights into the dynamics of the political process.

The third of Long's objectives cannot be addressed as directly as can the first two. In an article in which he discussed the quality of introductory collegiate American government texts, Theodore J. Lowi suggested that texts should be analyzed to

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[3]See p. 112 for all of the objectives proposed by APSA.

determine the extent to which the authors "evaluate the workings of the various institutions [of government] in terms of their significance to democratic political theory" (emphasis in the original).[4] The "workings" about which Lowi speaks refer to functions, which are for him not the purposes of the units but more precisely their effects.[5]

A textbook which is designed to evaluate the effects that derive from the workings of governmental institutions in terms of democratic theory would have to include an extensive discussion of the propositions which are inherent in that theory. Thus, students using the text should gain some understanding of the theory. We cannot necessarily assume that understanding would lead directly to appreciation (the key term of Long's third objective). We do assume, however, that understanding always must precede appreciation. We will, therefore, suggest as a sixth criterion for analysis that materials should (f) evaluate the quality of the functions of governmental units in terms of democratic theory.

Our final criterion has to do also with appreciation and is suggested by the last objective posed by APSA:

> political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students an understanding of the capacities and skills needed to participate effectively and democratically in the life of the society.

The perception of powerlessness and inability to have some effect on decisions which affect one's life is among the causes

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[4]Theodore J. Lowi. "American Government, 1933-1966: Fission and Confusion in Theory and Research" in American Political Science Review, Vol. 58, No. 3, September 1964, p. 596.

[5]Ibid., p. 597.

of alienation and apathy. Neither of these states is conducive to appreciation of the system or its basic values. Furthermore, it is not enough to exhort students to participate or to teach them how to use the voting machine. The skills of participation and the linkages between followers and leaders need to be clearly explicated. The last criterion, then, is that materials should (g) teach the skills necessary for effective participation.

Our methodology for operationalizing some of these criteria still needs further elaboration. It is fairly easy, for example, to determine whether the authors of textbooks have emphasized the dynamic aspects of politics[6] or whether participation skills are enough. By the same token, one can easily decide whether the authors of materials have presented a core of propositions relating to democratic theory and analyzed functions of government in terms of these propositions. All of these relate to our last three criteria.

The first four criteria, on the other hand, pose a different problem. These relate directly to the approach which is used to structure the study of the content.[7] Political scientists "approach" the study of politics from varying perspectives and so

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[6]This criterion which was derived from a goal enunciated by APSA might be taken to suggest that students should be provided learnings related to change models of politics. We believe (as we suspect the political scientists did) that a more desirable precollegiate goal has to do with understandings related to the dynamic activities of individuals involved in politics.

[7]We are dealing here with the "what is" of political education. We will return to the "what ought to be" in terms of analytical frameworks, methodology, and conceptual scope when we present an alternative model in Chapter VI.

do textbook developers, and it is our intent to apply the first four of the criteria only in terms of the approach which is used.

Although we believe that some approaches have more to recommend them for use with precollegiate students (a specification we shall make in Chapter VI) than others, we do not intend at this point to criticize authors who employ approaches which we perceive to be deficient. That is, at this point we will not try to make a case that the philosophical approach is better than a power/influence approach or a systems approach. Rather, we will examine each approach to determine the extent to which it is descriptively accurate, provides an adequate analytic framework, offers a degree of conceptual scope and sophistication, and is reflective of recent research. The extent to which these criteria are met, regardless of which approach is chosen, coupled with the other three criteria which deal more precisely with citizenship education values should provide a reasonably precise indication of the quality of precollegiate textbooks.

We need to do two things in this connection. It is necessary, first of all, to clarify exactly what we mean by the term "approach." Second, we need to make explicit our assumptions about what constitutes adequate social science methodology, conceptual sophistication, and recent research as it relates to the approaches utilized in the textbooks we will examine.

The Approaches Most Commonly Used in Precollegiate Textbooks

Although "approach" often seems to be used synonymously with "method" and "research technique" in the literature, I shall define

it for our purposes only as a general strategy for studying political phenomena. It is a theoretical framework with which to structure reality. The key elements of an approach include:

1) a systematic orientation and perspective for cutting into a subject area;

2) some statements concerning the central questions or type of questions that should be posed;

3) criteria of relevance for mapping out and selecting data for analysis; and

4) some guidelines for a hierarchical ordering of both questions and data in terms of significance in any given analysis.[8]

Academic Discipline Approaches

One category of approaches suggested by Vernon Van Dyke in Political Science: A Philosophical Analysis, which is commonly used by political scientists (particularly for the introductory courses) and which we find utilized in the textbooks available to teachers, is related to the academic disciplines. Many political scientists--especially those specializing in international relations and political theory--approach their subject matter from an historical perspective. Textbook publishers also use this framework,[9] where the focus in on a selected period of time in the past, and there is a strong tendency to use chronology as an ordering device. The best practice goes beyond asking who did

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[8]Oran R. Young. Systems of Political Science. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1968, pp. 97-98.

[9]See, for example, Edwin Fenton and Anthony N. Penna. Comparative Political Systems: An Inquiry Approach. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973.

what at which time and where, and seeks to determine why certain things were done and with what consequences. That is, meaning is suggested and conclusions derived beyond the assertion of low-level facts. Utilizing this strategy, one explores causal relationships and draws tentative conclusions.

A variation on the historical approach is used by political scientists who might be labelled historians of the present. This approach equates with the case study in which contemporary events are detailed in a chronological, narrative fashion. In order to keep from overwhelming students with detail, it is necessary to compare, search for the common elements in the events being studied and other similar events, and try to derive some meaning from the facts.

Political scientists also approach their study from the broad perspective of psychology, or the study of individual behavior. Perceptions of reality, motivation, and the learning process--all foci of psychology--are often used fruitfully to organize analyses of political behavior. For example, the Survey Research Centers of the University of Michigan produced The American Voter. The data, sample survey techniques, and concepts are viewed from a political as well as from a social psychological framework.[10] There are no authors of precollegiate materials who use this orientation to structure the entire text. However, survey data are often included in other formats.

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[10]Angus Campbell et al. The American Voter. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1960.

Another discipline approach which is occasionally used at the precollegiate level is the philosophical. The approach is used by political scientists to "enhance linguistic clarity," thereby reducing to the greatest extent possible confusion or semantic murkiness. The primary activities of political philosophers are, for the most part, normative. That is, they spend their time describing the "best" state or political system or they may recommend the proper or true goal(s) of politics. While most political philosophy courses at the university level are organized historically and the political philosophies of the greats--Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and Marx--are examined in detail, the emphasis at the precollege level is on prescription and normative assumptions. The reason for this is probably because there are few curriculum materials which focus on philosophers per se. Furthermore, the environment of political education--the American school system--is generally not conducive to a "free wheeling" examination of the "best" state. The "best" form of government is a republican one, and that answers the question. There is, however, a new theme in precollegiate education which emphasizes moral and ethical reasoning. This theme emerges in several curricula that utilize another approach as the primary ordering device.[11]

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[11]See Edwin Fenton and Anthony N. Penna, op cit.

Approaches Based on Salient Features of Political Life

Another set of approaches can be characterized by their predominant focus on what might be termed "salient features" of political life. One of the approaches which can be identified with central or salient features of political life can be called the group or the group process approach.[12] The focus here is on cooperation and conflict among human beings attempting to effect preferred public policy outcomes. Because people have diverse and often conflicting needs and wants, much of what is called political is in the realm of the controversial and suggests confrontation. Nonetheless, it is equally true that groups also cooperate and organize, based on shared desires, in such a way that decisions can be made and actions taken on their behalf. The best materials using this approach also deal with the management of conflict and techniques in resolution.

A second approach follows from an institutional definition of politics.[13] Institutions, in this instance, should be conceived as consisting of the activities of people within an integrated system of behavior (a structure). In addition, the activities tend to persist over time in a regularized and expected pattern. Unfortunately, many political scientists and most authors of curriculum materials have translated "institutions" as governmental "bureaus"

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[12] See Bernard Feder. The Process of American Government. New York: Noble and Noble, Publishers, Inc., 1972.

[13] See William A. McClenaghan. Magruder's American Government. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1977.

and "agencies." This has meant that political offices have been discussed meticulously according to composition, hierarchies, duties, and functions. Constitutions and legal perspectives are used rather than realistic descriptions of the activities of the actors within the institutions.

Legal approaches are often closely related to institutional ones, particularly when the emphasis is on "arrangements" rather than on activities.[14] Used properly, however, the legal approach has considerable utility. In the first place, both the substance and the procedures of political activity are prescribed by law. To a large extent, an understanding of the larger issues of the law can provide a very important base for mediating between polarities and for training in ethical reasoning and moral analysis. It should also be noted that students who learn to comprehend the law and analyze situations in terms of the legal issues involved should gain respect for the law and a sense of efficacy as well as enhanced skills of analysis.

An approach which is generally categorized as legal might be more properly termed jurisprudential.[15] It is largely normative in its thrust and tends to be more abstract than a true legal approach. Questions about the nature, functions, and techniques of law are among those that are generally addressed.

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[14]See Robert H. Radcliffe. Justice in America. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974.

[15]See Robert F. Summers and A. Bruce Campbell. The American Legal System and Justice and Order Through Law. Lexington, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1974.

A fourth easily identifiable approach focuses on power and influence.[16] Politics is viewed as a struggle for power and policy outcomes are viewed as the result of the exercise of power and influence. Power is a relational concept and what is essentially involved is an analysis of who can do what, when, where, and how. This approach emphasizes the implicit assumption that in politics, individuals and groups are engaged in activities in which they may achieve desired ends. To this extent the approach overlaps with the group process approach mentioned above. The key to fruitful use of this focus is in the precision with which the two terms, power and influence, are defined. In addition, political actors generally pursue purposes other than power alone. Power must be viewed as a means rather than an end, and specificity is desirable in stating how much power is desired and the price political actors are willing to pay for it in terms of other values.

A salient feature of politics is decision making and a focus on the process of decision making constitutes yet another approach with which political phenomena can be analyzed.[17] Vernon Van Dyke has identified several ways in which the approach can be used. Most useful for our purposes are:

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[16]See Nona Plessner Lyons. From Subject to Citizen. Chicago: Denoyer-Geppert Company, 1970.

[17]See Howard D. Mehlinger and John J. Patrick. American Political Behavior. Lexington, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1977; Jack R. Fraenkel et al. Decision-Making in America. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1977; and John R. Madden. Practical Politics and Government of the United States. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1976.

1) those that focus on characteristics of decision makers, the assumption being that these characteristics explain or help to explain the choices made;

2) those that focus on 'partisans of issues,' i.e., on persons or groups who lack official decision-making authority but who do or might exercise influence or power over those who possess such authority;

3) those that focus on specific decisions, asking about the process involved in reaching them.[18]

When the first type is employed, intensive examinations of a biographical nature are usually made--background, attitudes, and activities--of such political actors as voters, legislators, and jurists. Based upon the findings, it may be possible to explain or predict behavior in terms of relative probability. Decision-making studies in the second category might focus on unofficial power and influence centers which affect the decision-making process. In the last category the focus is on the process of decision making itself, analyzing such components as the decisional units, the organizational context, the situational setting, the communications network, and the sphere of competence and motivations of the involved actions.

Systems Approaches

A third category of general approaches can be characterized as systemic because the emphasis is on describing reality by identifying particular activities within a society which can be

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[18]Much of the above information has been drawn from Vernon Van Dyke. Political Science: A Philosophical Analysis. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960, pp. 116-187.

considered political functions.[19] The focus of one systems approach is on the functions thought necessary to maintain the system.

In general, system theory assumes that every system has three characteristic components: identifiable elements, relationships among the elements, and boundaries. Concepts like the inputs, outputs, and throughputs of political systems are used to account for linkage between the system and its environment, between systems, and among the subsystems being analyzed. Another concept which is basic to systems theory is the notion of "feedback" or the influence of outputs on inputs, as well as upon decisions. Questions which are dealt with are "what kinds of behavior contribute to a system's maintenance and persistence?" and "what kinds of activities are involved in processing political demands?"

Approaches Emphasizing the Fact-Value Distinction

Yet another approach to the study of politics focuses on the question of values and the valuing process.[20] This is very close to the philosophical approach and tends to cut across or be included in the other approaches. It emphasizes an understanding of the sources of political values (both procedural and substantive) and the consequences of behavior consistent with these values, as well as the distinction between factual judgments and value judgments. This is obviously a very sensitive area in

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[19] See Peter Woll and Robert H. Birstock. America's Political System: People/Government/Politics. New York: Random House, Inc., 1972.

[20] See James P. Shaver and A. Guy Larkins. The Analysis of Public Issues Series. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973-74.

precollegiate classrooms and one in which there has not been adequate research. We do know, however, that surveys generally show a discouragingly tenuous connection between general principles taught in school and individual attitudes and behavior. Fortunately, some very fine materials have been developed which get at the problems of fact-value distinctions in decision making.

As has been noted, the above listing of political science "approaches" in no way exhausts those that are currently used by political scientists routinely within their research efforts. These have been selected because most precollegiate curricula tend to use one or more of these approaches as organizers for the content.

Description and Evaluation of Precollegiate Political Science Curriculum Materials

What follows is a description and evaluation of 11 precollegiate programs which constitute 12 curricula. They have been chosen because they are, in our opinion, the best of the class they represent. There are, for example, many programs which teach legal concepts or about the legal system. The two which will be examined, Basic Legal Concepts, made up of junior and senior high school materials, and Justice in America, are excellent examples of programs of this kind. Magruder's American Government is not only the best known institutional text but is also found in more classrooms than any government text in America.

Other criteria were also used in selecting materials for examination. No supplementary materials are represented. Each of the programs which follows is designed for either a semester

or year-long course and, as such, carries the major instructional burden. The developers intend that they be used alone and, for the most part, this is the situation that prevails in most classrooms. Supplementary materials, on the other hand, can be arranged into many formats and used in conjunction with material of any quality. Thus, it is almost impossible to evaluate how well they achieve their stated objectives.

The content of the programs described is either primarily political science or "citizenship" education. Many excellent curricula are composed of units or segments which use a significant number of concepts and generalizations from the discipline. In addition, they also utilize content from the other social science disciplines. Examples are Geography in an Urban Age, produced under the auspices of the Association of American Geographers, and Sociological Resources for the Social Studies, developed by the American Sociological Association. Economics in Society might well be used in an American government or problems of democracy course, as it deals with national income and growth policy, the economic conflicts between majorities and minorities, corporate social responsibility, and so on. Nonetheless, none of these programs were designed to be used primarily in political science courses. It is also important to point out in this regard that the developers of one of the programs which is analyzed--The Analysis of Public Issues Series--would be quick to disclaim any social science content orientation. They believe that it is more appropriate to teach social studies (as opposed to social science) which for them includes the analysis of pressing and perservering

social issues in secondary schools. They do not believe that junior high or high school students should be saddled with the burden of becoming "little social scientists."[21] For our purposes, then, what is critical is that the program which is analyzed focuses on the political content of these pressing issues.

All of the programs discussed are published and available to any school district. There are curriculum guides which are developed by school districts or individual teachers which might be of interest. Unfortunately, these are not easily obtainable. Furthermore, many often depend upon published materials or local primary sources to provide a part of their content. Obtaining all of these pieces is usually beyond the capacity of most teachers so these products seldom spread beyond a single school district's boundaries.

The last criteria also precludes the examination of a major program sponsored by APSA, which is still under development. Comparing Political Experiences is being revised for publication and will not be marketed until late 1978.[22] The developers state that the objectives have been determined and will not change. They cannot say that lessons and teaching strategies to reach these objectives will remain the same. Therefore, it would be impossible to make judgments beyond those which would relate to the prototype materials.

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[21]See, for example, Donald Oliver and James P. Shaver. Teaching Public Issues in the High School. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966.

[22]See pp. 141-143 for a brief description.

All of the programs which are examined also have a teacher's guide. Many have other support components such as games and simulations, films or filmstrips, and transparencies which have been designed to enhance the program's quality and teachability. Given the modest political preparation of most teachers, we believe that a carefully conceived teacher's guide which clearly outlines the developers' rationale, the cognitive, affective, and skills objectives and links the content to teaching strategies and techniques (in other words, tells the teachers how they are to accomplish the goals of the program) should be an integral part of every curriculum.

Program descriptions will follow the same order as the approaches outlined in the preceding section. That is, a program which uses a discipline oriented approach will be discussed first, followed by those using a salient feature approach, and so on.

As has been stated, exemplary precollegiate political science textbooks should:

1) be descriptively accurate;

2) provide an analytical framework for structuring the content;

3) offer a degree of conceptual scope and sophistication;

4) reflect the latest research;

5) provide insights into the dynamics of the political process;

6) evaluate the quality of the functions (effects) of governmental units in terms of democratic theory; and

7) teach the skills necessary for effective participation.

Curriculum Utilizing an Academic Discipline Approach

History

Edwin Fenton and Anthony N. Penna. Comparative Political Systems. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1973.

Comparing Political Systems is without doubt the most complex of all the textbooks which will be analyzed. It is, first of all, only one piece of a ninth- through 12th-grade curriculum which in the experimental version incorporated some of the ideas of Talcott Parsons.[23] The analytic concepts and questions for the political component are less historical in emphasis than other pieces of the curriculum. However, historical referents are built into the procedural concepts. Both analytical and procedural concepts and the analytical questions were chosen for their universal relevance in assisting students to make evaluative comparisons both in the present and in the future. The analytical concepts and questions are:

1) Political Decision Makers: the group of people who make, interpret, and enforce the rules of a political system

   a) Who are the decision makers? What are their personal characteristics? their social backgrounds?

   b) Which decision makers are political leaders with support from groups of citizens? Which ones are not leaders?

   c) How does society recruit its decision makers? What formal and informal rules does a society set up for giving decision-making authority?

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[23]Talcott Parsons is a well-known structural-functional theorist in sociology. For a critique, see William C. Mitchell. Sociological Analysis and Politics: The Theories of Talcott Parsons. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967, pp. 171-187.

d) What must a person do to get and keep a position as a decision maker? To whom does he appeal? How does he appeal? How does he stay in power?

2) Political Decision Making: the process by which a political system makes, enforces, and interprets rules

a) What are the formal and informal rules for making decisions?

b) How do decision makers gather information? How does this way of gathering information influence the decision-making process?

c) How are decisions carried out? How does the society enforce decisions once they are made?

d) How are decision makers, institutions, citizens, and the political culture related to the decision-making process?

3) Political Institutions: organizations and ways of handling political decisions

a) What are the political institutions of the society? What functions does each institution have?

b) What authority has been given officially to the institution? What authority does an institution assume unofficially?

c) How do political institutions influence the decision-making process?

4) Political Culture: the beliefs, attitudes, values, and skills of the people who are part of the political system

a) Are citizens aware of the role of government in their lives?

b) Can citizens influence decision makers? Do they think they can influence decision makers?

c) How do the people who live in the society learn about the political system?

d) Are the people of the society isolated from the political system? Are they subject to what it does but unable to influence decisions? Or do they participate in the entire political process?

5) Citizenship: the part played by an individual in a political system

   a) How, if at all, does a citizen influence the government's use of power? Does he play a part in the decision-making process? Can he influence the decision makers? Is he an allegient citizen, a dissenting citizen, or an alienated citizen?

   b) How does a citizen gather information about his government?

   c) How does government affect the life of a citizen? Does it restrict his freedom? protect his freedom? enlarge his freedom?

   d) What responsibilities does a citizen have to the political system? (T.G. pp. xix-xx)

The key procedural concepts which are utilized are social studies questions (those that can be answered by using a social science method of inquiry), hypothesis, fact, data, evidence, frame of reference, generalization, concept, and model. In addition, and of particular interest in terms of our criteria, there are two other types of concepts--historical periods and topics and historical definitions. Lessons which apply to words like democracy, communism, and nationalism are designed in such a way that those terms are defined according to their general meaning and also by the meaning they might have had in another time or place.

The content of Comparative Political Systems, as the name implies, requires the students to compare politics, using the concepts and analytical questions noted above. In the first unit, students learn the definitions of political decision makers, decision making, political culture, citizenship, and institutions, and utilize them in analyzing a German prison camp and a primitive and traditional political system--the Cheyenne. In subsequent units,

each of these concepts is used to compare the United States and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, these two societies are examined over time. For example, in Unit 4, readings and tabular information include "Political Leadership in Imperial Russia," "Becoming a Leader: The Party," "The Social Backgrounds of Soviet Political Executives," "Becoming an Elected Official in the Supreme Soviet," "Changing Leaders in the Soviet Political System," and "The Characteristics of Party Bureaucrats: Parts I and II."

Throughout the course, value issues underlie all class discussions of public policy questions. One of the teaching strategies which is employed to achieve this objective is based on the research of Lawrence Kohlberg of Harvard, who has empirically established a scale of six stages of moral development.[24] Students are confronted with moral dilemmas in which they are expected to place themselves in the roles of proponents of various public policy stances. One of these activities, for example, asks students to decide what they would have done if they had been Daniel Ellsberg and explain why. The Kohlbergian hypothesis presumes that peer interaction over such moral issues will push students to successively higher levels of ethical reasoning.

Comparative Political Systems ranks well on some of our criteria and not so well on others. The content is descriptively accurate and reasonably realistic, although there has been some tendency to select content which will assure that the United States compares very favorably with the U.S.S.R. The analytic framework

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[24]See pp. 138-140 for a fuller explanation of the Kohlberg scheme.

is excellent--broad enough so that students can discriminate and evaluate. There is a notion of the dynamics of politics, of competing power bases, of building constituencies, and so on.

There is not much of an attempt to deal with the theoretical underpinnings of democracy in any direct way. On the other hand, by introducing ethical reasoning and moral development a la Kohlberg, the thrust is always toward pushing students to attain stages where democratic values prevail. A Stage 5 thinker will define "right" action according to a concern for due process and a social contract conception of society. For the Stage 6 thinker, right action is defined in terms of universal human rights.

In many regards, Comparative Political Systems is better than most textbooks which are found in American classrooms. In others, it is plagued with the same problems that are apparent in all the textbooks with which we shall deal. It does not (and reasonably cannot) deal in sufficient detail with all of the many variables which affect political life to give students the understandings political scientists would prefer. For example, the section which treats bureaucratic decision making in the United States does so in just four pages. The attempt is made to describe the extent to which bureaucracies are insulated from their various constituencies and the reasons why this insulation is "an unavoidable development in our complex society." Nothing is done to focus on alternatives, on differential influence of interest groups, or on suggesting possible linkages citizens might have to the centers of power. On the contrary, students are told

without further elaboration: "And there is no way for the public to introduce projects of its own."

In a similar vein, the brief section on judicial decision making does not really indicate with example the extent to which the courts are involved in making law or using law as a political instrument. There is one sentence which suggests that the precedents judges choose to apply reflects their own values and goals. This is never remarked upon or expanded in the analytic passages.

It should be repeated, however, that this program is no worse than the others which follow. When it comes to deciding whether to teach something about a lot of things or a lot about some things, most authors opt for the former.

The weakest part of the program has to do with participation. Citizenship is defined cognitively--allegiant, dissenting, alienated--and examples of each are described. There is also a notion that citizenship in the United States is a more desirable state than in the U.S.S.R. There is not much as far as the skills of participation are concerned, beyond the inquiry skill opportunities which are provided.

Curricula Utilizing a Salient Feature of Political Life

Group or Group Process

Bernard Feder. The Process of American Government: Cases and Problems. New York: Noble and Noble, Publishers, Inc., 1972.

The Process of American Government, like several of the newer textbooks which have been analyzed, is a mix of institutional-structural and behavioral political science. That is, the typical institutions of government are studied, but the examination focuses on what people do within the institutions. Even more importantly, there is considerable emphasis on the relationships between institutions and among institutional actors.

The author eschews any attempt to provide coverage. He presents instead a number of "experiences" or illustrative episodes in key areas of the American political process. Futhermore,

> the controversial has been emphasized deliberately on the grounds that conflict over public issues is a necessary ingredient in a democratic society and that peaceful resolution of such conflict lies near the heart of the democratic process. (T. G., p. 8)

Considerable space is devoted in the teacher's guide to the use of case studies in building generalizations and testing hypotheses. The major function of the case studies are to help students develop hypotheses about political activity or to develop, inductively, a general statement about political behavior on the bases of examination of several situations.

For example, students may be asked to construct an hypothesis--what happened? why might it have happened?--following their reading of a case study. They would then apply the hypothesis to

determine if it is consistent with general knowledge or data from other sources. On the other hand, they might be provided with a proposition derived from political science theory or "common sense" which they must test using several cases. The facts and idiosyncracies of the cases are never emphasized and teachers are urged not to test for them. Successful uses of cases, as might be expected, involves locating similarities or common patterns--those elements which might be useful for predictive purposes.

One lesson in the unit, Whom Does Congress Represent?, deals with the Rules Committee. The class tries to guess by looking at a list of House Standing Committees which one is the most powerful. They then read position statements by William Riker, Congressman Howard W. Smith, and John Bibby and Roger Davidson, as well as a case study dealing with the enlargement of Rules in 1960.

Students then list the functions of the Committee and attempt to decide whether the House of Representatives "would function better without the Rules Committee." Other activities include research into how many bills were introduced into the House during the previous year, the background of the current Chairman of Rules, and what sorts of legislation he would be likely to support or oppose. Finally, the students determine who selects the issues which come before the student council and compare its function to the Rules Committee. Students must then propose alternatives with the advantages and disadvantages of each (pp. 256-262 and Objectives, Teaching Techniques, Evaluation Procedures, pp. 92-93).

This activity is typical, and in many ways better, than similar involvement opportunities that are offered in most texts.

The student materials do provide pro and con statements relating to the use and misuse of the Rules Committee. Unfortunately, the treatment is still superficial. Neither the student materials nor the teacher's guide suggests the chaos and fragmentation that might result were every bill allowed to come onto the floor of the House, willy-nilly. The impression that most students would gain if there were not considerable teacher direction (an unlikely outcome given the state of most teachers' knowledge) is that the Rules Committee as well as the alternatives available for forcing a bill out of Rules are outmoded, irrational artifacts designed to thwart the will of the majority.

Another kind of criticism can be voiced concerning Feder's treatment of interest groups. As might be expected in a textbook which emphasizes groups and group processes, the discussion is superior to that found in most resources. Students read passages from The Lobbyist (James Deakin), Report and Recommendations on Federal Lobbying Act (House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities, 81st Congress, 2nd Session), Economic Power and Political Pressures (Temporary National Economic Committee), Parties and Politics in America (Clinton Rossiter), The Semi-Soverign People (E. E. Schattschneider), The Washington Lobbyists (Lester Milbrath), Congress on Trial (James MacGregor Burns), The Process of Government (Arthur W. Bentley), "Nature and Prospects of Political Interest Groups" (Alfred DeGrazia), The Web of Government (Robert M. MacIver), "Speech at Columbia University" (Harry S. Truman), "In Defense of Lobbying" (Henry A. Bellows), The Power Elite (C. Wright Mills), Democracy Under Pressure: Special Interest

Vs. the Public Welfare (Stuart Chase), "Good, Bad Lobbying" (Louis Haney), "Pressure Groups in Government" (Emanuel Celler), and Power in Washington (Douglas Cater). The problem here is not so much with superficial over-generalizing as with academic over-kill. All of the excerpts are interesting and useful but without skillful guidance and analysis, which apparently the teacher is to provide, students are left to cope alone with a welter of conflicting views. There is no attempt, for example, to employ the concepts and insights found in David Truman's book, The Governmental Process, which although dated would seem to offer a valuable analytical framework that would be understandable to precollege students.[25]

The Process of American Government spends more time and devotes more pages to the nature of democracy than do most textbooks. The conflicting values of democracy and the statements of the "greats" are carefully analyzed. The concepts of democracy are applied to hypotheticals and students are asked to develop a list of minimum characteristics of a democratic society as well as rank order democratic values in terms of their personal priorities.

Interestingly enough, the format of the text, which is available in 14 paperback units (from which teachers may pick and choose and sequence as they wish) as well as a hardbound text, diminishes the usefulness of this relatively sophisticated treatment of democratic precepts for students not using the hardbound version. That is, unless the unit on democracy is used, there is no

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[25]David B. Truman. The Governmental Process. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951.

background provided for students trying to evaluate the consequences of various governmental actions in terms of democratic values. Nonetheless, as opposing viewpoints are presented in all units, the undemocratic action or policy is generally exposed and discussed.

For the most part, the textbook is adequate if not reflective of the most recent research. The presidency is examined in terms of presidential roles which although not the freshest approach to that study still has considerable utility for precollegiate students. The sections on the judiciary, to cite another example, ask solid questions for students to explore.

> What are the principles that judges apply in reaching decisions? What are the factors that seem to influence the judges? To what extent do the courts make law? To what extent do the courts amend, rather than interpret, the Constitution when it decides cases? What are the effects of court decisions on the daily life of society? What is the relationship between social attitudes and court decisions? What are the relationships between courts and the other branches of government? Can courts enforce the judgments they make?

The most serious limitation of The Process of American Government is the extent to which opportunities are provided for students to practice participation skills. Students do apply the learnings they achieve in dealing with hypotheticals. There is no guarantee that they will prefer this model.

Institutions

William A. McClenaghan. Magruder's American Government. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1977.

Magruder's American Government is by far the most widely used American government textbook in the United States. It may also be one of the dullest. The content is organized in a very traditional fashion, reminiscent of the collegiate 101-102 series. Part One deals with the "Foundations of the American Governmental System" and includes the American heritage, the Constitution, and federalism. Parts Two and Three treat citizenship, civil rights, and politics. Subsequent sections deal with the legislature, the executive and national policy, and the judiciary and administration of the law. The final section deals with state and local governments, as might be expected. Every attempt is made to achieve comprehensiveness; little to insure comprehension.

The text depends largely on prescriptions and exposition. Page after page is filled with factual nitty-gritty, and lists--of implied powers of Congress, of the power administrations, of the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution, of regional security treaties, and so on. The facts are correct and up to date, as the text is revised every year. On the other hand, there is a pervasive tendency to be either platitudinous or to avoid the disagreeable. One example can be drawn from the text's treatment of President Nixon's resignation and the Watergate Affair. No substantive reasons are given for the resignation; one of the few references to it states:

> And the many-sided and sordid Watergate Affair--and the manner in which he filled the roles of party leader and chief citizen--so destroyed his Presidency that Mr. Nixon was forced to resign the office in disgrace in 1974. (p. 290)

Thus, while the text provides an abundance of fact, it is not accurate or realistic, because unpleasant facts are typically excluded.

The framework utilized in Magruder's is institutional. Unfortunately, the text captures all of the worst aspects of this approach. Political offices are carefully described in terms of Constitutional or statutory provisions; "powers" are listed meticulously. Little attempt is made to explain why the balance of power among branches may change over time or why new agencies may have come into existence. The author has collected an impressive amount of data about formal political institutions but has neglected to interpret the facts in any kind of theoretical terms. The formal structure seems to "sit there" apart and devoid of human activity. For example, the structure of the Senate and the legal duties of Senators, rather than what Senators do and why, is described. Individual Senators have neither role nor status in Magruder's. Furthermore, Senators would seem to have equal power and/or influence.

About the only section of the text that indicates any attempt has been made to introduce fairly recent research is the one on voting. The student is again provided with lists of who is likely to vote and for which party. By contrast, the section entitled "The Election Process" where it should have been easy to "intrude" something of the recent research instead deals with such topics as the administration of elections; extent of federal control;

when elections are held; the polling place; the ballot, including information on the Australian, Office-Group, Party-Column, sample, and long; and voting machines.

Magruder's talks at some length in several places about the dynamic nature of the American society and government. This is underscored by extensive descriptions of changes in the law, the organizational structure of agencies, and so on. The impression that emerges, however, is one of an orderly pattern. The structures change only within definable limits and nothing is said about changes in processes or underlying philosophies of institutions. It is blandly accepted, for example, that the executive functions as law-maker with no discussing or hypothesizing why this is so or with what consequences. Little attempt is made to explain how the Senate as an institution operates, or what impact its performance might have on various classes of people.

There is a section which deals with the basic attributes of democratic theory. The author makes it quite clear that democracy is not only the "best" governmental form but that it is "alive and well in the United States."

> Rather, democracy exists in this country because, as a people, we believe in the concepts upon which it is based. It will continue to exist and be improved in practice, only for so long as we continue to subscribe to--and seriously attempt to practice--these concepts. (p. 12) (emphasis in the original)

From this point on, it is all downhill. There is little attention paid to what is or is not democratic in nature. The section on "Equality Before the Law" discusses the constitutional basis for racial desegregation in a reportorial fashion with no

editorializing and no discussion. Equally disturbing is the treatment of other Civil Rights legislation. Readers could well believe that problems of segregation are over simply because Congress

> enacted the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964, and 1968, and the Voting Rights Acts of 1965, 1970, and 1975. Each of them is designed to implement the Constitution's insistence upon the equality of all before the law.

Finally, Magruder's offers nothing in the way of assisting students to become skilled participants in the governmental process. Even the sections on pressure groups and political parties are treated in ways that make them remote organizations. Kinds of pressure groups are presented by category--business, labor, agriculture, and professional--and there is a discussion of their tactics. Nothing is said about joining such a group. Even the section on voting, the weakest kind of participation, is devoid of "how to do it."

In sum, this text is sadly deficient when the criteria we have selected are applied to evaluate it. What Andrain has termed as "hyperfactualism"[26] makes for bad political science.

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[26]Charles F. Andrain. Political Life and Change: An Introduction to Political Science. Belmont, California: Duxbury Press, 1971, p. 29.

Legal

Robert S. Summers and A. Bruce Campbell. The American Legal System and Justice and Order Through Law. Lexington, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1974.

The rationale and educational objectives of both of these programs in the Basic Legal Concepts series are similar. What can be said about one can be said about the other. In many ways, these programs are difficult to evaluate using our criteria because they are not political science programs per se, nor do they focus primarily on the legal aspects of American government. Instead, they are programs about law which provide a conceptual approach to law as a social institution.

Rather than present facts about the various areas of law and then provide an analytical framework for ordering them, Basic Legal Concepts provides the conceptual framework and uses facts to concretize it. These are drawn from statutes, common law principles, regulatory law, and Constitutional law as well as real cases involving the Bill of Rights and other public issues such as financial support for education, poverty, highway safety, and so on. Thus, insofar as facts are used, they are accurate.

The analytical framework which is employed is philosophical as well as legal because it draws primarily upon jurisprudence. The central propositions which Basic Legal Concepts propounds are that (1) law is a society necessity; (2) law provides a set of social tools that may be used affirmatively to improve the quality of life--that law is facilitative as well as restrictive in

nature; (3) citizens have vital roles in the healthy functioning of a legal system and must concern themselves with how the law does what it does; (4) law helps society perform a variety of important tasks, such as protecting basic freedoms, advancing social goals, and enforcing private agreements; (5) law rarely does anything single-handedly; (6) the workings of the legal system must be continuously appraised and reappraised in light of such ideals as justice, liberty, and general welfare; and (7) law is limited in what it can do to accomplish social aims.

These propositions or themes are not just stated in the materials and then forgotten. Each is introduced and reintroduced throughout the content along with criteria with which students can analyze them. For example, the junior high school materials, Justice and Order Through Law, has students examine various non-judicial processes for resolving conflicts--coin flipping, popular vote, coercion, and informally referring the dispute to a third party. They then analyze an actual dispute using these alternatives as possible solutions, which are evaluated according to the following criteria:

> 1) the extent to which such procedure focuses on the merits of each side of the dispute as being determinative; and
>
> 2) whether the method suggested is itself fair. (Teacher's Guide, p. 5)

In a lesson from The American Legal System, students are provided materials which illustrate the fact that the legislative and judicial change-making process are not self-initiating. Rather, private citizens, acting alone or as members of organized groups,

usually must undertake this function in a democratic society. Students first examine the conditions that must be satisfied if change initiation is to be effected, and then relate two cases--NAACP v. Alabama and United States v. Price--to the list of conditions they have developed. Students next learn some of the kinds of tactics that are available for securing change. These range along a continuum from mere advocacy, group organization and pressure, petition, peaceful civil disobedience, peaceful group demonstrations, peaceful coercion, violent coercion, and violent threats to forcible take-over. Each of these possible tactics are evaluated in the light of a particular fact situation using the following model which contains a set of questions that implies the soundness or unsoundness of the tactic:

1. Is the tactic likely to be effective?

2. Does the tactic allow an opportunity for all those who might be affected by the change (or their representatives) to have a voice in making the change?

3. Does the tactic allow for the decision to be made, directly or indirectly, by a majority of those who ought to have the power to make the decision?

4. Does the tactic allow for the decision-making to take place out in the open where it can be subjected to criticism?

5. Does the tactic provide adequate time and opportunity for all concerned to find facts and use reason in helping the decision-makers decide?

6. Does the tactic involve any real risk to anyone of physical injury or intimidation?

7. If the tactic is likely to be effective, then does it follow that it should be used? (pp. 48-52)

Basic Legal Concepts offers an effective body of content to get at such ideas and processes as qualitative evaluation, legitimacy, and conflict resolution. The cognitive conceptual scheme--a jurisprudential approach to the study of law--is unique in pre-collegiate materials. Students deal with facts and cases which are relevant to them (and the future needs of the society) while learning about the law. For example, there are lessons which deal with environmental issues in which governmental claims against property in the interest of societal protection are examined. The notion of suspect categories and their relationship to the concept of equal protection under the law is also introduced.

The materials do a particularly fine job in explaining the relationship of law to social change. The roles of both legislative and judicial bodies in effecting change are more carefully analyzed than is usual in most materials. There is also more than a casual attempt to explain the meaning of the means/ends dichotomy.

The analytic scheme of the program is not nearly as complex as the one offered in Comparative Political Systems. Yet, ample models, criteria, and hypothesis-provoking questions are built into the teaching strategies. Furthermore, the conceptual scope is sufficiently comprehensive to catch the distinctions that have developed over time in the application of the basic law.

In terms of how well it approximates "good" political science, the program is a "winner." By focusing on the nature of law, the role of law in society, and ways laws should be evaluated, it avoids the common difficulty of some legal programs which tend to

deify the law and treat it as if it is something that exists naturally--uninfluenced and uncontrolled by men. The cases which are examined are American. The criteria with which students are asked to analyze and evaluate these particular manifestations of law and legal processes could be applied to law anywhere, if respect for the dignity of the individual, equality, and other democratic principles are accepted as absolute standards.

Finally, the materials not only suggest that participation is necessary in a well-regulated society, but also provide some clues about what citizens can appropriately do--at least as far as the law is concerned. They do not provide skills in preparing students to be fully qualified participants in political life, however.

Legal

Robert H. Ratcliffe. Justice in America. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974.

The developers of Justice in America believe that legal studies offers an immediately useful body of knowledge that should provide a deeper understanding of American democracy and the position citizens hold in the society. The major propositions used to structure the program are:

1) to identify an acceptable line of behavior for inclusion in the culture and to penalize contradictory behavior, so as to maintain at least minimal integration between the activities of individuals and groups within the society;

2) to allocate authority and to determine who may legitimately apply force to maintain the legal norm;

3) to settle trouble cases as they arise; and

4) to re-define relationships as the conditions of life change, so as to help keep the culture adaptable. (T.G., p. 5.)

The content focus of the program is on six areas of law which are relevant to the lives of youth: (1) the structure of the city and the legal basis of a city's internal functioning, (2) consumer law, (3) poverty and welfare, (4) landlord-tenant relationships and law, (5) the legal status of youth, and (6) the criminal justice system. Law and the City deals with such issues as urban regulation and urban planning using real as well as hypothetical cases which have been selected to show how law changes over time to solve new problems. The section on zoning, for example, includes Euclid v. Ambler (1926) to indicate that zoning

ordinances are neither arbitrary nor unreasonable exercises of police power and bear a "substantial relationship" to the protection of public health, safety, morals, and welfare. Udell v. Haas (1968) is the example illustrating the misuse of zoning laws. Zoning for aesthetic purposes is demonstrated by Vickers v. Township Committee of Glouster (1962).

Generally, the thrust of the cases in this unit is not to show the development of the court's reasoning over time but to indicate only landmark cases relating to a particular thrust or idea. The questions for students which follow each case generally push them to apply the precedents to other situations; to speculate on the consequences of the decisions; and to evaluate them in terms of democratic values.

Poverty and Welfare, on the other hand, in addition to providing an excellent review of changing attitudes about poverty ranging from the Puritan view through Adam Smith and Darwin, to modern liberals does examine the court's reasoning. The application of the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to state welfare laws is traced through a number of cases.

Some of the units focus primarily on substantive issues; others emphasize procedures. In addition, there is also an attempt to provide some familiarity with various legal documents--contracts, rental agreements, leases, disclosure statements, warrants, and so on.

The content of Justice in America is decidedly realistic and, for the most part, accurate. Over 100 cases, many of them real,

delineate the issues which are examined. The analytic framework which is employed is largely the case study method of establishing the facts, determining the issues, and reaching a decision. The program avoids the sterility of legal materials which focus on what the law says about this or that at a particular time and place. Statutory law is included only for illustrative purposes and in relation to constitutional questions.

Each of the six components of Justice in America does a reasonably good job of moving students through those issues of law which are central to that component. Unfortunately, there has been no attempt to build a body of unifying concepts which might in some measure weld the pieces together. The program should be considered more as a conglomerate of reasonably well-prepared units than a curriculum which is intended to provide a basic understanding of the nature of law and the legal system.

There has been an attempt to indicate the dimensions of shifts in the locus of power and the consequences of these shifts on citizens. The developers believe that a deeper understanding of various areas of law automatically diminishes alienation and produces increased levels of efficacy. This assumption may be questionable. Even more problematic is the presumption that participation will increase as a result of being involved in the program. Even though students may know more about the law, it is doubtful that the program will give them many insights into how one goes about changing it.

Power and Influence

Nona Plessner Lyons. From Subject to Citizen. Chicago: Denoyer-Geppert Company, 1970.

From Subject to Citizen is one of the few curricula available in which the concept of power is utilized as a major tool for students to use for inquiring into and ordering political events and developments. It would be equally correct, however, to categorize From Subject to Citizen with other programs using an historical approach.

In essence, the program views power relationships between the individual and the state over time. It traces the role of the individual from that of subject during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I to that of citizen in twentieth century America. The program is not a chronological survey, however. Rather, it is comprised of in-depth examinations of significant benchmarks in the political development of the American people.

The major purpose of the program is to help students think historically and politically about the origins and the nature of the American political system. This is accomplished by providing them with a set of workable models for analyzing the nature and complexities of power relationships so that the political world in which they live may become more comprehensible. The developers believe that if students analyze accurate and appropriate information, they will be able to better understand causality in the political process as well as the development of social political values. They are presented with political dilemmas which require

the selection of alternative decisions; they read original and secondary resource materials that provide them with data; they work individually and in groups making and challenging inferences; and they compare and contrast their individual and group decisions with the actual historical decisions. They also project their newly-acquired knowledge and skills to contemporary political dilemmas. A variety of general questions are posed for them to explore: (1) What is power in human society? (2) On what does power depend? (3) What role does the individual play in bringing about change? (4) How have changes in power structures taken place? and (5) What is necessary for stability and legitimacy in power relationships?

Unit titles in From Subject to Citizen are Queen Elizabeth: Conflict and Compromise, The King vs. the Commons, The Emergence of the American, The Making of the American Revolution, and We the People. The content of the units examines those periods of Anglo-American history during which political power relationships underwent rapid and radical change. Although the course spans an historical time period from 1580 to the present day, each unit provides detailed information about only major political crises or power struggles.

Early units contrast British and American experiences in developing viable political systems and illustrate how the American experience produced a political culture incongruent with British political processes. The final unit deals with the development of law in the American political system and its role in maintaining a balance of power in favor of the citizen. The focus here is on

five concerns, each of which is structured by organizing questions. The opening lesson examines the relationship of state power to the citizen and is organized around the questions, "Is an impoverished subject free to move from state to state?" and "Who is responsible for him?" The second lesson deals with the reasons why the states gave up power to the national government at the time of the framing of the Constitution. Lesson three looks at some of the ways in which the Constitution divides power. The organizing question for this lesson is "Who has the most power: The President, the Congress, the courts, the states, or the citizen?" The question of how the Supreme Court decides whether a particular law is compatible with the Constitution structures study in lesson four. The final lesson provides the opportunity for students to consider ways in which the Constitution protects the power of the citizen. Organizing questions for this lesson are:

> Do the words of the Constitution, written in the eighteenth century, apply in the twentieth century?
>
> How does the Constitution protect the privacy of the citizen against government power? (T.G., p. 4.)

There is no doubt that the program reflects recent and accurate political scholarship. The use of primary sources is particularly striking. Rather than reading historical events interpreted for them in a predigested form, students read historical and contemporary primary source documents and make their judgments using the organizing questions that are provided.

Throughout, the concept of power is used in relationship to law and legal constraints which both limit or expand the power

available to various groups. Thus, the problems which attend using power and influence as an explanatory concept are substantially attenuated.

Such issues as what it means to be powerless and the protections of the individual against encroachments of the government are quite carefully analyzed. Other precepts of democratic theory such as majority rule are scarcely discussed. Thus, although the program does what it does well, there is much that is not addressed.

Skills of participation are also beyond the scope of the content. Students could use these materials and not have a clue as to what it means to be a participating citizen. In a real sense, the structure of the program practically precludes the application of our criteria.

Decision Making

Howard D. Mehlinger and John J. Patrick. American Political Behavior. Lexington, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1977.

American Political Behavior is one of the first American government programs developed during the 1960s social studies revolution. The criticisms which the program was designed to address had to do with the fact that most political science instructional material did not incorporate recent research; depended upon legal description, ethical prescriptions, and historical explanation; was lifeless and devoid of the drama and conflict of politics; and did not provide an adequate social science base for making competent judgments about political behavior. Therefore, the goals which were chosen for APB, in large measure, sound as if they were selected to meet our criteria for evaluating the quality of materials. Among the most important are:

1. Increasing student capability to perceive politically relevant experiences;
2. Developing student capability to organize and interpret information;
3. Developing student ability to determine the grounds for confirmation or rejection of propositions about politics;
4. Developing student capacity to formulate and use concepts, descriptions, and explanations about political behavior;
5. Developing student ability to consider rationally value claims and to make reasoned value judgments;
6. Influencing students to value scientific approaches to the verification of factual claims and rational analysis of value claims;

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

8. Reinforcing democratic political beliefs such as respect for the rights of individuals, support for majority-rule practices, acceptance of civic responsibility, etc. (T. G., pp. 2-3.)

Although the basic strategies and objectives have remained the same, the 1977 edition has been changed substantially from the 1972 edition. These revisions are instructive because they provide clues regarding teachers' (and hence the publisher's) perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of the original content.

APB focuses on the political behavior of various actors in institutional settings. Basic behavioral concepts such as culture, socialization, status, role, social class, and decision making are employed to guide students' investigations of politics. In addition, the pedagogy is structured so that the students are required to relate evaluational questions to an empirical content in order to make reasoned value judgments. These aspects have remained the same.

Of the five units which made up the 1972 edition, one, "Unofficial Political Specialists," was dropped completely with parts being incorporated into the first three units ("Introduction to the Study of Political Behavior," "Similarities and Differences in Political Behavior," "Elections and the Behavior of Voters"). The new Unit Five now focuses on "State and Local Decision Makers," probably reflecting the view that teachers are expected to present this content. Unit Four, "Political Decision-Makers," stayed much the same. The authors also dropped one topic which employed a systems approach to the study of government.

APB is replete with interesting case studies, accurate descriptions, and analytical tools and models. Two examples indicate the kinds which are available. Students are asked to use the following list of factors that influence presidential decision making in analyzing decision situations:

1. Circumstances of the decision
    a) decisions affording long preparation time
    b) crisis decisions
2. Individual characteristics of decision makers
    a) personality
    b) prior experience
    c) personal beliefs
3. Other limitations
    a) rules--formal and informal
    b) status relationships
    c) public opinion
    d) available resources
    e) external decision makers (T.G., p. 92)

In another lesson which focuses on the impact of government on voting, students apply the mandate, ritual, and indirect influence election models to determine which constitutes the best view of reality (T. G., p. 78).

Every attempt is made to reinforce democratic beliefs and provide practice in evaluating real situations in terms of democratic normative prescriptions. The impact of non-participation in government is explored as well as the factors or keys to effective group participation--"organizing skillfully, focusing

participation, sustaining participation, fitting activities to resources, trading favors, and building coalitions."

Nonetheless, it is difficult to judge on this or any other program how well students internalize democratic values or how many skills of participation they have learned (and once learned, will they really prefer to participate?). John Patrick, one of the authors of APB captures this idea:

> Some political educators have not understood that teaching students to be competent critical thinkers and inquirers logically precludes their positing fixed ideal attitudinal outcomes. Consistent advocates of teaching skill and affect for critical thinking and inquiry have only one absolute, which is the process of inquiry. Other attitudinal outcomes of this process cannot be fixed, if one is to teach the process properly.[27]

Other than this reservation (which applies even more strongly to the other programs because their developers do not indicate they are even sensitive to the problem), APB does well according to the criteria. The program was developed under the auspices of APSA. Political scientists participated in various ways during the development. The experimental materials were systematically critiqued and revised based upon these critiques.

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[27]John J. Patrick. "Main Themes in Political Education in American Secondary Schools," op cit., p. 34.

Decision Making

Jack R. Fraenkel et al. Decision-Making in American Government. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1977.

Despite its title, which would indicate a preference for a behavioral approach, the authors of Decision-Making in American Government view their text as an alternative to those which focus primarily on either an institutional-structural or a behavioral approach. Their intent is to provide both information about the basic institutions of government and insights into the workings of the system, using decision making as the conceptual organizer.

The central questions that are posed are: (1) what is the nature of governmental decision making? (2) what does it involve? (3) who are the decision makers? (4) what kinds of decisions get made? (5) who makes them? (6) what factors influence them and how? and (7) what effects might different decisions have (or have had) on various groups or individuals in the United States?

The content of the text is accurate and realistic and although there are cases and case studies used which consistently appear in precollegiate materials (e.g., Tinker v. Des Moines and the Cuban Missile Crisis), there are many that are fresh and unusual. In addition, Tinker and other similar examples are probably new as well as inherently interesting to the audience for which they are intended.

Throughout, the central questions noted above structure the analysis which students are asked to undertake. In addition, there are other tools provided to assist them. For example, the concept

of the political system is applied to all decision-making structures as well as to the total government to provide perspective on the interactions of the various parts. Key concepts such as authority, legitimacy, power, influence, conflict, socialization, culture, and role are investigated through the use of readings, case studies, and developmental activities which range from interpreting photos through role play opportunities.

A variety of analytic tools are employed to show how decisions are actually made. One, which is modified from political science literature, involves the models of legislative decision making--as trustee, according to the majority, according to the constituency, and party line. Another is a classification of types of opinion makers--true leaders, spokespersons, or prestigious follower. In some exercises mass and attentive publics are added to the schema. Factors that influence judicial decisions are examined in light of values, personal beliefs, previous political affiliation, legal precedents, background reading by judges, the size of the court, and tenure.

Interestingly, the text does not deal directly with the precepts of democracy. Majority rule and minority rights, justice, and freedom are not mentioned in the index; equality of educational opportunity and employment opportunity are handled in two pages; individualism is represented by one page of pictures. On the other hand, "key principles of American government," such as federalism, limited government, popular sovereignty, separation of powers, and checks and balances are dealt with in some detail.

This does not mean that those values expressed in the Constitution and Bill of Rights are ignored. The authors do, in fact, identify and analyze the role of values in political life and present students with a number of value questions in selected situations where government decisions are made. For the most part, the major thrust is toward developing in students an awareness "of how value orientations affect actions."

It is also suggested that a companion series, Crucial Issues in American Government, which consists of single-issue paperback volumes be included as part of the content. Power in American Society, Who Controls the Controllers?, Freedom or Order?, Censorship and the Media, Justice in America, Morality in Government, Social Policy, and Minorities in Politics would be particularly pertinent in this context.

The skills of participation are also addressed. To a large extent, this is an "action program" in which students are required to "do" something. And in so doing, they should gain skills relevant to meaningful political action. They are asked to identify the values questions inherent in political issues; evaluate documents and statements in terms of their accuracy, logic, and persuasiveness; formulate reasonable hypotheses about possible consequences that might occur should a given decision be made; and examine the values of decision makers. Even in chapters dealing with the executive and legislative branches, they select from among various candidates for President or Congress those they believe should be elected. The most important parts of these activities are, of course, those that involve explaining why

they chose as they did; and who in the population would benefit or be hurt by their choice.

Decision-Making is among the better precollegiate texts. It is accurate, realistic, and up-to-date. Many of the ways that political scientists use decision theory are utilized--the characteristics of the decision makers, influences on decision makers, and the process involved in reaching particular decisions. In addition, other pieces from the literature are used in an eclectic yet effective way.

Decision Making

John R. Madden. Practical Politics and Government in the United States. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1976.

The broad goals of Practical Politics sound much the same as other textbooks of this genre. The text is a reaction to the sterile American government/civics texts. Therefore, the authors suggest that the book is realistic rather than idealistic, does not focus on historical descriptions of legal and institutional aspects of government at expense of political processes, deals with political science investigation techniques, provides skills for effective citizen participation, and on and on and on.

However, a cursory overview of the Table of Contents would not indicate that the content of Practical Politics departs much from the more traditional texts either. "The Political Arena: The Process of Coalition"; "Voters--Including You: Why People Vote as They Do"; "Getting Out the Vote: Political Parties and Elections"; "I Am Honored to Present. . . The Candidate in an Election"; "A Going Concern: Government Agencies/Bureaucracy"; "Action on the Hill: The Congress"; "In the Oval Office: The Presidency"; "On the Bench: The Courts and the Law"; and "Boundaries of Power: Checks and Balances" represent the three branches of government, checks and balances, local government, political parties, voting, and other traditional topics.

The similarity to the traditional ends with chapter titles, however. Institutional "arrangements" are not described. Rather, the central focus is on the way in which decisions are made in

each of these institutional arenas. In addition, decisions about what tactics to use, how to expend limited resources, where to find supporters, and when to compromise to get some, if not all, that is desired, is studied in the unit on coalition forming.

For the local government unit, students not only examine decision making, trade-offs, and other political action tactics in this setting, they design their own strategy for influencing the outcome of a political issue. Reasons for different voting choices and decision-making styles in political parties, big-city political machines, bureaucracies, Congress, and the Executive are analyzed.

The unit on bureaucracies is unique because the emphasis is on the insulation of the agencies from their constituencies. After the students survey the characteristics of bureaucracies, dealing with such concepts as jurisdiction, hierarchical organization, staff behavior, communication, specialization and expertise, and relationships to elected officials, they study the growth of one specific governmental bureaucracy--the State Department. They then read four case studies: "Alex Redfeather and the Bureau of Indian Affairs"; "Day-Care Mothers"; "Golden Eagle National Forest"; and "Sally Johnson Meets the Motor Vehicle Bureau." Each study, representing hypothetical encounters between citizens and some governmental agency, delineates how the agency responds to citizen concerns. Because the presentations are in the form of letters, "official" memos, newspaper releases, and the like, students can experience the vicarious frustration of having requests "bumped upstairs," receiving apparently mindless responses, and so on.

After examining each case, students evaluate the various bureaucratic decisions (pp. 268-333).

The final activity in the unit is called "The Bureaucracy Game." The game presents a reasonably realistic social model reflecting a number of generalizations that apply to how all bureaucracies are organized and how they function. The game depicts, for example, a built-in conflict between the interest of the individual citizen and the interest of the bureaucracy. The activity was designed particularly to demonstrate that bureaucratic decision making, like all decision making, involves the problem of allocating limited resources (T. G., p. 32).

There is nothing at all in Practical Politics about democracy, justice, equality, or representation. One wonders whether the authors believe that the subject is "just not practical" or if they presume that everyone has an adequate understanding of such esoteric topics. Students do, in fact, evaluate the quality of decisions in terms of some kind of quasi-democratic, quasi-absolute standards such as fairness to those concerned. This works reasonably well because of the nature of the decisions with which they are presented. If they were ever asked to consider conflicting rights--individual vs. the welfare of the society or freedom of the press vs. the right to a fair trial, for example--they would have no background for proceeding.

For the most part, the social science investigations which are suggested would require pretty low level analysis. I suspect this was intentional, and the authors preferred giving students some reasonably useful "handles" for dealing with political

realities to more sophisticated analtyic techniques. There is, in addition, a real attempt made to provide for skill practice in participation.

Curriculum Utilizing a Systems Approach

Peter Woll and Robert H. Birstock. America's Political System: People/Government/Policies. New York: Random House, Inc., 1972.

America's Political System is an interesting mix of "a new way to teach precollegiate political science" and traditional pedagogy. The teacher's guide provides "concepts" which are not really concepts at all for every chapter. They are, rather, statements concerning what is included in the chapter--advantages and disadvantages of federalism, current law-making problems and pressures for congressional reform, civil service as a limitation on presidential control, the development of school district governments, and so on.

There are no stated objectives beyond the purpose of the program, which is to provide opportunities for

> citizens to gain an understanding of how government works, so that they can participate meaningfully in making those political decisions that affect their lives (p. v).

Woll and Birstock observe that citizens are more likely to support the system and contribute to its maintenance if they understand it. Furthermore, as the American political system is characterized by numerous political forces seeking to advance their own political interests, "the citizen must understand how to maximize his or her power within the system."[28] Thus, although the text has the same general goal as most other American government, civics, and/or citizenship education programs--participation--the authors have

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[28] Ibid.

added another dimension to the reasons why this kind of education is important. In addition to building systemic support, they also want to train individuals so that they can maximize personal goals. This is not to say that personal growth is not a goal in other programs. Many which focus on development of inquiry skills assume, at least implicitly, that there will be carry-over into adult life. None of these, however, admit so directly (and probably realistically) that if new skills are learned, they might possibly be used for individual gains.

The reason for discussing this has nothing to do with the propriety of either tack. All that I am trying to point out is that the vast majority of the traditional textbooks and some of the new programs tend to be societal values oriented. And this is despite the fact that a widely accepted democratic reference is: It is all right for individuals to learn skills, but it is not all right to use these skills only for individual aggrandizement.

Despite the fact that systems theory is the analytic mode chosen by the authors, the organizational structure of the content is a familiar one. The model for analyzing political systems plus "the unique features of the American political system" are introduced in Unit One. Unit Two examines the philosophical roots and constitutional development or "the formal aspects" of the American system. Unit Three examines inputs--political attitudes, parties, elections, and interest group activities. Unit Four deals with conversion structures or branches of the federal government. Two chapters are devoted to each branch, one describing the organization and the second examining how it interacts with other parts

of the political system. Public policy formulation and impact is the focus of Unit Five, and state and local government is the topic of Unit Six. Unit Seven is a summary chapter.

The model which is used throughout the text to explain political activity is introduced in Chapter One. The text discusses mechanical and biological systems and compares them to social systems. Terms like input, output, feedback, role, political socialization, and subsystems are explained in some detail, and charts are presented which illustrate how a particular issue is processed through the Presidential, congressional, and judicial subsystems.

America's Political System does a better job than most programs in dealing with relationships between branches. It also tends to avoid the microanalysis problems inherent in most materials which utilize the systems approach, because there is an attempt to analyze political behavior at the micro-level. Public policy formulation and impact, the topics of Unit Five, depart entirely from a traditional systems model. There is no attempt to set down "everything there is to know about American government." On the other hand, the authors demonstrate that they have been bitten by the familiar collegiate textbook malady--the requirement of coverage. Everything from policies of containment to community standards and censorship is jammed into just one of the chapters.

There is inherent in the systems approach the possibility of comparing and evaluating. This is not to say that students are offered all of the tools that full-fledged systems analysts use. Such ideas as open and closed systems, entropy, differentiation, stability, equilibrium, and systemic breakdown are not introduced,

and probably rightly so. These are the stuff of political scientists, not future citizens.

The sections on democratic theory more or less sits there alone and is not used for any practical purpose after the class discussion time for that chapter is over. The concepts are never applied again in any real sense. If students participate more as a result of being involved with these materials, it would be because they are excited about the idea of "maximizing their power" and not because they have learned any participation skills.

Curriculum Emphasizing the Fact-Value Distinction

James P. Shaver and A. Guy Larkins. The Analysis of Public Issues Series. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973-74.

The Analysis of Public Issues Program is not, in a limited sense, political science material. Its focus is on reflective thinking and personal political decision making and not on the concepts and methodologies of the discipline. The most general rationale for the program is provided by James Shaver in the following statement:

> The API program grows out of the citizenship concerns that are typically assigned to the social studies curriculum in the United States. In particular, it focuses on the rationality, decision-making orientation of citizenship education in this country. Its purpose is to help students develop a conceptual frame to assist them in analyzing and making decisions about the major issues that confront the society.[29]

The underlying assumption of the developers is that these major issues are ethical in nature and because they affect the society as a whole, they are also political. As a consequence, in the United States those who consider and make decisions concerning public issues are, in effect, making political-ethical decisions in a democratic society.

There are, in addition, assumptions about the nature of a democratic society: (1) it is commited to human worth and dignity as its highest ideal; (2) inherent in this commitment is a belief

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[29]James P. Shaver. "The Analysis of Public Issues: An Aspect of Political Education." Unpublished paper prepared for a Conference on Political Education in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America, at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, September 15-19, 1975, pp. 1-2.

man is rational and that intelligence can be improved through the educational process; (3) man should arrive at his own or accept the decisions of others using nonviolent processes whenever possible; (4) the ideal of human dignity is defined by acceptance and support of certain basic values--domestic tranquility, due process of law, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, equal opportunity, equal protestation under the law, and the right to decent food and shelter; and (5) our democratic society is also a pluralistic society in which groups of persons compete to control the policy decisions of the government.[30]

Both controversy and value conflict are inevitable in such a society. For example, the same values can be defined differently--from different frames of reference and with different emphases; basic values can be and often are in conflict; and most people are commited to values that are in themselves inconsistent so that value conflict is both interpersonal and intrapersonal.

The conceptual framework which the authors have devised for students to apply as they consider public issues is based upon the following propositions:

1. Making decisions about public issues is basically a matter of ethical analysis involving normative considerations about individual actions and public policies to reach "proper" societal goals.

2. People have a general need for orderliness that affects their understanding and consideration of public issues. This need determines perceptual sets and predispositions which, along with other beliefs and values, structure the frames of reference with which people view the world. In addition, perceived inconsistency among beliefs, values, and actions can cause, although it

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[30] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

need not, irrational decision making. It is important to realize and deal with one's own assumptions as well as the assumption of others.

3. Language is of central importance to the analysis of public issues because it provides the basic means for thinking and communicating. Thus, it is necessary to study about the nature of words which have both descriptive and emotional attributes if the process of communication is not to break down.

4. There are three major types of problems to be dealt with in thinking about and discussing public issues--language and word misunderstanding, settling factual disputes, and clarifying and choosing between value commitments (T. G., pp. xi-xvi).

The textual materials which students consider are extremely realistic as their function is to present potentially conflictual and opposing points of view. They are not descriptive of institutions of government, although some of the "interludes" deal with such topics as race relations in housing, employment and education; civil liberties; and conscience, war, and violence--all issues in which the government is involved.

The analytic framework is thoughtful and useful if the purpose is to push students to higher stages of cognitive reasoning. It is not at all helpful in providing insights in macro-political science, however, as no substantive concepts are presented. Shaver himself notes:

> There are other concerns--such as the inculcation of commitments to basic values, skills for group participation, the need for involvement in political action, and the learning of substantive concepts pertinent to dealing with public issues--which are legitimate considerations for political education (T. G., p. 16).

Students using these materials would need to embrace many of the underlying values of democracy. They in fact evaluate the extent to which political acts and/or their own decisions relating

to public issues are democratic. There is never any explicit connection made in the materials between the values and democracy as a political form.

The participation linkage is also tenuous. If students participated, they would likely be more ethical as they do so. They would have to learn the how of participation somewhere else.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have tried to evaluate the quality of some of the available American government textbooks because we believe the quality of the textbooks fairly well represents the state of the art in political education today. The textbooks we have examined were selected because they represent the best of their kind. The availability of textbooks, however, does not tell the whole story.

The better texts (from the political science perspective) are not, in fact, the ones that can be found in the majority of American classrooms. Magruder's is without question the most widely sold government text in the United States. Enough other publishers trying to capture a slice of the market have aped the Magruder style, content, and approach to assure that "traditionals" are what are out there in greatest number.

It is possible to argue, of course, that many of the texts we have analyzed are better than the traditionals and that political education would benefit if teachers learned of their availability. Certainly this cannot be refuted.

The argument, however, does not deal with the really critical issue. None of the textbooks could be judged adequate according to our criteria. Thus, if Magruder and every traditional textbook were miraculously replaced with any or all of the other texts, the political education goals which have always been stated would still not be achieved. Some of the texts are descriptively accurate and are reasonably sophisticated. Some offer usable analytical frameworks. Some even indicate a "nodding acquaintance" with recent research. A few provide a discussion of the values of a

constitutional democracy. None, however, teach the skills necessary for effective participation.

We believe the criteria we have used and which were largely drawn from the significant political science literature fairly assess the accepted goals of political education. If all texts fail in some degree despite the good will of political scientists, the interest of APSA, and massive expenditures of developmental money, it seems logical to assume that the fault may be with the goals themselves.

In the next chapter we shall look at these goals and try to specify why so many texts miss the mark. Then we will offer an alternative conceptualization which we believe addresses some of the problems.

CHAPTER VI

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Our study of the course of political science education since the founding of the United States has led us through a tangle of good intentions, considerable effort, and persistent failure. The best minds (in view of the track record, one is almost tempted to add "and the bravest hearts") of each generation have attacked the "problem."

The one conclusion that is obvious from the review is that few people in political science have yet defined the problem in terms that makes it amenable to solution. In other words, what is it exactly that political scientists as professionals or political science as a discipline is supposed to achieve?

The Goals of Political Education

Expertise in the Discipline?

Is the goal of political science education in precollegiate classrooms to teach something of the discipline to students who are primarily college-bound or, at least, to teach some political knowledge to all students so that they can better understand political realities? We find this goal or something very akin to it stated over and over again in the literature. It is usually articulated in such a way as to indicate that a sound foundation in the data, principles, and assumptions as well as the methodolgies

of the discipline precedes civic competence--a goal we shall discuss below. Yet there have been many who have posited the goal as sufficient in and of itself.

The definition of social studies, for example, which is found in the Standard Terminology for Curriculum and Instruction of the United States Office of Education states:

> The social studies are comprised of those aspects of history, economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology, geography, and philosophy which in practice are selected for instructional purposes in schools and colleges.

In a similar vein, the Thesaurus of ERIC Descriptors states that the

> social studies consist of adaptations of knowledge from the social sciences for teaching purposes at the elementary and secondary levels of education.

Evron and Jeanne Kirkpatrick say:

> One of the most important responsibilities of the secondary school teacher is to inform students about the existence of a field of inquiry into government and politics and to give them some indication of the complexity and difficulty of many public problems.[1]

The attitude of the Kirkpatricks and others like them is straightforward and unequivocal. The goal of political education is to provide expertise and understanding about things political. It should not be construed instrumentally as the prelude to good citizenship.

For other political scientists--those who say discipline learnings undergird education for citizenship--it is difficult to

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[1]Evron M. and Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, op cit., p. 121.

assess which carries the higher value. Individual disciplinarians and APSA profess both goals as imperatives.[2]

We cannot even judge the extent to which it is safe to analogize from the other social sciences. Doubtless, there are some parallels.

Sociology, anthropology, geography, history, and economics are among the social science disciplines. Many academics from these areas do, in fact, suggest that they have similar goals. In practice, however (with the exceptions of history and economics), there is no presumption that learning about models and methods from anthropology and geography and so on will necessarily generate civic competence. For these disciplines, the reality has to do with transmission of insights from the discipline. Only the rhetoric speaks to the transmission of citizenship skills.

The point we wish to make clear is that for many, precollegiate instruction has as its major goal the transmission of political knowledge. This is true whatever is stated as the rationale.

An Understanding of American Government?

A second possible goal of precollegiate political science instruction is also related to this point. Is the goal of political

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[2]It is probably true that Lowi's position regarding the introductory collegiate American government text (see p. 160) stems from the dual political science/citizenship concern. Certainly, the reason we included the notion of evaluating systematic outputs in terms of democratic values derives from a similar position. More importantly, however, this criteria was included because we believe any textbook which states that citizenship education is a major objective and fails to perform this function for students is sadly deficient.

science education really to provide some understanding of the American political system? This goal is obviously similar to but not exactly the same as the first. Only economics and history share with political science the burden of teaching both about the American experience as well as something of the discipline itself. The question again is, what constitutes the higher priority--teaching about American government or economics, or using that content area as the vehicle for providing learnings about the discipline? In addition, what are the presumptions concerning the relationship of American government to citizenship education?

Precollegiate economics, it seems to me (as opposed to mandated courses in "The Free Enterprise System"), tends to refer to the American system in the context of teaching general economics principles such as marginal utility, comparative costs, and effective demand. On the other hand, historians share with political scientists the burden of teaching history and the American story. Unlike political scientists, they do this at three grade levels--five, eight, and 11--and they often have the luxury of teaching about the world or the ancient experience also.

A definitive answer concerning the goal of political science education is important because goal statements specify exactly what it is necessary to achieve. They provide, incidently, the measure of the extent to which success has been attained. It is quite clear that political scientists (or, at least, APSA) come down heavily on the side of providing political expertise (goal one). There is no place in the literature where we can find a

clear rationale for goal two beyond the implicit notion that an understanding of the American system is the foundation upon which good citizenship rests.

This is not true of most American school districts and the administrators, teachers, and parents that comprise them. Nor is it true of the textbook publishers. For these people, the goal is to teach American government as the basis for transmitting civic values.

It would seem that a first step in defining what should be the goal of precollegiate political instruction is to separate citizenship from the other two. This is not to say that the goal of transmitting civic values and skills is not important. In the long run, it may be THE GOAL. But to believe that an understanding of American government or the American economic system are co-terminous goals with assuring good citizenship behavior seems to me to be incredibly naive. Neither is there persuasive evidence that learning all there is to know about these disciplines will magically produce competent civic actors. Yet, political scientists shoulder their burden of guilt to a greater extent than even the economists and each decade reaffirms that this is exactly what they are about.

Let us leave the question of citizenship for a minute and examine the first and second goals--to provide some expertise in using the concepts and methodology of the discipline or to provide an understanding of the nature of American government. These goals, considered apart from the citizenship aspect, have never been satisfactorily achieved either.

The most recent National Assessment of Educational Progress indicates that students have even less political knowledge than was reported earlier in this paper. On some questions overall figures indicate as much as a six-point drop and this is in spite of the efforts of the 1960s.[3] These data are more precisely related to knowledge about the American system. Some, however, have to do with political skills.

It is possible to argue that these two goals have not been achieved because teachers have not been adequately prepared; new and better curriculum materials have not been diffused; school districts, teachers, and/or parents have been resistent to change; courses are taught at the wrong levels; and authoritarian school structures militate against optimum learning experiences. Most of these concerns have been noted in this paper.

There are also, doubtless, other concerns. Richard Remy argues persuasively, for example, that there needs to be research to determine how the social structure of political education (the context) is functionally related to the way the content of political education is organized. The kinds of questions which Remy believes should be addressed are "What changes in technologies, institutions, beliefs, and language should produce change in the content of political education?" or "What contextual factors might be altered to enhance the quality of political content?"

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[3] National Assessment of Educational Progress: Citizenship. Draft Report, Advance Copy, 1978.

Remy notes, for example, that television (a technology) has probably already had an impact both on the styles of learners as well as on the learnings themselves. The two questions which are raised are: (1) "whether the content of political education can and should be shaped to overcome this contextual factor," or (2) whether the context might be altered.[4]

We agree that all of these are matters of interest and of sufficient importance to warrant considerable thought as well as research. Yet, one can simply look at the state of the art today and develop a plausible hypothesis concerning why the two goals of teaching something about the content and methodology of political science and providing some understanding of our system of government are not being achieved. This ignores for a minute whether these are, in fact, the best goals that could be stated for precollegiate students.

We need, first of all, to restate three sets of facts:

1. Most formal political education at the precollegiate level occurs either in the ninth-grade civics course or the 12th-grade American government course. The political content of the civics program is usually "watered down" American government.

2. The vast majority of American government textbooks use an institutional-structural approach in organizing the content.

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[4]Richard C. Remy. "Comments on Main Themes in Political Education in American Secondary Schools, by John Patrick." Unpublished paper prepared for a Conference on Political Education in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America at Indiana University, Bloomington, September 15-19, 1975.

Those that do not still tend to utilize a single approach to structure the study.

3. Teachers rely heavily on the textbooks to organize their courses because they have not been prepared nor have the time to do otherwise.

Given these facts, it is difficult to believe that either of the goals stated above could ever be achieved satisfactorily. There is no single approach to the study of politics and/or American government that could possibly provide all of the insights required for an adequate understanding of anything political. To argue that political scientists use a particular approach to provide perspective and a way of ordering their research begs the issue.

A systems theorist, for example, is well aware of the twin concepts of power and influence even though they are not adequately represented in the systems model itself. They probably know that the systems model is not particularly useful in generating alternative solutions. The researcher who decides that the decision is the appropriate unit of analysis has to know enough about structures of government to select which decisions or decision makers to study. A study of institutional arrangements apart from the behavior of the actors who people the institutions is indeed sterile. The point is that political scientists can be unidimensional in their research because they have already internalized the multidimensional character of their discipline. Students at the precollegiate level can never achieve a real understanding of the complexities of the American system of government, or much

less become knowledgeable users of political science concepts and methodologies if they are confronted with only one discipline approach.

Research from international relations in instructive in this regard. Graham T. Allison, in The Essence of Decision, has examined the Cuban Missile Crisis from three perspectives using different analytical models. Each of these models, in reality, constitutes an approach as we have defined it, and although Allison makes no presumptions about the sophistication of his study, it is helpful because it illuminates what we are trying to suggest. Allison's general argument is as follows:

1. Professional analysts of foreign affairs (as well as ordinary laymen) think about problems of foreign and military policy in terms of largely implicit conceptual models that have significant consequences for the content of their thought.

2. Most analysts explain and predict the behavior of national governments in terms of one basic conceptual approach here entitled Rational Actor or 'Classical' Model (Model I).

3. Two alternative conceptual models, here labelled an Organizational Process Model (Model II) and a Governmental (Bureaucratic) Politics Model (Model III), produce a base for improved explanation and prediction.[5]

Application of these models themselves demonstrates that each produces different answers to the same questions and different explanations of the same event. There are, in addition, differences in the ways the models

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[5]Graham T. Allison. Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971, pp. 3-5.

> conceive of the problem, shape the puzzle, unpack the summary questions, and pick up the pieces of the world in search of an answer.[6]

On a second level, the models also produce different explanations of quite different occurences.

> Spectacles magnify one set of factors rather than another and thus not only lead analysts to produce different explanations of problems that appear, in their summary questions, to be the same, but also influence the character of the analyst's puzzle, the evidence he assumes to be relevant, the concepts he uses in examining the evidence, and what he takes to be an explanation. None of our three analysts, users of the three models, would deny that during the Cuban Missile Crisis several million people were performing actions relevant to the event. But in offering his explanation, each analyst attempts to emphasize what is relevant and important, and different conceptual lenses lead analysts to different judgements about what is relevant and important.[7]

Allison goes on to state that neither his paradigms or others which have been suggested preclude the possibility that a grand model which incorporates the best features of all might be conceptualized.[8] And he also notes that the presumption that most analysts rely on a single model is crudely reductionist.

> . . . few analysts proceed exclusively and single mindedly within a pure conceptual model. Instead, they think predominantly in terms of one model, occasionally shifting from one variant of it to another and sometimes appropriating material that lies entirely outside the boundaries of the model.[8]

We believe it is nonsensical to assume that a single approach has the architectonic character necessary to provide precollegiate students with either a satisfactory understanding of things

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[6] Ibid., p. 249.

[7] Ibid., p. 251.

[8] Ibid., p. 255.

political or an intimate knowledge of the American system of government. Political scientists can use one paradigm or another in order to surface fresh insights about political phenomena because they have already "done their homework." They know the benefits and costs of using alternative models. Nonetheless, each model provokes different questions, views different artifacts as important, and provides for different judgements.

The fact, however, that these models exist does not mean that each has to be used independently of the other. It is, in fact, possible to envision a model or set of models for use at the pre-collegiate level which somehow incorporates those aspects from various approaches which might begin to provide the kinds of learning we seek for these students (depending upon our goal).

One of the textbooks in Chapter V, Decision-Making in American Government, for example, made an attempt to organize its data in this fashion. There was not so much a grand design as a more or less eclectic selection of pieces from several approaches. Decision making and decisions were the units of analysis and decisions were made by political actors in the institutions of government which were portrayed as systems. Thus, change or maintenance were products of outputs, inputs, and feedback mechanisms.

Furthermore, there was a self-conscious recognition by the authors of Decision-Making that the primary goal was to provide an understanding of the American system of government. Students using this material ought to learn a considerable amount about

what is political. They could complete the course successfully and there would still be a lot they would not know, however.

In other words, if it is in fact decided that the goal for precollegiate is the acquisition of the knowledge-gathering skills of political scientists--knowledge and special techniques that would enable them to understand political behavior in all its variety and complexity--then the American government class is not the right forum. This kind of understanding could not possibly be transmitted in the American government classroom alone.

The Constraints If It Is To Be Political Science

Study of things political might need to start in the elementary classroom and continue throughout the secondary years. For one thing, this kind of structuring would avoid the possibility of ethnocentric bias that can easily creep in if American government is the content focus. For another, it would be much easier to achieve additional APSA objectives--objectives that are almost never achieved in American government classrooms.

> Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should transmit to students knowledge about political systems other than the American system and particularly knowledge about the international system.
>
> Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students an understanding of the social, psychological sources and historical-cultural origins of their own political attitudes and values, and a capacity to critically analyze the personal and social implications of alternative values.[9]

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[9]See p. 112.

This broader view of what should comprise political education would mean that different approaches might be used almost in their entirety at different levels. There has already been developed a program which will soon be published that has elementary grade students using a decision tree to practice making, judging, and influencing political decisions. The program is interesting because it is experience based and because it is presumed that much of children's everyday life is concerned with things political. These include leadership and followership, cooperation and conflict, power and influence, authority and legitimacy, and rules and compliance. Thus, the activities in the program focus on political realities that are directly relevant to a child's life.

> They consider political decisions about group rules made by families (e.g., what time to be home after dinner, what time to go to bed), friends (e.g., don't tattle-tale), their school (e.g., no running in the library, no shouting in the hall), and the adult political world of the community (e.g., laws regarding car and bicycle theft, health codes restricting pets in food stores, regulations requiring rabies shots and licenses for dogs, and the like).[10]

The process of designing any educational program involves as a first step selecting the goal. If the goal is to have to do with providing an understanding of the concepts, generalizations, and methodologies of political science, then it is necessary to isolate the essential elements in political science--the major concepts, the analytical questions, and the proof processes

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[10]Richard C. Snyder, Richard C. Remy, and Lee F. Anderson. "Citizenship Education in Elementary Schools." Public Dialogue Paper: Citizenship Developemnt, 1977-2000. Paper No. 1, Mershon Center, July 1976, p. 33.

that are inherent in the various approaches--and link these with the appropriate developmental levels so that by the time students have completed 12 grades they will have been introduced to those aspects of the discipline which are important for understanding the political environment.

The same is true if the goal is to provide learnings which have to do with the content area of American government. What is there that is important to know about this system of government--the institutions that make it up? the values that undergird it? the way it works? the manner in which it can be changed? the linkages between the leaders and followers? What tools are available from whatever sources that could be useful in developing the kinds of understandings that are selected?

It would indeed be possible to develop curriculum to achieve either of these goals--curriculum that would be better than anything that is available today. It might be appropriate for both curricula to be implemented, but for different levels and for far different reasons. They are different goals and cannot be achieved simultaneously.

The first goal, which relates to instruction in political science, carries with it elitist connotations. In large measure, it does not make a great deal of sense to prepare Johnny and Mary for engaging in the kind of scientific inquiry such a curriculum envisions. To do so would probably require at least two years or three of intensive course work. Ideally, a K-12 infusion of political content would be most appropriate. Given the present structure of the schools and the pressures to include something

from all the social sciences, it is doubtful that many districts would have the resources or the expertise to implement extensive programs without massive support from the government. The limited "bang for the bucks" argument would certainly be used against such expenditures.

The second goal, relating to American government, has more to recommend it. It makes some sense that every student should know about their own system of government. They might even learn something about political science while they are about it. Students would not necessarily be better citizens as a result of the experience any more than they would be better citizens because they read Tom Sawyer in literature or learned about fractions in mathematics.[11]

It is doubtful, however, that this goal could be achieved in a very satisfactory way in less than one year. In addition, it flies directly in the face of APSA goals relating to learning about other systems of government and so on.[12] The question then arises concerning when and where these other learnings are to be provided. Should there be a parallel course focusing on other systems? Should data about other systems and alternative values be intruded into the American government course? Or should we go back to goal one and do it all for everybody?[13]

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[11]The literature is full of examples of the dysfunctional nature of biased American history programs and their effect on the minorities. The presumption is, of course, that the programs will be realistic and thoughtfully prepared.

[12]See p. 112.

[13]Goal one refers to providing expertise in the discipline.

Citizenship Education--The Fundamental Goal

We believe that inherent in the rhetoric concerning the importance of citizenship education may be the real solution to the political education problem. We have already pointed out that neither of the goals we have discussed above nor the courses which would adequately achieve them would in any way transmit the civic culture or necessarily train for good citizenship. There is simply more to citizenship education than learning concepts from the discipline or learning about American government.

Part of the difficulty in this regard has to do with the fact that there is not a common definition about what constitutes a good citizen or what the attributes of good citizenship are.[14] In fact, the literature is so disparate and the terminology so murky that we are going to refrain from this point on from referring to citizenship education. Rather, we adopt the term citizen education because that is what we are proposing to do--educate citizens or future citizens. Educating citizens carries with it a different normative value than does educating for citizenship. The latter seems to imply more action, more doing, than we had in mind. Our reasoning in this regard is two-fold.

In the first place, we do not believe it is possible to develop the kind of knowledgeable, skilled, participating citizens which most definitions of good citizenship seem to imply. In the second place, we submit that it is not desirable to do so. To presume that citizens must participate presumes coercion, a characteristic

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[14] See Chapter II for a discussion of the literature on this point.

of a directive rather than a free society. We believe citizens should be provided with those understandings, skills, and attitudes that will enable them to participate but only if they choose to do so.

If we were correct in our earlier statement concerning the need for a goal statement prior to putting together a program, the primary and major task facing citizen educators is to state exactly what knowledge, what skills, and what attitudes the good citizen ought to have. It is apparent that these attributes are not natural fallouts or benefits from other programs.

Historically, this task has been approached by considering and laboriously putting down everything that was thought important, or nice, or potentially useful. One person's list might be voluminous. Put together with everyone else's, the result was overwhelming and beyond human capacity. Worse yet, these listings have tended to proliferate over time with additions being made but few deletions effected. A similar pattern has prevailed when political scientists have gotten together to develop the list of what "everyone needs to know about political science or American government."

There is, however, another literature--one that looks to minimum indispensibles rather than maximums.[15] Here we wish to separate the notion of minimum indispensibles from the term

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[15]Sidney Hook coined the phrase the "minimum indispensibles." Sidney Hook. "General Education: The Minimum Indispensibles" in Sidney Hook et al., eds. The Philosophy of the Curriculum: The Need for General Education. Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1975, pp. 27-36. Reference to minimum competencies regarding political science education was made on pages 143-147.

minimum competencies, not because they necessarily mean different things but because the term minimum competencies has been captured by the accountability movement. On the one hand, any educational objective ought to be measureable if one is skilled in developing such instruments. On the other hand, the test makers should not be allowed to define the competency (or the indispensible) in such a way that the definition is only meant to facilitate the evaluation task.

Kenneth Boulding, as early as 1956, suggested that formal education should be examined from the perspective of "what is the minimum knowledge, not the maximum, which must be transmitted if the whole structure is not to fall apart."[16]

Richard Ghiardina provides two ideas about general education in relation to universities and colleges which, we believe, come close to the heart of what is required for a viable citizen education program. Ghiardina says first that society expects

> that the student will gain a certain set of skills enabling him to think critically about himself, his environment, and his relationship to that environment, both in terms of the values which the environment attempts to impose upon him and in terms of the values which he, in turn, attempts to impose upon it.[17]

In another work Ghiardina states

> . . . there is a set of understandings or perspectives, skills or competencies, which helps the individual master his fate and which enables him to

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[16]Kenneth Boulding. The Image. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1956, p. 163.

[17]Richard Como Ghiardina. "The Baccalaureate and Defining the Undefinable" in The Journal of Higher Education, Vol. 45, February 1974, p. 115.

> make decisions having a positive effect on his own life and the lives of others around him.[18]

How can these ideas be restated for citizen education? At a minimum, the schools must produce students who have civic literacy--who have a capacity for inquiry and analysis based on what they know, a capacity for evaluation, and a capacity for action. Civic literacy and the capacities which it involves in no way carries with it a presumption that there necessarily will be inquiry, analysis, evaluation, and action on all issues, however. Capacity is, rather, the stuff of empowerment. It is the ability to have some control over those things that directly affect one's life if one wishes to exercise that control.

This kind of education would do much to assure system support (the minimum requirements for maintenance). If, in fact, people feel they have skills of efficacy and have available a modicum of control and/or change potential, they may stay apathetic but are not likely to become alienated.

A statement concerning citizenship from the maximum point of view would insist that these capacities should be taught and once learned should become operationalized. The maximum citizen would seek information on all issues (inquire); would classify, infer, interpret, hypothesize, and test hypotheses about all alternatives (analyze); would rationally select from among the choices (evaluate); and would take appropriate action. An economist would probably point out that our citizen might starve to death because

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[18]Richard Como Ghiardina. "Liberal Skills: The Role of Political Science in General Education," op cit., p. 1.

there would be neither time nor opportunity to work. At the best, the costs would greatly outweight the benefits.

In terms of the minimum proposition, citizens move through these operations when they feel they need to move--when their own destiny is somehow affected. On the most mundane level, they would know who to contact and how to mobilize groups if their neighborhoods were going to be rezoned industrial. They would know enough about functions of government--who makes the laws, who enforces the laws, and who interprets the laws--to move against the appropriate branches in appropriate ways. They would know what constitutes a political resource and have an idea about when, where, and how to use it in a particular fashion.

None of this is meant to imply, of course, that this view of empowerment ends with providing skills of action. Capacity means more than knee-jerk reactions against invasions of privacy or higher taxes or farm subsidies. There are certain understandings (knowledge) and certain appreciations (attitudes) which must be included in our capacity building model. The following are illustrations of the kinds of understandings and attitudes we mean.

Civic literacy implies the capacities to enhance self-interest--the abilities to influence what the state should do. The right to operationalize these abilities inhere only in a constitutional democracy. Therefore, citizens must appreciate that it is necessary to embrace, support, and understand the values of constitutional democracy if only to protect their self interest. Support, of course, carries with it the implicit notion that one

must "lose" occasionally because it is logically inconsistent to expect otherwise.

Democratic values also provide the normative prescription which limits how far one can go in realizing self-interested goals. Norms of justice, equity, freedom of choice, privacy, and diversity are among the values to be understood. In addition, these values constitute the criteria with which the citizen can evaluate systemic outputs at the macro-level.

The knowledge component of our capacity building model may be the most difficult with which to deal for two reasons. The first has to do with mind sets. Knowledge objectives have always comprised the major part of traditional citizenship education programs to the detriment of teaching skills and attitudes. Thus, it is difficult to give up notions such as the importance of knowing "how a bill becomes a law," "the incumbent in the Office of the Presidency behaves according to varying role expectations," "nine men sit as members of the Supreme Court," and so on.

The second problem is concerned with prediction. How is it possible to select knowledge objectives to help citizens who will use the knowledge in a rapidly changing and complex society? Certainly, precise knowledge objectives cannot be projected easily. There are, however, some understandings which would appear so basic they would have to be included. For example, in open systems, consciousness or awareness of threats to dominant (both one's own and society's) values is critical. A perfect and obvious example of lack of awareness and the attendant inability to

respond until it was too late is Germany's experience with National Socialism.

A closely related objective for this kind of program would be to provide a basic understanding of the meaning and/or consequences of basic shifts in the loci of dominance and influence in the society. Students should be provided with opportunities to analyze the impact of the advent of the military/industrial complex or foreign policy decisions or the meaning of increasing urbanization in state politics, for example.

A third similar and yet significantly different knowledge objective has to do with the nature, implications, and causes of change. This particular understanding is made necessary because without it one would not in fact have the capacity to critically evaluate alternatives and/or remedies.

The point is, however, that it is not possible or even advisable to try to predict all of the elements of a citizen education program in general or Platonic terms. From a political science point of view such a program should be variable and changing in objective, for although there is a common core to each principle, how it is applied and made manifest changes with each generation.

A Suggested Model

The following are indicative of the kinds of attributes or characteristics (capacities) which we believe all students should have as a consequence of their K-12 experience. They have both the advantage of vitality and parsimony.

1) Knowledge of

   a) threats to dominant values in society

   b) meaning and/or consequences of basic shifts in the loci of dominance and influence

   c) implications and causes of change

   d) the continuing tension between the status quo and change, conformity and deviation, and habit and innovation

   e) significant properties of political systems and nature of systematic comparison

   f) manifold sources and forms of conflict

   g) complexity of public issues

   h) tentativeness of policy decisions (no final answers)

   i) the shifting dividing line between public and private acts

   j) the linkages between individual citizens and government agencies at all levels.[19]

2) Skills of

   a) inquiry, including questioning, gathering information, interpreting, analyzing, hypothesizing, and evaluating

   b) mobilizing groups

   c) using political resources optimally

   d) resolving conflict and building consensus

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[19]The narrative requirements which would support and achieve the understandings which we propose would necessarily change as the society itself changes. One example which is pertinent to (J) above has to do with requirements relating to the assistance of counsel as determined in such Supreme Court decisions as Johnson v. Zerbst (1938), Gideon v. Wainwright (1963), Spano v. New York (1959), Escobedo v. Illinois (1964) and Miranda v. State of Arizona (1966).

3) Appreciation of

   a) democratic values

   b) the importance of freedom of choice within certain constraints

   c) the rules of the political game(s)

   d) the need to "lose" politically on occasion.[20]

Implementation

Implementing such a model requires answers to questions of when, where, and for how long, none of which can be answered very definitively without further research. Learning theorists and political socialization experts disagree on the optimal time to teach such programs. Should appreciation, for example, be taught early, before skills and knowledge? Although we would disagree with the presumption that civic behavior is necessarily the desired end, the following fairly states the problem.

> There may, in fact, be serious discontinuities in the child's learning rather than the linear connection between knowledge, thought, and civic behavior. If so then the most fruitful model for a curriculum is not a sequence made up of increasingly complex substantive material, but a series of reinforcements for the acquisition of basic capabilities--to make decisions, empathize with political leaders, and so on.[21]

Programs such as we discussed earlier which involve teaching elementary level students the skills of making, influencing, and judging political decisions indicate it is, at least, possible to

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[20] Some of these attributes were suggested by the Report of the Political Science Advisory Panel to the Statewide Social Studies Committee. Draft Volume, California State Department of Education, December 1967, pp. 11-12.

[21] Ibid., p. 56.

start the kind of program we envision early in the student's academic career.[22] It is also true that a staggering amount of time is spent at the elementary level teaching what is said to be citizenship education. Substituting a decision making or a law focused program which emphasizes moral development would not require additional expenditures in time. It would require teacher training and a massive diffusion effort, however.[23]

A more sensible solution in terms of institutional constraints would be to implement programs such as we propose in the ninth-grade civics and the 12th-grade American government slots. In the first place, many teachers and administrators are aware that what is now implemented is not achieving program goals. Second, as has been noted, teachers tend to teach using the structure provided in the textbooks. If new models (textbooks) were made available, teachers might use them. There are advantages to recommending implementation at these levels.

The disadvantages here also have to do with diffusion and resistence to change. It is true that teachers will follow the pattern of the textbook. It is also true that they will select the kind of textbook with which they are familiar. This means the format and the content of the new program cannot be totally discrepant with their styles (an interesting point for an author or developer to consider prior to making content selections).

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[22]Interestingly, this program would qualify as both good political science and citizen education.

[23]Among the examples of programs which are already available for elementary level students are First Things: Values (Guidance Associates), and On Authority and On Privacy (Law in a Free Society).

How long poses a third difficult question. It seems to me that it would be possible to provide the basics in a one-year program at 12th grade. Remember, we are proposing only that minimums be taught. (We admit to advocating a maximizing of the minimum.) The extent to which students would internalize the necessary values and attain the desired knowledge, skill, and attitudinal atributes is highly questionable, however. Fred M. Newmann, a social studies educator, has conceptualized a program for building skills in citizen action which is similar enough to our model except for an action component to be instructive. Newmann proposed a year-long program engaging students from 9:30 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. which would earn them the equivalent of two academic credits in English and two in social studies.[24]

A real pedagogical concern is whether or not an action/practice format is desirable, perhaps, even necessary to achieve optimum results. In addition, should the action component include "real world" experiences as Newmann advises? or simulated

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[24]Fred M. Newmann et al. Skills in Citizen Action, op cit. Newmann suggests that people who exert influence in public affairs must be able to:

1) communicate effectively in spoken and written English
2) collect and logically interpret information on problems of public concern
3) describe political-legal decision-making processes
4) rationally justify personal decisions in controversial public issues
5) work cooperatively with others
6) discuss personal experiences of self and others in ways that contribute to resolution of personal dilemmas encountered in civic action and that relate these experiences to more general human issues
7) use selected technical skills as they are required for exercise of influence on specific issues (p. 6)

opportunities *a la* *Comparing Political Experiences*? One possible model would be a one-year in-class program at grade nine and a one-semester experience-based program at grade 12.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have proposed a curriculum which is structured around the notion of building civic capacities. As would most political scientists, we can philosophically subscribe to the theory that political science has at its disposal concepts, generalizations, and methodologies which if internalized and used by every citizen would make that citizen's life richer and more full. (Unfortunately, most citizens do not feel deprived if they do not posssess the political scientist's love for politics.) In analytical terms, we can visualize an optimum general education curriculum and can in rough form describe the contributions political science could make to that curriculum. In a real sense, making this kind of contribution has been the dream of political scientists since before the organization of APSA.

In fact, we believe it has been because there has always been an attempt to realize the dream that the course of political science education in the United States has been so remarkably rocky. This is despite the fact that many of the best minds in the discipline, as well as the professional organizations of the discipline, have philosophically accepted the implementation burden. Massive organizational effort has been mobilized in this cause--an effort that started when APSA was formed and continues today.

It has been pointed out, however, by Somit and Tanenhaus, and the Pre-Collegiate Education Committee of APSA, among others, that philosophical commitment and endless committee action are not enough. Somit and Tanenhaus have noted that political scientists are not, in fact, teaching oriented. Clinging to the great traditions of the German political scientists (for it is, in large measure, this tradition that has made American political science preeminent in the field), most American practicitioners are researchers. And the research they do is in discipline concerns, not in learning theory or methods of teaching. Furthermore, the Ph.D. candidates are trained to do research. Seldom are they trained to teach, and perhaps more importantly, they are almost never trained to train teachers.

The Pre-Collegiate Education Committee has noted that the professional status and reward system militates against the likelihood that bright young political scientists will emphasize teaching as a primary professional interest. Even less probable is the likelihood that one will become enthusiastic enough about curriculum development. Curriculum developers are often real "marginal men" in the halls of academe. The few political scientists like Richard Snyder, Lee F. Anderson, Richard Longaker, or Cleo Cherryholmes who have participated in curriculum development ventures had already built a reputation in research. Depending only on men like these in the futue is, unfortunately, a luxury that quality political education cannot afford. Furthermore, even these few were, in part, willing to contribute time and effort only because the government made their participation financially feasible.

As government funds for curriculum development dry up, so will willingness to be involved.

There are, in addition, institutional impediments to improving political education. If most departments of political science are uninterested in developing an adequate teacher training program in political science, most departments of education are incapable of providing one. This is, obviously, not true of some institutions, but it is true of most. And whatever the reason--limited budget, unwillingness to interact across departmental boundaries, perceptions of raison d'etre--it works to the detriment of the quality of political education.

State legislatures and state departments of education mandate that courses in American government, or the Constitution, or state government be taught as requirements of graduation. Nothing is ever said about what special qualifications a teacher ought to have in order to teach such courses. On the contrary, history is presumed to be a necessary and sufficient background. Even the various accrediting associations have lent support to this pattern by abdicating their roles in setting standards for teacher certification.

As has been noted, the preoccupation with the primacy of history in social studies dates back many years. The organizational position of the National Council for the Social Studies until recent years has been that history lay at the core of social studies. Most schools of education have both reflected and perpetuated that view. Thus, political science education has been

a chronological narration of governmental structures and institutions.

The decade of the 1960s was a decade of hope and some changes were effected which persist today. The content of some of the textbooks has been improved. There are new strategies and teaching techniques, which are probably better than the traditional ones, that have reached some classrooms. But more remains undone than has been done and political scientists still assume that they must develop active, participating future citizens within the context of the American government and civics courses.

We would submit that this is not now nor never has been a realizable goal. Political scientists can teach the discipline of political science; they can teach American government; they can contribute to developing students who have civic literacy--who have the ability to act in a democratic way in influencing public policy. These goals are not co-terminous. They are, in fact, mutually exclusive.

A political science curriculum at the precollegiate level is essentially an elitist notion. It is doubtful that enough students would profit by being involved in such a curriculum to make implementation feasible even if sufficient expertise could be assembled. One can teach political science without providing any substantive American government content.

The American government course at precollegiate levels can be implemented, and political scientists ought to be involved in providing conceptual assistance, training teachers, and authoring textbooks. The course is mandated in many states; it is

institutionalized in the sense that it is already thought of as a legitimate part of the social studies offerings. An adequate command of the content would presume only some insights into the discipline of political science.

Neither of these alternatives necessarily insures good citizenship in either the active or the potential sense. An adequate general education goal presumes capacity to influence public policy. Capacity to act, in turn, requires the acquisition of certain understandings, skills, and attitudes. Many of these derive from political science. Thus, political scientists would need to contribute heavily to the development of such a program.

Citizen education can be achieved, we believe, by self-consciously limiting the goal to citizen education and by disclaiming an attempt to promote active citizenship. A viable American government is also achievable within the institutional constraints we have discussed. The long-held big dream of political scientists has never been realized. Breaking it up into manageable parts might do much to bring it to fruition.

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