

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9133073

**The United States political system: Adolescent perceptions and
the role for citizenship education**

Ford, Lynne Elizabeth, Ph.D.

University of Maryland College Park, 1991

Copyright ©1991 by Ford, Lynne Elizabeth. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

**THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL SYSTEM:
ADOLESCENT PERCEPTIONS
AND THE
ROLE FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION**

by

Lynne Elizabeth Ford

**Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of The University of Maryland in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
1991**

Advisory Committee:

**Professor M. Margaret Conway, Chairperson/Advisor
Professor Charles Butterworth
Professor Roger Davidson
Associate Professor Wayne McIntosh
Professor Judith Torney-Purta
Professor Eric Uslaner**

© Copyright by
Lynne Elizabeth Ford
1991

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: The United States Political System:
Adolescent Perceptions and the
Role for Citizenship Education

Lynne Elizabeth Ford, Doctor of Philosophy, 1991

Dissertation directed by: M. Margaret Conway,
Professor, Department of
Political Science

This research looks at the political socialization process taking place in the traditional school classroom and an alternative experiential learning program. High school civics classes have been found only marginally effective in transmitting the participatory civic culture prompting adolescents to often report that American government and politics is "boring." As adults, these individuals are likely to be citizen spectators; exhibiting high levels of alienation from the regime and processes. By employing experiential theories of learning and instruction, civics might be presented as an engaging activity requiring citizen input. This research compares the political attitudes, attentiveness, knowledge, and behavior products of students who have completed a traditional classroom-based civics course with those who, in addition to the traditional course, have completed the experiential Close Up Foundation Washington Focus week program.

Data were collected with an original survey from a national sample of 1149 high school students at two points

in time. Students were given open-ended questions to enable them to describe political concepts in their own words before encountering them in later questions measuring political attitudes, political and quasi-political participation, knowledge, and attentiveness to public issues. Results of difference of means, analysis of covariance, and multivariate two-stage least squares regression analyses showed that experiential civics participants exhibit slightly higher internal efficacy, lower trust and are more likely to be involved in their school culture as well as some political activities.

In order to examine individual political cognition, personal interviews were conducted with a sub-sample of survey participants. These students were presented with hypothetical political dilemmas, asked to assume either the role of a public official or "average citizen," and verbalize their solutions. The students' solutions were analyzed in terms of actors, actions, and constraints and graphically mapped in order to examine each student's cognitive schema of domestic politics and whether there were changes as a result of the experiential Close Up Foundation program. Student's post-experience schema tended to be a more complex and accurate reflection of the existing political structure.

In general, however, politics remains outside the realm of interest for these adolescents and a rights-oriented, legalistic definition of citizenship is intact.

DEDICATION

To my loving and patient companion for life, Ray

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In completing this dissertation, although the words and the shortcomings are mine, any praise must be shared among many. My parents and grandparents deserve special thanks because they first inspired the love of reading that makes all learning possible. If not for my grandparents respect for education, my parents might not have become the people they are today. If not for the many books that littered our house while I was growing up, I might have become a very different person. I also owe special thanks to my second family, my mother and father-in-law who sent over numerous dinners, fixed outlets, and generally kept our life civilized when Ray and I were too busy to do so.

I owe a special debt to Peggy Conway, my advisor for almost six years and the chair of my dissertation committee. Although the last two years of my work were completed after she moved to the University of Florida and without the threatening approach of her shoes in the hallway, long distance prodding proved to be almost as effective. I also appreciate the many comments and suggestions made by the members of my committee: Charles Butterworth, Roger Davidson, Wayne McIntosh, Judith Torney-Purta, and Eric Uslaner. To Mrs. Klein, Mary, and the rest of the office staff who made very burdensome administrative tasks much easier, and were patient when I was frantic, I am very grateful.

Without the original interest, support, and information provided by the Close Up Foundation, this project would not have been possible. Frank Dirks was invaluable not only in providing access to program and school information, but in making sense of it all. The many crates of surveys would never have reached teachers and students without the imaginative mailing scheme developed by Eileen at Mail Boxes, Etc. in College Park, MD. The many principals, teachers, and students who answered my questions and returned all those surveys are to be commended. Thanks also to the Maryland Survey Research Center for coding and inputting all the data.

Finally, graduate school would have remained unfinished without friends to numerous to name. However, Cindy and Wayne remained especially supportive through it all. Ben and Jerry's Coffee Heath Bar Crunch made the stress of deadlines and writer's block more tolerable.

My best friend, and inseparable ally, Kathy, deserves more thanks than I can offer. She has made graduate school and my life fun over the last six years. I'm sure we must have been separated at birth, otherwise we could not possibly share so many thoughts, laughs, ideas, and interests. For all those people who still aren't sure who is who, expect us to continue randomly switching name tags at future political science meetings and social gatherings.

Although this work is dedicated to him, I cannot express my thanks enough to my husband Ray. He is the only one who knows how many times I wanted to quit and how many times he pushed me back in front of the computer. His intelligence, patience, and love make the future look very exciting.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Figures.....	x
Chapter One: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Political Socialization and Civic Education.....	2
Political Socialization and the School.....	8
Components of the School Experience.....	11
Organization of the Study.....	17
Chapter Two: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	21
Systems Theory.....	22
Individual-level Theories.....	26
The Developmental Approach.....	27
Transmission from Agency to Individual.....	34
Direct and Indirect forms of Political Learning....	37
A Theory of Instruction for Political Learning.....	40
Experiential Learning and Citizenship Education....	43
Critics of Experiential Education.....	49
Cognitive Outcomes of Experiential Political Learning.....	52
Chapter Three: METHODOLOGY.....	57
Research Design.....	60
The Sample.....	64
The Close Up Foundation High School Program.....	74
The Survey Instrument.....	81
Hypotheses and Measures.....	84
Independent Variables.....	85
Dependent Variables.....	88
Scales: Construction and Reliability.....	95
Analyses.....	100
Assumptions, Limitations, and Generalizability....	104

Chapter Four: POLITICAL ATTITUDES.....	112
Political Efficacy: Operationalization & Measurement.....	116
Political Trust: Operationalization & Measurement.....	119
Measures of Political Efficacy and Trust.....	123
Hypotheses.....	126
Pretest - Posttest Change.....	139
Multivariate Analyses.....	144
Conclusions.....	157
Chapter Five: POLITICAL AND QUASI-POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.....	165
Socialization to Participate in Political Life.....	169
Schools and Political Participation.....	172
Participation Research: A Puzzle.....	174
Measures of School and Political Participation.....	177
Hypotheses.....	183
Analyses.....	188
Pretest Differences Between Sample Groups.....	188
Pretest - Posttest Change.....	189
Multivariate Analysis.....	200
Discussion and Conclusions.....	204
Chapter Six: POLITICAL COGNITION and POLITICAL SCHEMA.....	213
Political Socialization Research.....	213
Social Cognition Theory and Politics.....	216
Political Schema and Change.....	221
"Thinking-Aloud" About Domestic Politics.....	224
Methodology.....	225
Hypotheses.....	228
Analysis and Discussion.....	229
Actors.....	235
Actions.....	237
Constraints.....	239
Implications.....	242
Chapter Seven: CONCLUSIONS and IMPLICATIONS.....	251

REFERENCES.....	271
APPENDIX A Civic Education Project Questionnaire.....	288
APPENDIX B Close Up Foundation Letter of Support.....	300
APPENDIX C Teacher Letter.....	301
APPENDIX D Principal Letter.....	303
APPENDIX E Response Cards.....	305
APPENDIX F Hypothetical Political Dilemmas Fall 1989.....	306
APPENDIX G Hypothetical Political Dilemmas Fall 1990.....	307

List of Tables

<u>Tables</u>	<u>Page</u>
III-1	Sample Demographics for Close Up Participant Students and Non-Close Up Students..... 66
III-2	Sample Demographics for Experiential and Non-Experiential Schools..... 67
IV-1	Factor Analysis of Political Attitude Questionnaire Items.....124
IV-2	Correlations Between Family Characteristics.....130
IV-3	Attitude Means by Gender.....134
IV-4	Level of Internal Efficacy by Sample Demographic Characteristic.....135
IV-5	Level of Political Trust by Sample Demographic Characteristic.....137
IV-6	Difference of Attitude Means by SampleGroup.....142
IV-7	Multivariate Regression: Family Characteristics Model with Internal Efficacy Dependent.....148
IV-8	Multivariate Regression: Individual Characteristics Model with Internal Efficacy Dependent.....149
IV-9	Multivariate Regression: School Characteristics Model with Internal Efficacy Dependent.....150
IV-10	Multivariate Regression: Combination Model with Trust Dependent.....153
IV-11	Multivariate Regression: Resource and Skill Model with Trust Dependent.....155

V-1	Factor Analysis of Political Participation Questionnaire Items.....	180
V-2	Type and Level of School Involvement.....	181
V-3	Political Participation Dimensions by Gender.....	187
V-4	Pre- and Post-test Comparisons on the Participation Dimensions.....	192
V-5	Pre- and Post-test Comparisons on the Attentiveness to Public Affairs Dimension.....	193
V-6	Frequency of Political Activity: Pre-test.....	196
V-7	Frequency of Political Activity: Post-test.....	198
V-8	Multivariate Regression: with School Involvement Dependent.....	203
V-9	Dimension of Political Knowledge: Frequency of Correct Responses.....	207

List of Figures

<u>Figures</u>	<u>Page</u>
VI-1 Pre-Close Up Toxic Waste Hypothetical Cognitive Map.....	230
VI-2 Post-Close Up Toxic Waste Hypothetical Cognitive Map.....	231
VI-3 Pre-Close Up Apartheid Hypothetical Cognitive Map.....	232
VI-4 Post-Close Up Apartheid Hypothetical Cognitive Map.....	233

Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

While theories of democracy differ on the appropriate level of civic participation, it remains true that all systems must maintain themselves in part by fostering a competent and dedicated citizenry. Specifically, participatory democracy derives both stability and energy from an interactive, knowledgeable and supportive public. From the very founding of the republic, American schools have incorporated civic values, attitudes and competencies into the standard curriculum; and by 1915, explicitly attached the label "civics" to classes which emphasized the study of government, institutions, and citizenship (Patterson, 1960). A good portion of the existing political socialization research is therefore dedicated to isolating and measuring the primary forces in schools responsible for the formation of basic political orientations. Although the topic enjoyed substantial scholarly attention, beginning with Herbert Hyman's (1959) introductory work and lasting to the mid-1970's, findings which directly attribute political attitudes, knowledge and interest to what occurs within the traditional civics instructional approach are relatively scarce.

This research explores the contribution of an experiential learning program to the existing literature

on the effects of traditional classroom civics instruction and compares political attitudes, interest, knowledge, and participation among students who have participated in an experiential program, those from the same school who have not, and students from schools that do not participate in experiential programs of any kind.

Political Socialization and Civic Education

Citizenship and education have been inextricably intertwined for centuries and particularly in a participatory democracy where citizens are called upon to make conscious choices which direct their collective lives. Such societies reserve a primary role for education and socialization. Political socialization refers to the process

by which people learn to adopt the norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors accepted and practiced by the ongoing system. Such learning, however, involves much more than the acquisition of the appropriate knowledge of a society's norms and more than the blind performance of appropriate political acts; it also assumes that the individual so makes these norms and behaviors his own--internalize them--that to him they appear to be right, just, and moral (Sigel, 1970, xii).

Others have defined the process of political socialization as "all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned..." (Greenstein, 1965, p.551) and "...those developmental processes through which

persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior" (Easton and Dennis, 1969, p.7). The obscuring element of these various definitions is that they equate political socialization, political learning, and political education. Patrick (1977), on the other hand, distinguishes political education from the other two, by including in it the development of the capacity to think critically and independently, which could conceivably lead to a rejection of established beliefs and norms (see also Entwistle, 1971; Turner, 1981; Nyberg and Egan, 1981). The implications flowing from this distinction for research agendas, curriculum content, and age-appropriate civics instruction are intriguing. Students of political socialization would be concerned primarily with questions about "the maintenance of political systems, and about the transmission of political orthodoxy" while students of civic education would be interested in "the adjustment of society to fit the needs of individuals as well as the adjustment of individuals to fit the needs of society" (Patrick, 1977, p. 193). Thus, when children willingly obey a police crossing guard, recite the pledge of allegiance to the flag in their classroom, vote for class president, or identify the United States as the "best country," they are supporting their culture and exhibiting the effects of the political socialization process.

Alternatively, when children pose questions and consider alternative answers about cultural values and traditions, or recognize and evaluate the gap between democratic ideals and social realities, they are participating in political education. While others (Ehman, 1979, for example) may disagree with Patrick's precise interpretation, the distinction proves useful in evaluating the successes and failures of civic education in schools.

Political socialization and citizenship education have occupied a prominent place within the public school curriculum in the United States for as long as there have been public schools. Mandatory educational requirements ensured that all individuals would at some point pass through the doors of the formal school system. Schools became the

...great melting pot of America, the place where we are all made Americans of... where men of every race and of every origin and of every station in life send their children...and where, being mixed together, the youngsters are all infused with the American spirit and developed into American men and American women (Woodrow Wilson, as quoted in Carter, 1965, p. 82).

Government officials soon realized that the best guarantee for civic loyalty in adulthood lay with its establishment in childhood. If the schools could succeed in making loyal Americans of their youngest citizens, the

government's task would be made considerably easier in later years (Sigel, 1970). Thus, early in the child's educational experience, the lessons of loyalty, duty, and obedience to authority are stressed. When as high school or college students, these individuals are asked to evaluate social problems, express support for the democratic values of freedom, equality, individual rights, and act as participants in the complex and often discordant American political system, confusion may result. The dissonance of the messages may mobilize some, pass right by some, and paralyze still others accounting for varied levels of citizen participation.

Studies have found that, for the most part, American youth are ignorant about American governmental structures and politics, that they have little understanding of the responsibilities that accompany the rights of citizenship, and are markedly less involved and less interested in public life than previous generations (NAEP, 1978). Yet at the same time, today's youth seek more ways to get involved in their communities and in civic life. A recent study of American youth, involving a telephone survey¹ and in-depth interviews with respondents between the ages of 15 and 24, found an incomplete understanding of democratic citizenship (People for the American Way, 1989). For most, the "good citizen" was described as one who has the

"freedom to do as we please when we please," is generous, helpful, and law-abiding (People for the American Way, 1989, p.14). As David Broder reflects,

Young people have learned only half of America's story. Consistent with the priority they place on personal happiness, young people reveal notions of America's unique character that emphasize freedom and license almost to the complete exclusion of service or participation. Although they clearly appreciate the democratic freedoms that, in their view, make theirs the 'best country in the world to live in,' they fail to perceive a need to reciprocate by exercising the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship (Washington Post, November 29, 1989).

It is not incongruent then that voter turnout in the 1988 presidential contest was the lowest in more than fifty years. Children accustomed to passive citizenship do not become politically active adults without some kind of conscious intervention of sufficient intensity to overcome the power of early socialization forces.

Accordingly, whenever there is substantial change, or a need for change within American society, education is often either blamed or called upon to do more. The 1990's will prove no exception. For as Jaros (1968) said, restating Almond and Verba's Civic Culture argument:

There is little doubt that the persistence of stable, democratic regimes requires the widespread sharing of basic attitudes toward involvement in governmental affairs. This attitudinal base which democracy supposedly built includes feelings of civic competence, subject competence, belief in the desirability of party activity as a device for citizen influence upon government, and a sense of obligation to participation in at least electoral

desirability of party activity as a device for citizen influence upon government, and a sense of obligation to participation in at least electoral input to the policy process (Jaros, 1968, p. 285).

While public opinion surveys report a continuing belief in the importance of politics and in a citizen's duty to participate, it appears that for an increasing number of young Americans, politics is simply not salient. Perhaps citizenship and the political process lack immediacy in adolescent lives not because they are inherently uninteresting or unimportant to them, but because there are no explicit connections made between the dry formulas and institutions of government and the daily activity of life. If the messages of the earliest social studies curriculum are overwhelming the introduction of democratic theory and activity in adolescence, students may in fact be learning to be political spectators rather than active participants. This being the case, the lackluster results from previous political socialization studies examining the role of schools, especially high schools, are predictable rather than startling.

The link between schools and the politicization of adolescents has been called into question. This study proposes to reestablish the link between learning and action by examining the effects of an experiential citizenship education program on the participatory

citizenship potential of high school students. Experiential learning is the process of bridging the gap between content and application by providing the student with some form of "hands on" experience. Too often in the past, experiential learning programs have been dismissed by educators and scholars as social rather than academic. However, experiential theorists do not separate the action from the rest of the curriculum. Rather, it is the explicit connection between academic principles and specific experiences that constitutes successful experiential learning. As a concept, experiential learning appears to lend itself well to citizenship education yet there has been little attempt to evaluate its effectiveness in promoting democratic political attitudes, participation and attention to public issues.

Political Socialization and the School

Citizenship provides a unique cultural and political continuity between generations. Traditionally, the public school has been charged with the bulk of the responsibility for transmission of a set of shared ideas, values, beliefs, and goals. Compulsory public education, unlike the family, the media, churches, or other socializing agents, has the ability to present a similar message to all children. Civic education thus becomes

the glue which binds the generations together. Accordingly, one of the most obvious objectives of the civics curriculum is to teach children the basic concepts of loyalty, duty, and obedience. The conflict between this "hidden agenda" (Klaassen, 1981) and democratic concepts such as freedom, equality, and individual rights causes intriguing problems for the process of civic learning in the public schools. Because administrators and educators are preoccupied for the most part with order in the school, they tend to stress the importance of compliance to rules and authority figures resulting in precious little discussion of the individual's right to participate in social or political decision-making (see Riccards, 1973; Battistoni, 1985; Reimer, 1971). Mary Metz states:

Public schools have a paradox at their very heart. They exist to educate children, but must also keep order. Unless the children themselves are independently dedicated to both these goals, the school will find that arrangements helpful for one may subvert the other. Yet to sacrifice either for the other is to default upon a school's most fundamental responsibilities (Citation incomplete).

The latent form of socialization via the hidden curriculum is seen as an important medium of social control that is made all the more effective since it proceeds so naturally (Bourdieu, 1973). Much has been written about the "hidden curriculum" as an indirect

mechanism of political socialization (Klaassen, 1981; Davies, 1976; Illich, 1971; Silberman, 1971; Ehman, 1969). Everything from the use of computers to the language of the text and classroom, the spacial layout of the school, student culture, and organization of the school, transmit political messages that are at times anything but subtle. For example, the seating arrangements in classrooms give clues to the observer not only about the power relationships between teacher and pupil, but to influences affecting the degree of student participation as well (Meighan, 1981; Dale, 1972; Sommer, 1967).

Thus, the conclusion reached by most of political socialization literature is that schools are at best marginally successful in conveying democratic citizen participatory values to students. As Jennings states, "classroom and curriculum leave but marginal residues on the political character of high school students" (Langton and Jennings, 1968). Merelman (1971) as well, concludes that the high school experience apparently increases neither adolescent support for nor understanding of democratic values.

Components of the School Experience

The relative ineffectiveness of traditional school civic courses appears to stem from many characteristics of the public school setting. Three components of the public school -- the teacher, the curriculum, and extracurricular activities -- have been studied rather extensively. In each area the lessons students are learning are not necessarily the ones educators believe they are teaching.

Jaros (1968) asserts that the primary carrier of political ideals is the classroom teacher and that perhaps research has neglected to examine the role of the teacher carefully enough. Collectively, teachers appear to believe that democracy is a primary concern of education. In a column sponsored by the National Education Association, Norman Goble, director of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, outlined "Our Democratic Mission" (Washington Post, December 1, 1985):

The education of a democratic citizen, then should seek to predispose people toward rational debate, toward search for consensus on the general good through reasoned and critical analysis of data, toward acceptance of the right and obligation to participate in decision-making, toward a skeptical distrust of claims of superiority, balanced by readiness to accord respect if the claim is proved, toward a conviction of equal worth, at the outset, of all human individuals, and toward the restless pursuit of knowledge -- even if knowledge shows ones deepest convictions are mistaken.

To this we must add that democracy can flourish only if the community as a whole is committed to it, and the clearest sign of commitment is the maintenance by the community of a democratic public school system...

The democratic ideal of education requires three things. The first is that the school reach out to the realities of all its clients, so that every boy and girl may find it in an accessible starting point for growth in conditions of freedom.

The second is that the curriculum strive to harmonize the two goals of individual development and social improvement, and that by acting as analyst, critic, and commentator on what is and what might be, by raising awareness of reality and stimulating the will to seek solutions, the school not only equip young people to be democratic citizens of today's society but foster the creativity they will need to invent the society of tomorrow.

And third is that society accept the role of its schools as custodians of the conscience of the nation, and give the schools the resources they need to maximize equity, promote autonomy, and stimulate creative enterprise in all young people...The mission of the public school in a democracy is to educate the public democratically. The objective must not be only to inform but to encourage people to believe in, and want to participate in democratic action -- to counter stupidity and self-interest and raise the moral levels of national goals...

If this is the mission supported by teachers, are they able to put these ideals into every day classroom practice? Teachers have come increasingly under attack by parents, academics and the popular press (Battistoni, 1985). Student violence, decreasing test scores, and a general lack of learning in the classroom have been blamed on teacher incompetence, lack of control, or uncaring attitudes. Signs that teachers have also become more

alienated from the community are increased militancy, unionization, and collective bargaining (Battisoni, 1985, p.165). On the other side of the spectrum teachers are accused of spending too much of their time on "classroom control" and in "damming up the flood of human potentialities," ultimately "preventing the new generation from changing in any deep or significant way" (Leonard, 1968; see also Reimer, 1971 and Illich, 1971 among others espousing 'open schooling' or 'deschooling'). Thus teachers are caught in an exhausting and tenuous position. A National Education Association survey in 1981 showed that over half the teachers polled said that they would leave teaching before retirement, with 20 percent wanting to leave as soon as possible. More than one-third (36%) said that they would not go into teaching if they could start all over again (Boyer, 1983).

The documented effectiveness of most existing civics curriculum fare no better. Battistoni speaks of the "implicit" and "explicit" curriculum agenda. This agenda refers to the concentration on order and obedience in the classroom while lecturing on the democratic ideals of freedom, individualism, and choice. Often textbooks ignore the important lessons of value/fact distinction and social issues. Massialas (1975) co-directed a study of 12 leading social studies textbooks and concluded that most

texts superficially describe rather than explain the political systems, and with minor exceptions, social issues are not discussed (see also Battistoni, 1985 for a discussion of the lack of a historical perspective in government texts). The bottom line seems to be that textbooks are merely "cookbooks" presenting dry recipes for legal and structural aspects of democratic society requiring students to memorize facts rather than analyze cultural and social divisions critically.

Finally, research has been done on the contribution of student participation in extracurricular activities. This area of research examines student participation in activities like sports, student government, and community service organizations which are somewhat similar to experience-based learning. By the 1920's it was considered legitimate policy to spend scarce resources for extracurricular activities (Ziblatt, 1970); but, in spite of the rhetoric about athletics teaching teamwork and fair play, crucial elements of a democratic society, James Coleman (1976) found that the important element in shaping student values was the "leading crowd's" emphasis on sports and social activities rather than the participation itself. Coleman concluded that if high school students are alienated early in their lives, they will become disenchanted with social processes in general, and this

will carry over to adult political participation.

Thus it appears that the public school is sending mixed signals through teachers, texts, and activities. On the one hand, students realize generally that citizen participation in politics is a positive activity; yet they gain little experience in the civics classroom where the lesson is being taught. On the other hand, little constructive learning could take place in a chaotic classroom. Expressive behavior, individualism, coalition building, and value exploration are dangerous activities in the public school setting because they threaten to upset the stability of the teacher/student relationship and the order of the classroom. Names, facts, and process learning do not produce critical analysis, rational debate, or an eager pursuit of knowledge, but they do allow for order. This suggests that the traditional school setting is being asked to do things that it cannot do (Merelman, 1971).

If the school is disappointing as a socializing agent, it may be because it has been placed into a framework in which it can never succeed. In an effort to move forward, several researchers have moved away from the sociological tradition (Hyman, 1959) and moved closer to the individual child in an effort to consider modes of political perception and cognition. This research

continues the tradition of examining the process through the agency of the school, but moves one step beyond by comparing the attitudinal, competency, and behavioral outcomes of the traditional approach with an experientially-based civics education program sponsored by the Close Up Foundation.

The Close Up Foundation, based in Washington, DC, makes a conscious effort to integrate academic lessons with experience related to the political arena. The Foundation brings high school students from across the nation for one week of intensive government study in Washington, D.C. Students attend seminars conducted by prominent politicians and participate in workshops where they try on political roles through simulation and other exercises. These students come from all types of schools and communities and participate in the Close Up program for a variety of reasons. While they do not constitute a purely random sample of students, their situations are diverse enough to offset many potential biasing difficulties. In analyses where estimates would be biased by pre-selection tendencies, differences have been controlled statistically. By utilizing both attitudinal survey data and cognitive schema mapping, potential differences in political attitudes, knowledge, attentiveness, political participation, and political

cognition will be examined among Washington Close Up Foundation participants, non-participants from the same community, and students from communities not participating in any form of experiential learning program. It may then be possible to isolate and examine the effects of experiential learning in the case of citizenship education.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized into six additional chapters. Chapter Two discusses the major theories in the field of political socialization, experiential learning and instruction, and social and political cognition. Chapter Three is concerned with the research methodology with which the study was carried out. The research design, survey design, sampling plan, measurement instruments, and analyses are reviewed. Chapter Four, Political Attitudes, presents the rationale for examining political attitudes, the measurement instruments selected and their strength, analysis of difference and change between the Close Up and Non-Close Up students, and bivariate and multivariate analysis incorporating individual, family, and school characteristics as well as participation in the experiential program. In Chapter Five, the political involvement of adolescents is examined through the perspective of classical democratic theory as well as

within a contemporary theoretical framework. Involvement or participation is discussed in relation to both school and political activities. Relationships between level and type of school involvement, and present and predicted levels of political involvement are explored. Knowledge and attentiveness to public issues are explored as they relate to political involvement. In this context political knowledge and attentiveness are used as independent predictors. When knowledge and attentiveness are discussed as requirements of the "good citizen," and they are treated as dependent measures. Chapter Six looks at the internal process of individual political cognition through the use of political schema. Hypothetical political dilemmas are used in order to examine the sequence and content of adolescents' schema of domestic politics. Responses are then graphically mapped in order to assess their complexity before and after the student has been to the Close Up program. The final chapter, Chapter Seven, summarizes the major findings in this research and places them within the context of the U.S. political system as well as looking at what they might mean for citizenship education in the future.

The United States is entering a crucial period in its post-cold war existence, and the role that is defined for citizens to be effective within this new world

understanding is rather vague. Mass participation in politics can occur only if citizens are capable of assuming the individual responsibility for action, as well as the understanding the consequences of that involvement for themselves and for the polity. Within current school practices, there is nothing to suggest that schools are shouldering the responsibility for transmitting an active, participatory view of citizenship. Alternative programs like that offered through the Close Up Foundation may be a supplement to enhance civic qualities within adolescents. This research examines the likelihood that experiential learning programs can overcome the sedentary nature of our citizenship schema, and transform political spectators into individuals who are confident in their ability to join the political contest if they choose to do so.

Endnotes

1. A sample of 1006 for the telephone interviews, and a sample of 100 for the in-depth interview portion.

Chapter 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The field of political socialization is unique in political science in that it draws its theoretical foundation and direction from a number of other disciplines as well as those endemic to political science. Sociology, cognitive and developmental psychology, and in some cases education, all combine to offer inter-related conceptual bases from which research in political socialization has traditionally drawn. Most of this research has followed one of two well-established paths by either focusing on the individual or on the system in which the individual resides (Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, 1977). This brief review of the theoretical underpinnings of political socialization research will proceed along the same lines by organizing the relevant contributions of sociological, psychological, and educational theories within either the system or individual focus of inquiry. Additionally, because the central question in this research concerns the contributions to political orientations and behavior made by the experiential method of instruction and learning, a rationale is offered for why it is reasonable to expect such a contribution would take place at all.

Systems Theory

Talcott Parsons once referred to the birth of new generations of children as a recurrent barbarian invasion (Adler, 1970). Children enter the world without a culture, a language, or a moral and social understanding. From the systems perspective then, political socialization is the process by which "citizens acquire political views that become aggregated in ways that have consequences for the political life of the entire nation" (Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1977, p. 14; see also Dennis, 1973). In fact, the primary question for systems theory is why political regimes persist at all since "there is no law given by nature or by a metaphysical being that requires a collection of people to organize themselves politically in a particular manner and then to remain faithful to that organization" (Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1977, p. 17). Given that political systems do indeed persist, research in this tradition explores how this regime support develops and manifests itself throughout the polity.

Systems theory is associated with the work of David Easton (1956), Easton and Dennis' (1969) subsequent work with the development of support in children, and later cross-national civic culture analyses done by Almond and Verba (1960). While systems theory is a political theory that attempts to state the relevance of socialization for

the way in which the political system operates as a whole, the theory does not preclude the opportunity for change "as long as the change leaves intact the basic manner in which valued things are allocated to the population (Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1977, p. 18).

Support for the political system is really composed of two varieties of maintenance. Specific support, in which citizens grant support to the regime only when they expect to get something tangible in return; and diffuse support, which is an unconditional trust and confidence. For Easton, it is diffuse support that provides the "social cement" that binds political systems together and most importantly, keeps them together through times of social or political unrest. Political socialization provides an understanding of the process which engenders diffuse support in successive generations of citizens.

Easton and Dennis (1969) describe a four step process by which children in the United States acquire the traits of support. Their findings can be grouped in four stages: politicization, personalization, idealization, and institutionalization (Easton and Dennis, 1969).

Through the process of politicization, the child begins to generalize the authority structures he or she learned at home to the larger political universe. By the 8th grade, the U.S. child is "thoroughly

politicized"...he [she] has become aware of the presence of an authority outside of and more powerful than the family" (Easton and Dennis, 1969, p. 391). Personalization is the link developed between the child and remote political authority by and large through identification with two personalities: the policeman and the president. These personalities are idealized, thus the president is "protective, helpful, trustworthy, and well-qualified as a leader" (Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1977, p. 22). This initial attachment to political authority is overwhelmingly positive. As the child matures, however, this unquestioning positive evaluation erodes. Yet, Easton and Dennis (1969) argue that these early positive evaluations of authority "contain a hint about the authority, not among children alone but among adults as well. It is conceivable that idealization during the early years of life will leave a residue of positive sentiment within the later adult" (1969, p. 204). The process by which these directed positive evaluations are transformed into diffuse support is through institutionalization. As the individual matures from a child through adulthood, he or she begins to transfer the positive feelings previously limited to the president and police officer to the larger institutions and processes of government. Easton and Dennis recognize that these

positive evaluations may fade or diminish as a result of disappointment with government actions, however, adults who have held positive feelings toward government as children are likely to retain the positive affect toward the polity (diffuse support) even in the face of punishment by particular government authorities.

Systems theory was dealt a blow during the social unrest of the late 1960's, the civil rights and women's movements, Vietnam, and the political wake left by Watergate. These events produced protests, increases in violent politically-motivated behavior, and an apparent rejection of governmental authority by United States' youth. However, the events did not produce wholesale changes in the American ideology nor in the political or economic power structure. One need only look to the 1980's, a mere two decades later, to see the same patterns of diffuse support evident in young people and adults (People for the American Way, 1989) that existed during the social quiet of the 1950's.

Other criticisms of systems theory come from Stanley Renshon (1977). Renshon suggests that while this concept of generalized support may help to explain the general process of political socialization, it does little to account for differences evident in American subpopulations.¹ Further, systems theory is conceived as

proceeding in one direction; the effects of the socialization process on the polity, but not the reciprocal effects of the political system on the process of political socialization (Renshon, 1977). Nonetheless, systems theory has enjoyed considerable use and will be employed in this research to explore the larger systemic implications of experiential civic learning outcomes.

Individual-level Theories

Individual-level theories of political socialization begin the inquiry at the source of thought and action--the citizen. By utilizing this approach, researchers have been able to isolate specific personal and social characteristics that make some people more likely than others to actively join the political world. This theoretical framework also includes theories of human development, both cognitive and social, as well as theories of learning.

"At the individual level, political socialization can be defined very simply as the process through which an individual acquires his [her] particular political orientations...knowledge, feelings, and evaluations regarding his [her] political world" (Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1977, p. 33). By choosing "acquire" rather than indoctrinate, enculturate, or induct, the authors suggest

an interactive approach to the socialization process. This relationship over time between the individual and the various agents of political socialization is the focus of much of the research done in this area. There are two ways of approaching the study of an individual's political orientations: the development of political orientations within a particular person, or the transmission of knowledge attitudes and behavior from social agents to individual.

The Developmental Approach: The "Political Self"

Psychologists are responsible for the bulk of theory related to the developmental approach. Using the developmental framework, researchers are interested in the citizen's inner "political self." Traditionally, cognitive psychologists have examined political thought in terms of networks, schema, or "ideologies" (Merelman, 1969, 1971, 1974; Conover and Feldman, 1984; Lau and Sears, 1986; Fiske, 1986; and Hamill and Lodge, 1986). The debate characterizing the research agenda in this area has been dominated by an ongoing argument between the "sociological" view that emphasizes the social origins of mass belief systems as well as the structure and constraints placed upon the belief system; and alternatively, the "psychological" outlook that emphasizes

the "individualistic origins of belief systems and that concentrates on the structure between specific issue positions and more general political ideas" (Conover and Feldman, 1984, p. 95). Whether or not individuals think "ideologically" preoccupied much of the early research from both perspectives.

Richard Merelman wrote a series of articles investigating the development of an ideological framework (1969) and the development of policy thinking in adolescents (1971, 1974). Most theories, he argues, fail to account for the development of an ideology in some people and not in others. "The key word in this formulation, is development....[A] person must be psychologically capable of ideological thought" (Merelman 1969, p. 753). Further, to become an ideologue, a person must:

...have cognitive skills which allow him to see linkages between ideas and events....[and] have a developed morality which allows him to evaluate consistently the ethical meanings of political events (1969, p. 753).

The cognitive skills to which Merelman refers are the ability to think causally, the belief that the world is malleable, and the ability to communicate with others (1969, p. 754). Few scholars in 1969 had yet to apply cognitive and moral developmental theories to political socialization making Merelman's adaptation of Piaget's

"stage theory" of cognitive development a disciplinary breakthrough.

According to Merelman's interpretation of Piaget, a tremendous amount of maturation must occur before a child becomes capable of developing an ideological conception of the world. Very young children, therefore, are not capable of causal thought.

...in the area of cognition, the child views the world as given and unalterable by human intervention, in the moral realm he finds it impossible to account for the origins of rules regulations, or moral standards except by reference to history...Therefore, there exists no impulse to the formulation of political ideologies (Merelman, 1969, p. 755).

There are, however, problems in attempting to apply Piaget's theory of cognitive development. For example, Piaget's attempts to recognize the importance of environment:

He [Piaget] argues that aging forces the child into increasingly demanding social relationships [constant for all children], and it is these relationships which are the major intervening variables in the developmental process....such an argument implies that all children...should, as adults, manifest similar levels of cognitive and moral development (Merelman, p. 757).

Obviously, if such a premise were to be accepted, all adults would then possess similar levels of "ideology" as Merelman defines it, and this has proven conclusively to be an erroneous assumption. Although Merelman introduced Piaget's concepts to the study of political socialization,

in a 1982 article, he cautioned:

The developmental paradigm threatens at long last to become part of the conventional wisdom in political socialization and we all know how dangerous such a position can be to any research paradigm (Merelman, p. 28).

Yet the "Piaget" of political scientists is different from traditional interpretations accepted in other disciplines. Cook (1985) maintains that "Piagetian concepts are not very helpful in illuminating and explaining the process of political learning" primarily for two reasons:

1) Piaget's model does not fit the current empirical findings, and 2) there is a hidden bias in the ramifications of Piaget's model for political theory, as it more or less assumes individual learners to be responsible for their own learning and thus prevents us from scrutinizing a crucial problem of political socialization: whether it leads to social control or to self-determination (p. 1082).

Piaget's developmental stages provided political scientists the opportunity to link certain kinds of political learning to certain age groups (see Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1977). In this respect, cognitive capacity is viewed as biologically determined and offered as an alternative to social learning theory (Merelman, 1971, p. 1045). Additionally, Piaget's "child as active participant in the learning process" concept is utilized to explain the apparent failings of the family and school (see Jennings and Niemi, 1974). Cook notes, however, that

Piaget's inclusion of the environment as a determinant (although minor in his scheme) is most often ignored. "In Piaget's view, every interaction with the environment involves a dialectical relationship of accommodation and assimilation, which act respectively, to modify and to preserve existing cognitive schemas" (Cook, 1985, p. 1083).

Even though this interpretation purports to answer many residual concerns, Cook judges Piaget's theory inadequate for studying the development of political understanding. Instead he offers the theory of learning and education put forth by Soviet psychologist, L.S. Vygotsky. Vygotsky's theory of development, while not widely recognized in mainstream U.S. research literature, has been widely considered within developmental educational research particularly in the area of reading and language development (Moll, 1990). Vygotsky's theories "... support the more laudable components of Piaget's pioneering work without accepting the emphasis either on the inevitable growth of logical operations or upon the individual as the prime motivating force in political learning" (Cook, 1985, p. 1084).

Language, for Vygotsky, transforms the nature of development from strictly biological to social. "How adults think is not merely the effect of their inventive

capacities but also of their social experiences" (Cook, 1985, p. 1085). Therefore, words are a child's means of mastering the environment and language allows the perception of that environment. The transmission of words from adult to child is understood in terms of generalizations rather than specific object meanings. "...[B]ecause a word never refers to a single object alone, but is a generalization defining a group of objects (a social context), it is in this grouping that the modes of thinking diverge between child and adult..." (Vygotsky, 1932). We might say that the words of the child and adult coincide in their referents but not in their meanings since meanings can be defined only with reference to personal experience.

One of the biggest differences between Piaget and Vygotsky's models is in their conception of stage progression. Piaget believed that one stage would inevitably be completely replaced by another as the child biologically matured. Vygotsky, on the other hand, maintains that the level of thought that is tapped depends upon the nature of the problem to be solved and that the accomplishment of the task does not necessarily depend on the individual's capacities alone, but on those "more accomplished others" that he or she may enlist for help as well. This "zone of proximal development" is the

connecting concept in Vygotsky's theory because it embodies key elements of the theory:

the emphasis on social activity and cultural practice as sources of thinking, the importance of mediation in human psychological functioning, the centrality of pedagogy in development, and the inseparability of the individual from the social" (Moll, 1990, p. 15).

Finally, while Piaget concludes, "Everything one teaches a child one prevents him from inventing or discovering," Vygotsky sees teaching as "essential in setting forth challenges to the limits of one's capabilities which pull development along as much as individuals push it along" (Cook, 1985, p. 1086). In essence, the burden of development is as much on the environment as it is on the individual. Development of political thought depends on the challenges presented to the individual (possessing sufficient maturity) in an effort to "pull development along."

The application of Vygotsky's theory to the process of experiential learning seems very reasonable. The point of experiential learning is to present students with challenges not possible in the traditional classroom setting. If Vygotsky is right, and development of cognitive processes is as much dependent on environmental challenges as it is on the individual, then we should be able to see measurable differences in political attitudes and cognitive schema between students who have

participated in the experiential learning program and those who have not.

Vygotsky's theoretical framework promises to present not only a research agenda, thus rejuvenating the study of political socialization; but also some explanation for the dearth of significant findings relating to the family and school. Determining which agent is more influential becomes less important when the learners are included as active participants in their own development.

...[T]he model's emphasis upon individual initiative as it interacts with and is encouraged or discouraged by the outside environment implies that no single agent will be dominant across all individuals, as different persons respond to different environments in different ways (Cook, 1985, p. 1089).

Methods of Learning Within the Developmental Approach

Transmission from Agency to Individual

Herbert Hyman's (1959) definitional focus provided political socialization with the essential ingredients for growth: a methodological approach and data to study. The emphasis on participation married well with the concurrent growth in the national election studies and thus provided "instant legitimacy" for the field. Hyman's work was further organized around the social structure and agencies of socialization. In Hyman's words, socialization is the "learning of social patterns corresponding to...social

positions as mediated through various agencies of society" (1959, p. 25). According to Merelman (1972), this approach provided the foundation for a crucial assumption:

...socialization should be conceived mainly as a process by which social institutions inculcate political values, rather than as a learning process by which innately different individuals develop their own brand of political orientations (p. 136).

Following this tradition, researchers developed measures of "transmission" in an effort to determine which social agency was contributing the majority to the socialization role. The family, school, and the media were the main focus of this endeavor. Although correlations between agency effects and dispositions toward politics were found, they were not as strong nor as persistent as researchers originally expected.

Alternatively, the focus on learning and development remained largely undeveloped until the mid- and late 1970's. Since the results of the agency hypothesis were largely disappointing, the focus returned to developmental work. The developmentalists defined political socialization "restrictively" as, "those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior" (Easton and Dennis, 1969). Thus socialization "as a developmental process" is conceived as development over time and cannot be easily measured by the more traditional cross-sectional attitude

surveys.

Few of the early political socialization researchers utilized any of the available psychological theories nor had researchers done much with the cognitive theories of Leon Festinger and Kurt Lewin. "Piaget was unrecognized and important thinkers such as Albert Bandura, Robert Sears, and Erik Erikson had yet to make their mark" (Merelman, 1972, p. 136). In his 1965 work, Fred I. Greenstein attempted to adapt the Freudian construct to the study of political socialization. Two important assumptions emerged from Greenstein's work on attitudes toward political authorities. First, political orientations could be conceived mainly as diffuse, deep-set responses to environmental stimuli; and second, political socialization research would focus primarily on childhood, the major formative period according to psychoanalytic theory (Merelman, 1972, p. 137).

Thus the work continued, predominately based in childhood, and devoted to identifying political orientations, attitudes toward political leaders (Greenstein, 1960, 1961; Hess and Easton, 1960; Hess and Torney, 1965), and locating the origins of diffuse system support (Easton, 1965). Methodologically, survey research was the logical choice for a sociologically oriented field. Problems were inevitable, however, in using survey

instruments designed for use with adults in a research agenda based largely on childhood intervention. While survey techniques worked fairly well for Easton's work in system support, and for Greenstein's "attitude toward authority" studies, they were not suited for discovering the learning processes or for the exploration of cognitive and moral development related to politics. Consequently, when researchers wanted to investigate the effects of socializing agents on a child's political and social understanding, they were equipped with neither a completely adequate theoretical framework nor an appropriate methodological approach. It should come as no surprise then that while the literature seemed to take the effects of the family and school for granted, more specific findings remained inconclusive.

Direct and Indirect Forms of Political Learning

Transmission between agent and learner assumes a variety of forms including direct and indirect methods of political learning. Indirect political learning is a two-step process in which the individual first forms a general predisposition and later transfers that orientation to particular political objects (Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1977).

The key to understanding just what form the specifically political orientation will take is in knowing something about the individual's general predispositions and which ones will be brought to bear on a particular political object. If an individual learns not to trust other people; he or she comes to mistrust political leaders (Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1977, p. 96).

Indirect theories of learning were used by some to explain both the individual political dispositions and collective political cultures (Almond and Verba, 1963). Through experiences, primarily within the family unit, the child would develop expectations and understandings of authority that would later be transferred to explicitly political situations. Within this area of inquiry, two models of political learning are widely used: 1) interpersonal transference (Hess and Torney, 1967); and 2) apprenticeship (Almond and Verba, 1963).

Hess and Torney (1967) defined the interpersonal transfer model:

...the child approaches explicit political socialization already possessing a fund of experience in interpersonal relationships and gratifications. By virtue of his experience as a child in the family and as a pupil in school, he has developed multifaceted relationships with figures of authority. In subsequent relationships with figures of authority, he will establish modes of interaction which are similar to those he has experienced with persons in his early life (p. 20).

This model was used extensively in explaining the benevolent attitudes young children held in relation to political authority in general, and specifically related

to the U.S. president (Greenstein, 1960).

The second form of indirect learning, captured in the apprenticeship model, is more directly related to the acquisition of knowledge and skills through participation in non-political activities which can later be applied within a political context. By practicing democratic values and decision mechanisms in Scouts, 4-H Clubs, and organized sports, the child learns that there are procedural rules to be employed in certain situations; that competition is rewarding; winning is preferable to losing, but that the losers are not socially ostracized; and that regulated competition to resolve disputes is preferred to violence. Upon reaching the age of majority, the individual can transfer the skills and rules to the political process, particularly the electoral process.

The U.S. culture also provides opportunities for direct political learning through imitation, anticipatory socialization, political education, and political experiences (Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1977). Imitative learning has been used to explain the adoption of a party preference by seven and eight year old children (Greenstein, 1960). Because it is unlikely that the issue positions of the parties and candidate attachments are understood at this age, researchers assume that the child copies her parents' affiliation. When this imitation is

enduring, it may account for the high degree of similarity in party identification between parents and their adult children (Tedin, 1974).

Anticipatory socialization is best conceptualized as practice for future occupations or political roles. If an adolescent has a strong interest in politics, he or she may assume the qualities of an involved citizen by participating in school government. Differential opportunities for this of early role playing may also account for differences between males and females in their levels of interest and knowledge about politics. Since political education and experience are the major topics of this research, they will receive extensive treatment in subsequent chapters.

A Theory of Instruction for Political Learning

The paucity of hard evidence linking schools to specific attitudes and behaviors should not be used as a rationale to shift the responsibility for political education to other agencies like the family or media. Rather it means that the methods of civics instruction in current practice need to be assessed for their capacity to meet the need of the democratic citizen in the twenty-first century. An examination of the theoretical interpretations of "experiential learning" and why such an

approach is appropriate for adolescents and citizenship education proves useful.

Theories of learning specify the psychological, biological and socially interactive processes that take place during learning. Theories of instruction "attempt to specify the optimal set of activities on the part of an outside agent (instructor) for bringing about learning" (Coleman, 1976, p. 49). Traditional formal educational theories of instruction can be called "information assimilation." Information is transmitted through a symbolic medium (teacher, book, lecture), assimilated and organized so that the general principle is understood, generalized to an applied setting, and finally, the information is applied and action takes place. The experiential process proceeds in reverse, beginning with the action, assessing the consequences and effects of the action, understanding the effects within a particularized context, generalizing to a broader context; and finally, the application of the transformed knowledge in a new setting (Coleman, 1976).

Adolph Crew maintains that verbal learning or information assimilation (Coleman, 1976) does not prepare adolescents for an American society which expects adults to emerge from high school graduation ceremonies (Crew, 1977).

In truth, modern society has no satisfactory place for adolescents, no well-defined status. The world today is a wonderful place to be a child, a challenging place to be an adult, but frustrating to be in between (Crew, 1977, p. 2).

U.S. high school students find themselves in a culturally and historically unique situation. Other cultures may have puberty rites to define the transition from childhood to adulthood, but in the United States adulthood is defined primarily by completing the formal educational process and by holding a job. Crew maintains that it is for this reason that the adolescent in American society is obsessed with creating his or her own culture of language and fads. While this "counter-culture" of sorts does not appear to include participatory citizenship, it may in fact be a rational response to being excluded from the meaningful actions and content of the "adult" political world. "...[I]f other areas besides the social world of adolescence were available, the adolescent would respond equally well" (Crew, 1977, p. 3).

Thus the high school student finds herself faced with the task of entering adulthood through the job market. At one time in American history, it was not uncommon to build empires without a formal education. Today, however, the school has become an inevitable gate through which all must pass in order to be successful in the job market aside from the service industry. The drop-out finds the

doors to most occupations closed. "If by no other reason than default, school has become the only means of passage to satisfactory adult status" (Crew, 1977, p. 3). For this reason alone, schools should concentrate on preparing students to fully assume adult roles that include civic involvement.

Crew's observations point out the unique problems of designing a comprehensive civics curriculum for high school students. Adolescents are expected to learn participatory political roles, but denied involvement in most "adult" political activities. Attempting to bridge the gap, experiential learning programs which encourage and arrange for students to participate in "real world" activities are increasingly popular. Even though it would seem that experiential learning is well suited to adolescents, much of the relevant literature concentrates on college students or adult education situations. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the basic principle to see whether it can in fact be applied to high school students and civic instruction.

Experiential Learning and Citizenship Education

Experiential learning has been defined variously by different people, but almost all eventually mention the contributions of John Dewey and his writings in Experience

and Education and Democracy and Education. Thomas Gallant (1972) defines experiential learning as "organized programs which lay a heavy claim on the value of the 'living and doing' which may be in addition to, or instead of, more traditionally structured classroom activity." Gallant maintains that the chasm in the Western tradition between thinking and doing has existed almost from the beginning.

...Americans have conceived of thought and action as being related in a dualistic and sequential way, rather than in a unified way. Putting it differently, one first must think and learn so that subsequently, he can act in the real world. This is opposed to the viewpoint that thinking and acting are mutually reinforcing to each other. (Gallant, 1972, p. 304)

Gallant feels that because American educators have failed to integrate thought and action successfully, the concentration on action is seen as shallow and anti-intellectual. He advocates a theory of "functionalism" to unify reason and experience. The contemporary functionalist is described as follows:

He is tolerant, but critical, and is free from many self-imposed restraints which characterize some other systematists. For example he is willing to draw upon the vocabulary already in existence unless it can be proved that new knowledge calls for additional terms...The functionalist is an experimentalist. He is dedicated to the experimental method--he seeks to identify problems, formulate and test hypotheses, and arrive at solutions to those problems. Hence, experience is ordered with that purpose in mind, and, thus learning takes place. (Hilgard and Bower, 1966, p. 305)

Hilgard and Bower identify John Dewey as the father of functionalism since Dewey saw "a close interactive relationship between man and his environment -- man literally is a function of his environment, and as he responds to it and seeks to shape it to his own needs and ends, the environment becomes a function of man" (Gallant, 1972, p. 305). For Dewey, growth is the central principle of successful education. He defines growth as the "cumulative movement of action toward a later result." Given this definition, immaturity is a positive factor since it implies the flexibility and the potential to learn from experience. However, growth is not a good in and of itself and experience is not synonymous with education. "Any experience is mis-educative that has the effect of arresting or distorting the growth of future experience" (Dewey, 1938, Ch.3). Experiential learning theorists do not advocate experience without a higher purpose.

...[W]hile experience is primarily an affair of doing, and while the sensations derived there from are the stimuli to interaction with the environment, such sensations are not knowledge; but they can lead to knowledge. The prime task of the university, then is to assume a central role in leading students from sensations to knowledge -- knowledge which, in turn, can be plowed back into subsequent experiences for the enrichment, uplift, and regeneration of social living (Gallant, 1972, p. 305).

While critics may be justified in criticizing specific

experiential learning programs on the basis of a lack of clear intellectual purpose, the basic underlying conceptions do not universalize their claims.

Like Gallant, Chiarelott (1979) relies on Dewey's theory of experience to articulate four essential elements of an experience-based curriculum in citizenship education. In order for a program to be accurately labeled "experience-based," it must: 1) draw on the reconstruction of prior experience as a starting point for classroom activities; 2) incorporate active inquiry in the solution of problems; and 3) foster new experiences within a logically organized conceptual framework (Chiarelott, 1979, p. 82). Within the learner, the process can be described as the following: (Coleman, 1976):

1. The learner engages in an action which results in certain consequences. The person gains information about causes and effects of behaviors.
2. The particular instance which spawned the action and its effects is studied. The experience is reconstructed and analyzed.
3. The learner makes a connection between the specific action and its effects and a general set of similar situations. This set of situations may evolve into coherent concepts, principles, or generalizations.
4. This generalized knowledge is then applied to new and different problems encountered by the learner (Coleman, 1976, p. 26).

Notice that Coleman draws heavily on Dewey's theory of experience within the curriculum. Chiarelott in turn

combines Dewey and Coleman in proposing an application of experiential instruction to citizenship education.

Central to Chiarelott's argument is the notion of decision-making. Early in their lives, children encounter many political phenomena such as authority, conflict, and decision-making. "Because the child's experiential world is one of integrated wholes, objects, events, and people related to these political phenomena, they are linked cumulatively as the child probes, manipulates, and adapts to his or her environment. The role of citizenship education is to help children derive meaning from these experiences" (Chiarelott, 1979, p. 82).

The problem with most traditional social studies curricula is that they do not allow for the range of political experiences the child encounters outside of school. Therefore, the integration of experience and knowledge is unlikely to occur without an explicit experiential curriculum in place. The nexus of personal experiences in citizenship education can be achieved through the principles of (1) continuity and interaction, (2) the experiential continuum, (3) action and reflection, and (4) the emergence of the subject matter on two dimensions ("adult politics" and the politics and governance of children's everyday lives) (Chiarelott, 1979, p. 89).

Similarly, Joseph D'Amico (1981) advocates an "Active Approach" theory of learning which seems to combine several of the approaches described above. He describes the good citizen as one who is able to "participate in a democratic society in ways that are effective and satisfying as well as personally and socially responsible" (D'Amico, 1981, p. 186). In this view, the development of skills and dispositions is preeminent; knowledge is only instrumental to that development. Knowledge provides students with information that will help them participate more effectively, responsibly, and satisfactorily. In the majority of schools, however, knowledge is paramount:

Goals and objectives focus on the acquisition of knowledge; learning activities take place primarily in the classroom or in the school building; students are passive in these learning activities; and citizenship education is comprised of one or more curriculum topics which are usually taught as social studies. The topics frequently are not integrated with each other, with other school topics, or with topics and courses taken in other years (D'Amico, 1981, p. 186).

To remedy the situation, D'Amico (1981) calls for an active approach to citizenship education which is based on theory and research in learning and instruction, political socialization, and experiential learning. The foundation of this theory is predicated on the work of Coleman (1976), Dewey (1938), Jennings and Niemi (1974), and Piaget (1973). The active approach to citizenship

education suggests that for students, facts and theories are most meaningful when they are integrated with activities in which the facts and theories are used and applied. "That is, students need opportunity and guidance to make their own discoveries, in their own ways, and at their own speed; citizenship education must take on some kind of personal experience" (D'Amico, 1981, p. 187). For teachers and school boards, this means that citizenship education must be approached differently. Knowledge and skills should be taught for reasons other than exam competency. Rather, knowledge becomes a tool for involvement and skills the means for application.

Critics of Experiential Education

Most critics of experience-based education object to what they term "anti-intellectual experiences" and the lack of common criteria on which to judge (grade) unique experiences. Additionally, when experiential instruction came into vogue, it was a field ungoverned by standards. Some advocated giving college credit for "life experience," for time spent on various jobs, and for the more traditional internships, community service, time spent abroad, and the like. While these are unlike the theories of experiential learning described above which rely on Dewey's conception of an integrated learning

experience which combines knowledge and reflection with experience, they are no doubt variations on experience-based education often referred to as "credentialing" (Gartner, 1976).

For educators, the most vexing problem in allowing experience to become a part of the school curriculum is how to evaluate it within the existing framework of grades. Thus a myriad of literature emerged on criteria which should be included in programs to make them valuable learning experiences. H. Wells Singleton identifies seven skills and competencies that are appropriate to any program:

1. Acquiring and using information--competence in acquiring and processing information about political situations.
2. Assessing involvement--competence in assessing one's stake in political situations, issues, decisions, and politics.
3. Making decisions--competence in making thoughtful decisions regarding group governance and problems of citizenship.
4. Making judgments--competence in developing and using such standards as justice, ethics, morality, and practicality to make judgments about people, institutions, policies, and decisions.
5. Communicating--competence in communicating ideas to other citizens, decision makers, leaders, and officials.
6. Cooperating--competence in cooperating and working with others in groups and organizations to achieve mutual goals.

7. Promoting interests--competence in working with bureaucratically organized institutions in order to promote and protect one's interests and values. (Singleton, 1981, p. 206)

These skills are especially appropriate to citizen competence within the participatory framework.

Ruth Jones (1973) prudently warns that although the learning-by-doing approach has been a persistent theme in civic education, it should be carefully observed and evaluated before widespread adoption is advocated. In a 1973 study, Jones questions whether students who become involved in community activity through their social studies class exhibit increased political interest as a result and whether the experience varies by type of student. Data were collected from social studies classes in St. Louis, Missouri, and a measure of political attentiveness was developed. Examining attentiveness before and after the "involvement" she concludes:

There is modest evidence to suggest that involvement is a negative technique for sensitizing 8th grade students (although it does stimulate a perception of increased interest), it tends to be a neutral-to-modestly positive technique for 9th grade education and, except for attention to local government, is most positive for 12th graders. This pattern suggests that perhaps involvement-curriculum should be aimed at the more advanced students who have more substantive background and developed skills plus maturity to bring to the involvement experience (Jones, 1973, p. 76).

Jones also finds that the effect for male and female students varies, but instead of narrowing the gap between

male and female politicization, the experience actually results in negative correlations for female students. However, since the type and level of involvement are not carefully specified, these result should be interpreted as suggestive only of the need for further investigation.

The Difficulty in Measuring the Outcomes of Experiential
Political Learning and One Possible Solution

While Cook (1985) and others have pointed out the theoretical shortcomings of a considerable portion of the political socialization research and provided what they consider to be a more appropriate framework for study, they fail to suggest a practical way to research the political learning process. The work of cognitive psychologists in the area of schema development may prove useful in this respect. Schema theory suggests that the schemata of the political system which adolescents are continually formulating and reformulating are important outcomes of political socialization which cannot be understood through the attitudinal survey instruments used in most socialization research. The concept of cognitive schemata appears very closely related to what Conover and Searing call "citizenship profiles" (1987). The connection between the schemata of the political system and the individual's political role schemata can be

fruitfully explored.

A schema is defined as "a mental representation of a set of related categories" (Howard, 1987). The successful individual selects the appropriate schema to cover a novel situation and can understand the new environment. Schemata are used in perception, comprehension, memory and learning and so are very important in education. "A failure to understand or comprehend may result through not knowing which schema to apply, selecting the wrong one, or one different from that intended but still adequate" (Howard, 1987, p. 30). For the individual, using a particular schema may act as a perceptual screening device filtering in and out information. However, it also appears possible that the use of one particular schema to the exclusion of others may act to define material in very narrow ways. Perhaps a particular schema of the political world will limit an individual's understanding of his or her participatory role within that political system. Likewise, if a political participation schema which defines the appropriate role for the individual as passive is adopted early, and existing schema prove difficult to alter, socialization agents later in life may face an impenetrable barrier. The explanatory possibilities of schema theory are promising and will receive greater attention in Chapter Six.

Judith Torney-Purta (1989) has successfully incorporated much of this literature into current research involving international political education. A modeling technique is used in which the researcher asks the adolescent to solve-aloud a hypothetical political dilemma. The researcher then graphically maps the adolescent's responses in terms of actors, actions, and constraints involved in the solution to the political problem. Torney-Purta has interviewed high school students before and after participating in a summer international simulation exercise at the University of Maryland. For most students, the complexity and sophistication of their political problem-solving increases in the post-simulation interview indicating the effect of the simulation exercise. To date, nothing similar has been applied to domestic political situations. By including such a measurement technique in this research project, an attempt is made to understand the complex and elusive process of political cognition as a part of socialization in ways that have been suggested in theory, but have gone unexplored methodologically.

Within this research, the processes of political socialization, political education, experiential instruction and learning, and political cognition are explored as they relate to citizenship education in

schools and an alternative program. Systems theory, although somewhat bound by its promotion of the status-quo, allows the research to be conducted within an enduring institutional framework. Individual theories of learning and agency transmission provide for the examination of the particular attitudinal, knowledge, and behavioral outcomes related to schools and the alternative citizenship program. Political cognition allows the research to address obvious differences in these outcomes among individuals and provides an alternative to aggregate-level analysis.

Endnotes

1. See Greenberg, 1970, for a discussion of the political socialization of African-American children; Hess and Torney, 1967, gender, IQ, and social status; and Greenstein, 1961, gender.

Chapter 3: METHODOLOGY

This study is designed to examine the political orientations and behavior of high school students who have participated in an experiential learning governmental studies program and make comparisons with those of students who have not participated in the experiential program. The examination is based on comparisons made between students who attended the Close Up Foundation Washington High School Program, students from the same school who did not participate in the Close Up program, and a third group of students from schools in the same communities that do not participate in any form of experiential civic education.

One of the best ways to learn what people think about politics and how they are likely to act with regard to politics is to ask them. Recognizing this fact has made survey research one of the most widely used methodologies in social science (Babbie, 1973). Assuming scientific sampling procedures, survey research is a "method of data collection in which information is obtained directly from individual persons who are selected so as to provide a basis for making inferences about some larger population" (Manheim and Rich, 1986, p. 105). Survey research methodology is most appropriate when "individual persons

are the units of analysis and the principal concepts employed pertain to individuals" such as "opinions, attitudes, or perceptions" (Manheim and Rich, 1986, p. 106).

Political socialization research has traditionally relied very heavily on survey methodology. Written, paper and pencil questionnaires are particularly favored for use with large school-based samples since they do not necessarily require the researcher to be present (teachers may act as survey administrators) and are similar in function and form to other scholastic exercises to which students are accustomed. The obvious advantage of surveys is the ability to subject "large groups of respondents to a wide range of constant stimuli, and by utilizing forced-choice alternatives, facilitate response categorization and thus data analysis and interpretation" (Renshon, 1977, p. 10).

Unfortunately, the advantages of forced-choice or closed-ended questions are also disadvantages. Even when carefully constructed, the forced choice question format runs "the risk that the researcher's choice of options will influence responses" (Manheim and Rich, 1986, p. 111) and that complicated issues cannot be addressed with pre-constructed responses. Critics label the data flawed since it

glosses over important details; smooths out key distinguishing responses; manufactures a "coalition" or summary position that encompasses different if not conflicting views; and forces people to make unnatural choices they wouldn't make in the real world" (Backstrom and Cesar-Hursh, 1981, p. 132).

On the other hand, human cognition allows individuals to compress the complexities of life into short-hand understandings so that new situations can be approached and dealt with swiftly (Hippler, Schwartz, and Sudman, 1987). Asking an individual to convey those short-hand expressions through responses to closed-ended questions, constructed to be meaningful through appropriate theory-driven hypotheses, allows researchers a convenient, relatively unobtrusive means for collecting information and generalizing to a larger population.

For the purposes of this research, although the concerns related to the methodology are noted, a written questionnaire comprised of a variety of question-types was chosen largely for logistical and economic reasons. To explore the possibility that the forced alternatives unduly constrained or misrepresented respondents' views, a section of the questionnaire was devoted to an open-ended exploration of political terminology and concepts that appeared later in the forced-choice question format.

In order to draw a national sample of Close Up participating schools, a mailed, self-directed

questionnaire proved the only practical method. Personal interviews would have required extensive interviewer training to insure consistency, and the distances between the participating schools would have made using the same core of interviewers for all respondents out of the question. Teachers were chosen as survey administrators because of their daily contact with student respondents and their ability to administer the questionnaires in the proper setting.

Research Design

A Pretest-Posttest Nonequivalent Control Group Design provides the basis for the research (Campbell and Stanley, 1963). This quasi-experimental design is often used by educational researchers in place of the Pretest-Posttest Control Group Design since it does not require random assignment of members of a common population to the experimental and control groups. Rather, the groups may constitute "naturally assembled collectives such as classrooms, as similar as availability permits but yet not so similar that one can dispense with the pre-test" (Campbell and Stanley, p. 46). In this case, the schools constitute the major groupings since the students are not drawn from intact classrooms.

A true Pretest-Posttest Nonequivalent Control Group

Design specifies that the researcher control the random assignment of the subjects to either the experimental or control group. Because the "treatment," the Close Up Foundation week in Washington, is tuition-based, random assignment of schools or students was impossible. This modification, while it should of course be noted, does not invalidate the design's use since Campbell and Stanley (1963) point out that the similarity between control and experimental groups can be further confirmed through the scores on the pre-test.

A further degree of similarity can be achieved by matching student research samples at the outset. In this case, Close Up and non-Close Up students within participating schools were paired on the basis of gender, race, socio-economic status, year in school, grade average, and level of extra-curricular activity. The closest and most reliable matches occurred when Close Up students were asked to bring the "friend they felt was most like themselves" to the survey administration. As a result, the Close Up and Non-Close Up students within participating schools exhibited very similar demographic characteristics (Table III-1).

All quasi-experimental and experimental designs are open to both internal and external threats to validity. External validity concerns the generalizability of results

to other populations, treatment variables, and measurements. External validity and the generalizability of the results reported in this research are discussed at the end of this chapter.

Internal validity is perhaps most at risk in this design since it concerns whether the experiential model has made any "real" difference between time one and time two. Eight different classes of extraneous variables, if not controlled for in the research design, may produce effects that are later confounded with the treatment effects. These include history, maturation, testing, instrumentation, statistical regression, selection biases, experimental mortality, and selection-maturation interactions¹ (Campbell and Stanley, 1968, p. 5).

This research employs several features in order to protect the interpretation of pre-test/post-test change as resulting from treatment effects and not the effects of history, maturation, testing and instrumentation. All survey responses (Close Up schools and non-experiential schools, as well as some unmatched surveys) were compared across the pre-test scores. If the groups are equivalent on the pre-test measures, any pre-test/post-test change can more accurately be attributed to the main effects of participation in the experiential model (Campbell and Stanley, 1963, p. 48). The threats to effects of history

and maturation are further ameliorated since the treatment and testing occurs at various points across the sample. There were no changes made to the calibration of measures, nor were respondents selected on the basis of their extreme scores. Some respondents were lost from the sample between time one and time two. Therefore, comparisons were made between a group of unmatched surveys from these students and the matched surveys from students in the other two groups. Significant differences at the .05 level were found only for politically expressive behavior between the unmatched surveys and the other two groups.²

In selecting the outside control schools (those without experiential civics instruction of any kind), principals in Close Up Foundation participating schools were asked to identify a school within their immediate community that they felt was roughly comparable on the basis of academic and technical programs offered, level of extra-curricular activity, student performance, and overall school quality. These matches were not expected to be as close as the student pairs within participating schools, but as Table III-2 demonstrates, students in participating and non-participating schools also exhibit very similar demographic characteristics.

An analysis of variance using Multiple Groups

Comparison across the participating and non-participating schools produced no significant differences at the .05 level of significance on any of the attitudinal or demographic variables. Multiple Groups Comparison analysis allows the researcher to pinpoint any significant differences between groups while adjusting for the number of comparisons made in order to avoid overestimating significant differences. The Tukey-b multiple comparison test detected small pre-test mean differences between the groups only on the participation dimension (.12 on a 3 point scale) at the .05 level of significance.

The Sample

The Close Up Foundation Washington one week program uses communities, schools within those communities, and teachers within the school in its recruitment of student participants. A Close Up staff member, known as a Community Coordinator, is responsible for maintaining contact with sponsoring teachers in order to sign up students, acquire the proper application, permission statements and payment, and distribute Close Up Foundation preparatory materials. The Community Coordinators were able to provide information on which schools were participating, the name of the sponsoring teacher and principal, and descriptive material about the communities

themselves.

The communities are, for the most part, regionally defined according to number and similarities among the population of participants. There can therefore conceivably be several communities within one state. Since the Close Up Foundation did not keep demographic records on past participants prior to the year this study began, the sampling frame proved difficult to construct. A "representative" sample had to be defined in terms of the pool of prospective participants without knowing whether those were an accurate reflection of all past and future participants.

All communities (N=76)³ participating in the 1989-1990 program were divided into four primary regions as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau.⁴ Individual schools were then randomly selected for initial contact from these communities in proportion to the communities' level of overall participation. For example, within California, San Francisco has a much larger pool of participating schools than does the Central Valley and so proportionately more schools were selected for initial contact from the San Francisco community.

The plan for contacting schools and obtaining principal, teacher and student cooperation was modeled loosely on Jennings and Fox's (1968) strategies of access.

Table III-1

Sample Demographics for Close Up Participant Students and Non-Close Up Students

	Non-Close Up Students	Close Up Students
SEX		
Male	44.5 (129)	36.5 (105)
Female	55.5 (161)	63.5 (183)
Race		
White	82.0 (233)	82.5 (236)
Non-White	15.8 (45)	14.3 (41)
Family Income		
less than \$10,000	.7 (2)	.7 (2)
\$10,000 to 19,999	9.0 (26)	7.8 (22)
\$20,000 to 29,999	7.9 (23)	11.0 (31)
\$30,000 to 59,999	25.5 (74)	26.1 (74)
\$60,000 or more	26.9 (78)	24.4 (69)
Don't Know	19.7 (57)	22.3 (63)
Don't Care to Say	10.3 (30)	7.8 (22)
Community Type		
Rural	35.9 (104)	36.9 (106)
Suburban	44.8 (130)	44.6 (128)
Urban	19.3 (56)	18.5 (53)
Mother's Level of Education		
Grade School Graduate	1.0 (3)	1.7 (5)
High School Graduate	29.5 (86)	21.1 (61)
Vocational Training	6.2 (18)	6.2 (18)
Some College	18.8 (55)	19.4 (56)
College Graduate	30.5 (89)	31.5 (91)
Graduate Degree	7.5 (22)	13.5 (39)
Father's Level of Education		
Grade School Graduate	1.0 (3)	1.0 (3)
High School Graduate	18.9 (55)	20.8 (60)
Vocational Training	6.5 (19)	6.6 (19)
Some College	17.9 (52)	12.8 (37)
College Graduate	31.6 (92)	33.9 (98)
Graduate Degree	15.5 (45)	19.7 (57)
Year Born		
1971	12.8 (37)	13.8 (40)
1972	42.2 (122)	47.8 (138)
1973	32.2 (93)	31.1 (90)
1974	10.7 (31)	6.9 (20)
Year in School		
Sophomore	16.8 (49)	10.4 (30)
Junior	34.9 (102)	42.2 (122)
Senior	45.5 (133)	47.4 (137)
Public/Private High School		
Public	75.9 (220)	84.3 (242)
Private	21.4 (62)	13.2 (38)

Table III-2

Sample Demographics for Experiential
and Non-Experiential Schools

	NON-PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS	PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS
VARIABLE		
SEX		
MALE	47.1%	41.3%
FEMALE	52.9%	58.7%
	N=323	N=627
RACE		
WHITE	79.0%	81.9%
NON-WHITE	17.2%	15.5%
	N=319	N=619
AGE		
14	.3%	.8%
15	1.3%	9.3%
16	22.5%	31.5%
17	56.3%	44.7%
18	17.2%	13.3%
19	2.5%	.5%
	N=320	N=626
INCOME		
LESS \$10,000	2.8%	1.0%
\$10 - \$19,999	8.2%	8.1%
\$20 - \$29,999	7.3%	9.2%
\$30 - \$59,999	25.0%	25.7%
OVER \$60,000	19.6%	26.3%
DK	25.0%	20.4%
DCS	12.0%	9.4%
	N=316	N=619

This strategy identifies the principal as the initial contact since he or she would have to be notified anyway, and because early principal cooperation may be gained without "inviting an extended round of negotiations with the school system bureaucracy" (Jennings and Fox, 1968, p. 429). Jennings and Fox contacted principals through an air-mail letter containing three items: a one-page letter from the director of the Survey Research Center outlining the study objectives and procedures; a "form letter written on the letterhead of a 'good citizenship' foundation" expressing the support of several well-known people in secondary education; and finally, a "copy of a short article in a leading 'highbrow' magazine in which mention of the study was highlighted" (Jennings and Fox, 1968, p. 430). Telephone contact with the principals followed within three days of the anticipated receipt of the air-mail letter.

In this research, initial contact with a school consisted of a first-class letter from the "Project Director" describing the scope and purpose of the study sent to both the principal and Close Up sponsoring teacher (Appendices C and D). The initial contact letter and mailing procedure followed the Dillman Total Design Method (1978) of mail surveys in its format, appearance, folding and mailing. Each contained a letter of support from the

Close Up Foundation on Foundation letterhead (Appendix B) and one pre-addressed, stamped response card (Appendix E). Response cards were 3 1/2" x 5" postcards printed on buff tag stock (Dillman, 1978). Letters were mailed to principals and teachers simultaneously because of time constraints. The wording of the letters was crafted to encourage the individual teacher to make the decision with the blessings of the principal in order to head off any potential problems with the administrative bureaucracy. The letter of support from the Close Up Foundation was designed to give credence to the request and to assure both principals and teachers that the study was being conducted with the full knowledge and cooperation of the Foundation. This proved very important in some cases in circumventing otherwise standard research permission procedures since the study was perceived to be a part of the Close Up experience.

The teacher's response card was designed to indicate whether he or she would agree to oversee student participation in the study, if not why not, the number of students attending the Close Up week in Washington, and to gather information about the school (size, number of years participating in Close Up), community (rural, suburban, urban), and teacher (sponsoring teacher before, courses taught). The principal's response card was to indicate

that he or she knew that the study would be taking place within that school and to furnish the school name and principal of a neighboring school which did not participate in any experiential citizenship program. These schools (hereafter referred to as non-participating schools) and principals were then sent an introductory letter with a request to administer the survey to a class of juniors or seniors, most of whom would have had at least one civics class.

One sampling frame of Close Up schools was drawn for the fall semester and one for the spring. A divided sample was necessary since the Close Up Foundation did not know which schools would be participating in the spring until late fall, or in some cases, early spring. Initial letters to principals and teachers in participating schools in the fall sample were mailed in early September. The first groups of study participants arrived in Washington, DC the week of October 22, followed by October 29, November 5, 12, 26, December 3 and 10, 1989. Initial letters for spring sample principals and teachers were mailed in mid-January for schools participating the weeks of April 1 and April 8, 1990. Of the 325 initial sets of letters mailed, 104 schools indicated a willingness to participate in the study and 27 indicated that they would not participate. One hundred ninety four schools did not

respond in any way to the request. Thus, the overall return rate for the initial school response, either positive or negative, was 40%, while the overall response rate for returned⁵ surveys was 46%. There are several factors which influenced both response rates.

In some cases the mail time for initial letters was excessive. Letters were mailed to allow two weeks for their arrival, one week for school processing, one week for the principal/teacher participation decision, and two weeks for the response card to be returned. Initial letters sometimes took four weeks to reach the school thus delaying the participation decision and response. Because the schools were assigned to a particular Close Up participation week, any delay in the initial decision made it impossible to get the surveys to the school with ample time for completion and thus the school had to be dropped from the sample. In other cases, school district administration procedures delayed the participation decision with the same practical result.

Once teacher response cards were received, they were catalogued, and surveys were packaged for mailing (Dillman, 1978). Surveys were sent to schools via UPS with return envelope and 4th class postage enclosed. In each case, surveys were mailed six weeks before a school's arrival in Washington, DC and follow-up surveys were

mailed to schools one month after their participation in the Close Up Washington week. Teachers were asked to return both sets of surveys immediately upon their completion. In the instances where the pre-treatment surveys were returned immediately, follow-up surveys could be mailed with the knowledge that the respondents had in fact completed the first survey. In some cases, however, the first surveys were delayed and follow-ups had to be mailed without knowing if the pre-treatment surveys had been completed before the Close Up week in Washington, DC. It was determined that two schools (N=17) had administered the pre and post-surveys after students had returned from Washington and those surveys, both pre- and post-, were discarded. When surveys were delayed, sponsoring teachers were mailed reminder letters. If the survey return packets were still not forthcoming, teachers were contacted by telephone. In most cases, the reminder letter prompted the teacher to locate the completed surveys and mail them back. If, however, the teacher required a phone call, it usually meant that the surveys had not been administered and those schools had to be dropped from the sample.

Principal response cards indicated their awareness of the project and their school's participation and offered the opportunity to suggest the school name and contact

person for schools from the same community not participating in an experiential citizenship program. Once these response cards were received, an initial letter was sent to the non-participant school principal explaining the study and requesting his or her schools' cooperation. An addressed, stamped response card was enclosed so that the non-participant principal could indicate whether the school would participate, if not why not, who would be administering the survey, and how many surveys would be needed. Of the 325 total initial participant principal letters sent, 20 principals suggested non-participant schools to contact. Of these 20 schools 8 took part in the survey for a total sample of 351 respondents. These eight schools requested a total of 320 surveys and 351 were returned.⁶

The number of students per school actually participating in the Close Up program varied widely ranging from 2 to 95 with the actual number unknown until the day of departure for Washington, DC. Therefore, it was impossible to capture accurately the level of Close Up participation within the sample. Each school was assigned a week of participation and therefore the contact and survey mailings had to be timed in coordination with that schedule. Thus when a school declined to participate, there was not an opportunity to substitute another school

in its place. Teachers originally indicating a willingness to participate did not always return the surveys. The calculated response rate for the overall study is based on teachers who responded affirmatively to the initial letter and returned both pre- and post-experience surveys. A number of teachers successfully returned pre-experience surveys, but did not return the follow-up portion. Others returned only a few of the surveys on each occasion. In some cases, individual student participants dropped out of the sample due to illness or some other problem. Only respondents who successfully returned both pre and post-experience surveys were included in the analysis.

The Treatment:

The Close Up Foundation High School Program

The Pretest-Posttest Nonequivalent Control Group Design specifies that all groups be tested before the quasi-experimental group receives the "treatment." This research employs a pre- and post-treatment pencil and paper questionnaire given to all respondents before the Close Up participants traveled to Washington, DC. The treatment in this research was defined as one week's participation in the Close Up Foundation's Washington High School Program. The Close Up Foundation, based in Arlington, VA, is a non-profit, non-partisan organization

founded in 197-. The Close Up Foundation program was chosen as the treatment because its stated mission, goals, and methodology clearly fit the experiential theory of instruction. In addition, the Foundation does not target its programs to gifted students or to those who express a particular interest in government and politics, but rather maintains an open enrollment policy. This was an important consideration in attempting to draw a diverse sample population. The open enrollment policy is undermined in some respects since the program is tuition-based and in most cases requires air travel to reach Washington, DC. The Close Up Foundation attempts to diminish any discriminatory financial burden by offering every participating school one full scholarship. The school may decide to award this scholarship to one student or, as is the case in most schools, divide the award between several participants. In addition to the scholarship, the Foundation provides assistance to school officials interested in fund-raising through student-run activities and appeals to community, corporate, and individual sponsors. In most cases, while students do not pay the entire cost of the program out-of-pocket, the cost may be a deciding factor in which students participate and which do not. This bias is reflected in the income distribution and racial balance of the participant

universe which is, as a result, largely upper-middle class and white. The sample of participants used in this research reflects the biases of the participant universe. Some effort was made to enhance sample diversity by oversampling urban population centers and from special Foundation programs that target students identified as "at risk,"⁷ but the result does not reflect this procedure entirely since these schools were also the least likely to agree to participate in the research or, when participants in the research, to ultimately return both sets of surveys.

The Close Up Foundation's utilization of the experiential learning model is evident in its statement of mission:

To develop better ways for young people of all backgrounds and abilities, as well as teachers and a widening circle of citizens of all ages, to gain a practical understanding of how public policy affects their lives and how individual and collective efforts affect public policy, [and] to stimulate responsible participation in the democratic process (Close Up Foundation, Annual Report, 1987).

In addition, the Close Up Curriculum Guide describes the goals and methodology of the Washington-based programs. The general goal is "to develop knowledge, foster interest, and encourage participation in government, politics, and community" (The Close Up Foundation Washington High School Program, Curriculum

Guide, 1989, p. 5). The methodology used in all high school programs is "to show how by doing....One learns to be a democratic citizen by being a citizen...while being a citizen helps one understand what should be learned for good citizenship" (Curriculum Guide, p. 5). While somewhat circular in its verbiage, this statement of the rationale for the Close Up methodology clearly illustrates its experiential learning base. More specifically, the Close Up methodology includes a diversity of participants and communities for a pluralistic learning environment; on-site study in Washington, DC and occasionally Philadelphia, Williamsburg, or New York; primary sources including government, political and academic figures; non-partisan analysis of institutions, processes, and the concepts of inquiry, discussion, and debate; active learning through role playing and process simulations; and intensity through constant small group instruction and guidance (The Close Up Foundation Washington High School Program, Curriculum Guide, p. 8).

The stated objectives for the Program encompass knowledge, skills (behaviors), and attitudes. In developing the knowledge of basic components of government and citizenship, the students "define the basic concepts of the federal government (federalism, separation of powers, and the powers of the three branches), identify

the basic steps in the legislative process (how a bill becomes a law), evaluate public policy making in the United States (identify various interests outside of government that influence public policy, analyze various current issues as they relate to the making of public policy) and define basic concepts of international relations (national interest and geopolitics). In order to make knowledge meaningful, the skills of decision making, communication, compromise, cooperation, determining the validity of evidence and acquiring and using information are fostered. Attitude development focuses on encouraging greater personal and political efficacy, respect for the diversity of opinion, and interest in community and national affairs (The Close Up Foundation Washington High School Program, Curriculum Guide, p. 9).

The Close Up week is structured to meet the stated objectives as well as provide for a variety of social activities. The basic shell of the Close Up program week includes seminars, walking workshops, Capitol Hill Day, monument visits, workshops without walls, topical, and workshops of 20 students or less. Travel from the hotel to activities takes place by bus and two workshops are assigned per bus to encourage a sense of community. Transfer time aboard the buses is used to formulate

seminar questions, debrief seminars and activities, and review current events.

Seminars begin with about 20 minutes of remarks from the guest speaker and provides at least 30 minutes for a question and answer period with students. Students are encouraged to formulate quality questions in workshops and during bus transfers. The seminars are held in federal buildings around the city as well as at area universities. The topics are organized around the Presidency, Judiciary, Defense Establishment, Domestic Issues, Legislative Affairs, Media, and International Relations.

Walking workshops are conducted on Capitol Hill to familiarize students with the buildings and Capitol resources. Capitol Hill Day is organized to allow students to meet with their U.S. Representative and Senators (if available) and to participate in legislative seminars. The remainder of the day is devoted to individual exploration of the Capitol, House and Senate Office Buildings, Supreme Court, Library of Congress, and Folger Theater.

Monument visits and day and night bus tours allow the students to see Washington's national monuments and sights. The monument visits are structured around the person or events memorialized and include time for questions and reflection. Workshop without walls and

topicals are designed to utilize the program instructor's individual expertise and the topics vary accordingly. Workshop without walls is a chance for program instructors to choose a location in Washington that is not on the regular schedule. These may include the National Archives, Anacostia Museum, or Masonic Temple among others.

Daily workshops are a basic component of the program week. Workshops are comprised of 20 or fewer students and a program instructor. Program instructors are Close Up Foundation employees, usually recent college graduates with degrees in the social sciences, who receive additional training by the Foundation. Students are assigned to workshops upon arrival and membership is maintained for the entire program week. The workshop allows for small group activities, role playing, simulations, and clarification of the day's events as well as reflection. Workshops develop a sense of community since the units of membership are roommate quads. Each student may choose one roommate from his/her school/community and that dyad is paired with a dyad from another community. Students stay four to a double room in area hotels. This accommodation arrangement is also a part of the pluralistic experience since communities are assigned to weeks with diversity in mind. Thus, for

example, students from rural Kansas may spend a week rooming with students from urban Detroit.

The Survey Instrument

The "Citizenship Education Project" questionnaire (Appendix A) was designed to measure students' political attitudes, interest in and attentiveness toward governmental affairs, knowledge of government, participation, collect demographic information, and assess the traditional civic classroom experience. The survey contains a total of 80 questions, some with filter or secondary questions. There are seven open-ended questions designed to allow the respondent to define for him/herself political concepts and terminology that appears later in the survey. Three of the six knowledge questions are open-ended as well as questions pertaining to the respondent's school, teacher, state and town, parents occupation and respondent's future occupational plans, and any changes they would suggest for their school-based civics classes. The remainder of the questions are closed-ended, forced-choice, or Likert-type in format. In order to reduce the threat of straight-line response bias, the question format is varied and never includes more than five of the same response types in a row (Herzog and Bachman, 1981).

Demographic questions rely on self-reported information on gender, age, race/ethnicity, family income,⁸ family composition, parental education and occupation, and the student's future plans. Each of the response sets for the demographic questions includes a "don't know" or "don't care to say" category. Father's, mother's and respondent's future occupation questions are open-ended on the questionnaire, but were coded closed according to the U.S. Census Occupational Codes. Some of the Census codes were collapsed to facilitate analysis. The demographic questions appear at the end of the questionnaire due to their perceived "sensitive" nature (Backstrom and Hursh-Cesar, 1981). The survey closes with space for the respondent to give his/her address for future contact and a page for comments of any type.

The layout is single-sided copy on 11" x 8 1/2" paper to facilitate coding and includes a cover graphic and instruction page. The instruction page advises the student that they have been selected by chance for participation in the study and identifies the purpose of the study. The introduction goes on to advise the respondent that the questionnaire is not a test and that they may feel free to indicate that they have not heard of a topic or have no opinion on an issue. Finally, it encourages the student to be honest in their responses and

makes assurances that no one in the school will ever see the individual answers and the results are for analysis purposes only.

The questionnaire was first pilot tested on college students at the University of Maryland, College Park. These students were primarily government majors in a 200-level "Political Behavior" course. This initial test was done to determine length of time required for completion, isolate repetitive questions, remove difficult vocabulary, and assess the visual appearance of the questionnaire. Minor changes were made as a result of this testing. Two repetitive political efficacy questions were removed and some sections were moved to avoid response set bias. An additional question on political party affiliation and an ideological continuum were added at this time. The length of time required for survey completion was determined to be approximately 30-40 minutes.

The survey was then tested with high school students attending Appleton East High School in Appleton, WI. Close Up students in this school were part of the sub-sample responding to the first set of political hypotheticals and thus were accessible to the researcher at several points in time both in Washington, DC and Wisconsin. No further changes were made to the instrument itself, but adjustments were made in the organization of

the coding sheets, identification system, and method of mailing as a result of suggestions made by the Appleton East sponsoring teacher. Checklists for survey administration were created and added to the survey mailing packet. The addition of the checklist made a dramatic improvement in the return of the completed questionnaires and identification coding sheet.

The post-test questionnaire contained identical measures of the dependent variables and a repetition of the open-ended political concept and terminology questions. Questions regarding the independent variable, Close Up participation, were altered to ask if the students had actually attended the program. Some open-ended questions were added regarding the students' satisfaction with the program experience, favorite activities, and any changes in behavior after the student returned home. These questions were added for future analysis at the request of the Close Up Foundation.

Hypotheses and Measures

Based on previous research in political socialization and the theories of experiential learning and cognitive development, this research tests the hypothesis that students participating in the experiential learning program will exhibit 1) increased levels of political efficacy and decreased trust, 2) higher rates of political

participation, 3) greater attentiveness to public affairs and politics, 4) greater knowledge of American government and U.S. political officials, and 5) a more complex cognitive schema relating to political issues, problems, and institutions than will students who do not participate in the program. More detailed and directional hypotheses are offered in subsequent chapters. In order to test these hypotheses, the concepts were defined and appropriate measurement instruments selected or constructed.

The Independent Variables

The independent variables in this research include participation in the Close Up Foundation week in Washington, DC; the student's socio-economic and family background; whether students' have taken a civics class in school and a measure of the students' school involvement. Participation in the Close Up program is determined by a dichotomous filter question (plan to attend or not attend) followed by a series of more detailed questions about the student's reasons for wanting to participate in the program, preparation before attending (ie. use of Close Up Workbook, meetings with teachers, a class), and whether the student had ever previously been to Washington, DC.

Assessment of the student's socio-economic and family background included the standard demographic questions:

are parents living, with whom does student live, father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, mother's occupation, year in school, how long they have lived in their current school district, their future occupational plans, year born, race, sex, and estimated family income.

The School Involvement scale was constructed in order to assess the level of participation in extra-curricular activities. A filter question was used to get an idea of how this participation might be interpreted by students. The question read: "In some schools the students participate in running school affairs; in others, the teachers and administrators decide everything. How is it at this school--how much do students participate? (Not at all, very little, some, a good deal)." Previous research involving extra-curricular activities has suggested that the norms of participatory behavior, fair play, and rules of democratic society learned through participation in high school activities may then be transferred to the political world upon reaching majority (Ziblatt, 1970). However, a perception on the student's part that his or her school participation or decision-making is merely trivial, or "play-acting" only to be overruled by school administrators, can produce cynicism and distance. Therefore, the filter question is designed to estimate the

student's perception of the importance or validity of student participation.

The school involvement measure is composed of a series of mostly dichotomous response sets for participation in the following activities:

- A. Have you ever run for an office in school or out of school?
 - No, haven't run
 - Yes, both in school and outside of school
 - Yes, in school
 - Yes, outside of school

- B. If you answered yes, did you win the office?
 - No
 - Yes and No
 - Yes

- C. During this school year have you been a member of any of the following: (Yes, No)
 - A school athletic team?
 - A school band, orchestra, or singing group?
 - A school dramatic club?
 - A school debate or speech team/club?
 - A school sponsored service organization?
 - Worked on the school newspaper?
 - Have you been an officer or committee head of a class, club, athletic team or school organization during the last three years?

Responses to this question set were factor analyzed to investigate the relationship between the variables in order to determine if a unidimensional "school involvement" measure could be constructed. Although two dimensions emerged, the loadings were sufficiently weak on Factor 2 that a unidimensional measure was confirmed.

Dependent Variables

The major dependent variables examined in this research involve political attitudes (efficacy and trust), participation, and cognitive sophistication. In addition, attentiveness and knowledge are examined briefly. Since each of the major dependent variables are the subject of a chapter in their own right, a detailed discussion of their operationalization and measurement is reserved for Chapters Four, Five and Six. A general description of the variables appears below. Since attentiveness to governmental affairs and knowledge of the polity do not receive extensive treatment elsewhere, they are defined in greater detail below.

Attitudes

Political efficacy is defined as the generalized "feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact on the political process, i.e., that it is worth while to perform one's civic duties." (Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, 1954, p. 187) In 1959, Lane distinguished between internal and external efficacy. Internal efficacy is described as the individual's belief that the means of influence are available to him/her and external efficacy as the belief that the authorities or regime will be responsive to an individual's attempts at

influence.

Political trust is defined first as support, "feelings of trust, confidence, or affection, and their opposites, that persons may direct to some object," and was later conceptually divided between support in return for satisfying outputs (specific) and a more "generalized trust and confidence that members invest in various objects of the system as ends in themselves" (diffuse) (Easton, 1965, p. 59).

Efficacy and trust are measured using the 1987 CPS Pilot questions (Craig, Niemi, and Silver, 1990), old CPS questions, and a number of questions from other socialization research involving adolescents (Jennings and Niemi, 1974; Sigel and Hoskins, 1981). The 1987 CPS Pilot questions were chosen because they allow for the conceptual and theoretical distinctions between internal efficacy, incumbent-based external efficacy, regime-based external efficacy, regime-based trust, and incumbent-based trust.⁹ Although they have not previously been used with adolescents, pre-testing during the survey instrument development confirmed that the Pilot questions were as clear as the original measures.

Since CPS Pilot items rather than intact scales were used in this research, factor analysis and reliability tests were run to confirm internal consistency and to make

sure that the battery of questions were assessing the same dimension of the attitude. A discussion of the questions and scale construction for efficacy and trust appears in Chapter Four.

As with all questions developed for use with adults, some political terminology which is assumed to be in common usage among the adult population is not known or understood in the same manner by adolescents. This research employs a series of open-ended questions placed at the beginning of the questionnaire in order to assess the respondent's understanding of political concepts and knowledge of political vocabulary. Concepts and terms like "the American form of government," "public interest," "patriotism," "political power," "citizenship," and "special interests" are explored through the open-ended questions. In addition, students were asked to name "three things someone like themselves could do to influence the government". Responses to each of the open-ended questions were coded closed for purposes of analysis. Responses were coded closed by tabulating all student responses and assigning a numerical code to each. The responses were similar enough that this process produced a relatively small¹⁰ number of similar responses. Although some variation may be lost by this method of close-coding, responses clustered very similarly. The

results of this analyses are paired with the analysis of the variables they defined.

Participation

Political participation is defined as the involvement in activities with some political content or intent. For adolescents this is more difficult to define since the most basic of all forms of political participation, the vote, is unavailable to most. Therefore, the participation scale (Sigel and Hoskins, 1981) asks respondents to indicate how often they have engaged in the following activities: collected for a charity, campaigned for a candidate, tried to convince people how to vote, worn a campaign button or put a sticker on a car, talked to a friend about politics, talked to a political candidate, called a radio station during a political talk show or written a letter to a newspaper, expressed an unpopular view in class, gone to a government office or contacted a government official with a complaint, participated in a political protest or demonstration, and refused to stand for the National Anthem or Pledge of Allegiance. Since these do not necessarily reflect homogeneous political activity, motivation, or intent, factor analysis was employed to sort out clusters of similar behaviors. Three factors were extracted:

Campaign-related Activity, Political Conversation with Others, and Politically Expressive Behavior. A complete discussion of the Factor results and measures appear in Chapter Five.

Cognitive Sophistication

A subset of survey respondents participated in interviews designed to examine the complexity of their cognitive schema surrounding political hypothetical problems both immediately before and one month after the Close Up week in Washington, DC. Each respondent in this subsample was given a series of hypothetical political problems (see Appendices F and G) and asked to give an oral solution to the problem. These responses were taped, transcribed, and later analyzed with respect to the number of actors specified, actions, and constraints on the solution offered by the students. Schema theory suggests that it is possible for certain intense learning experiences to alter cognitive representations of the subject matter. Therefore, it is possible that the Close Up week would produce significant changes in the student's mental representation of domestic politics conveyed through the actors, actions and constraints contained in the hypothetical situations.

Interviews were conducted with two separate sets of

hypothetical problems. The first set, conducted in the spring of 1989, asked respondents to imagine themselves as political leaders and offer solutions to the various problems. A subsequent set of questions was developed in the fall of 1990 and placed a new sample of students in the position of the "average citizen". The second set of questions mirrored the first in every respect but the role the student was asked to assume. These second questions were developed in order to better reflect the goals and objectives of the experiential program involved in this research. Preliminary analysis of the first set of hypotheticals, conducted over the summer of 1990, raised some doubt as to how successful the adolescents were in placing themselves in the role of "political leader" and how closely the task contained in the hypotheticals reflected the content of the experiential program. Analysis and results for cognitive sophistication are presented in Chapter Six.

Attentiveness to Public Issues

Attentiveness to governmental activity is measured in this research by several questions asking respondents to report how often they discuss politics with parents, friends, and other adults, their self-reported interest in government, and media consumption including regular

attention to television and newspaper coverage of political activities and content. Preliminary factor analysis revealed that a unidimensional scale of Political Attentiveness could be constructed from six items:

- A- Respondents self-reported interest in government.
- B- How often respondent watches national news program.
- C- How often respondent reads the sections of the newspaper that deal with politics and current events.
- D- How often respondent talks about politics, current events, or public affairs with parents.
- E- How often respondent talks about politics, current events, or public affairs with friends outside of class.
- F- How often respondent talks about politics, current events, or public affairs with adults other than teachers or members of your family.

Knowledge

Political knowledge is somewhat difficult to conceptualize since the universe of possible material is so vast. Democratic theory, however, requires that citizen's possess a level of knowledge that allows them to participate in the polity in an intelligent and informed manner. Knowledge in a political sense can refer to both content and process. For the purposes of this research, knowledge is operationalized as content in the areas of governmental structure, the U.S. Constitution, public

officials, and the current status of the Equal Rights Amendment and the current make up of the Supreme Court. All six knowledge items concern material covered in any standard civics or American history course. Responses are coded so that both the respondent's actual content knowledge and the level of the respondent's confidence in that knowledge are measured. For example, for the question which asks,

Do you happen to know which political party has the most members in the U.S. House of Representatives?

the response category is open-ended, "yes, the _____" or closed, "I don't recall." The responses are then coded "yes, correct" and "yes, incorrect" as well as "don't know." Theoretically, there is some debate as to whether it matters if the respondent feels he or she knows the answer when in fact the response offered is incorrect. This manner of coding responses will allow for future examination of the level of actual knowledge as well as the respondents' faith in that knowledge, regardless of the veracity of the response. Any relationships between level of knowledge and attitudes can then be explored further.

Scales: Construction and Reliability

One of the most common problems researchers encounter in using survey methodology is the need to assign one

value or score to a complex attitude or behavior (Manheim and Rich, 1986). Scaling is a procedure that allows us to capture and represent complex political attitudes and concepts and reports a single score for each respondent. By combining a number of discrete, narrow indicators (survey items) into a single, summary measure, we can then draw conclusions about the "more general point of view to which each may contribute or which each may reflect" (Manheim and Rich, 1986, p. 141). In this research, scales are constructed to represent attitudes (efficacy and trust), political knowledge, political attentiveness, school involvement, civics class satisfaction, and political participation. The resulting scale scores provide the basis for measuring pre-test/post-test change for respondents, and for initial comparisons across the three groups of students. These scales are primarily additive in construction. There are inherent dangers, however, in this seemingly simple procedure. The two most important concerns are validity and reliability.

Validity concerns the extent to which the scale constructed is in fact measuring what it is intended to measure. Validity asks whether, "there is reason to believe that each of the individual components (specific survey items) in a given scale is actually related directly to the underlying concept and whether,

collectively, they capture the full essence of it" (Manhiem and Rich, 1986, p. 142). For example, does a student's frequency of media consumption have anything in common with how frequently they discuss politics with family or friends, and more generally, do all these components taken together reflect how attentive the student is to politics? An affirmative response to the above would indicate that an additive score on the Attentiveness Scale is indeed valid reflection of the general dimension of attentiveness to politics and current events. Thus the assessment of validity is primarily a theoretically oriented issue (Carmines and Zeller, 1979). "One validates, not a test, but an interpretation of data arising from a specified procedure" (Cronbach, 1971, p. 447). Thus one "validates not the measuring instrument itself but the measuring instrument in relation to the purpose for which it is being used" (Carmines and Zeller, 1979, p. 17).

There are several different types of validity that are relevant for research in political science. First, criterion-related validity has an intuitive meaning (Nunnally, 1978). Criterion-related validity "is at issue when the purpose is to use an instrument to estimate some important form of behavior that is external to the measuring instrument itself" (Nunnally, 1978,

p. 87). In order to assess criterion-related validity, one measures the correlation between performance on the test with the performance on the criterion variable.

Content validity depends on the extent to which "an empirical measurement reflects a specific domain of content" (Carmines and Zeller, 1979, p. 20). For example in this research, the Knowledge Scale would be "content valid" if it accurately captured the universe of political content knowledge. Thus in constructing the Political Knowledge Scale, an examination of the content of both a typical high school civics curriculum and the Close Up objectives was conducted and six items were chosen for use on the scale. Items reflecting knowledge of political process were excluded from the start in this research and so the dimension of process knowledge is not reflected in scores obtained on the Political Knowledge Scale. The limitations of assessing content validity are evident from this example. First, all must agree on the universe from which the content is selected; and second, there is no widely accepted, easily applied measure to assess content validity.

Finally, construct validity is the most often applied in social science research. Construct validity is concerned with assessing the validity of empirical measures of theoretical concepts and is the "extent to

which a particular measure relates to other measures consistent with theoretically derived hypotheses concerning the concepts (or constructs) that are being measured" (Carmines and Zeller, 1979, p. 23). Thus construct validity focuses on the extent to which a measure performs in accordance with theoretical expectations.

Reliability, on the other hand, is concerned with "whether the component indicators of a scale are in fact related to one another in a consistent and meaningful manner" (Manheim and Rich, 1986, p. 141). Consistency, in this instance, is the "extent to which an experiment, test, or any measuring procedure yields the same result on repeated trials" (Carmines and Zeller, 1979, p. 11). Empirically, reliability is much easier to confirm than validity. Some of the most commonly employed tests of reliability are referred to as tests of internal consistency. Among them, Cronbach's Alpha is most popular. Alpha can be considered a unique estimate of the expected correlation of one test with an alternative form containing the same number of items (Cronbach, 1951). Alpha coefficients were computed for all scales in this research using SPSS RELIABILITY and are reported more fully in the discussion of each scale. The combination factor and internal consistency analysis methods allowed

the researcher to determine which items were appropriate in measuring the various concepts.

The following scales were used in the analysis:

<u>The Scale</u>	<u>No. of items</u>	<u>Alpha</u>
School Involvement	8	.52
Attentiveness	6	.74

Attitudes:

A. Internal Efficacy	4	.56
B. External Efficacy	2	.43
C. Political Trust	6	.68

Participation:

A. Campaign-Related Activity	5	.78
B. Political Communication with Others	2	.73
C. Politically Expressive Behavior	4	.58

Analyses

Student responses on the pre- and post-tests were analyzed using SPSS-Release 4 Data Analysis System statistical software on the IBM-D mainframe located at the University of Maryland, College Park. The analyses involved assessing the instrumentation, comparing pre-test responses for significant differences across the three groups, pre- and post-test assessment of change inferred to be a result of participation in the experiential program, and multivariate analysis employing

two-stage least squares regression equations. Since many of the questions appearing on the survey instrument were originally designed for use with adults, the initial stages of analysis are designed to assess their validity and reliability as used in this research. For example, a variety of questions designed to measure efficacy and trust were collected from other survey instruments (Jennings and Niemi, 1974; Sigel and Hoskins, 1981; and Craig, Niemi, and Silver, 1990). While the individual questions chosen had all been previously identified by other researchers as measuring single concepts and the scales constructed for this research appeared "content and construct valid" (Napier and Grant, 1984), factor analysis procedures were employed to confirm whether the a priori classifications were valid. Additionally, the resulting scales were assessed for reliability using Cronbach Alpha reliability estimates (Cronbach, 1951). This is particularly important in this type of research since low reliability affects the power of a scale to uncover differences or relationships (Napier and Grant, 1984). Univariate descriptive statistics were used to examine the frequency distributions on each variable and scale. Frequencies are compiled to create a picture of the three groups comprising the sample and their distributions along the attitude, knowledge and participation dimensions.

Pre-test responses across the three groups were examined using analysis of variance (ANOVA) to determine if any pre-existing differences were evident before the Close Up participant group received the treatment. Analysis of variance allows the researcher to determine whether the observed differences between groups can reasonably be attributed to chance or whether one may estimate true differences between the groups. ANOVA requires that there be independent samples from normally distributed populations with the same variance. Employing the fixed-effects model allows the researcher to assume that the populations sampled constitute the entire set of populations about which conclusions are desired. In this case for example, the three groups of students were considered to be the only ones of interest.

Multiple Groups Comparison procedures were used to pinpoint which population means were significantly different from one another. Multiple comparison procedures were chosen over the usual t-test in order to protect against calling too many differences significant. The statistic Tukey-b was employed in examining the pre-test responses. An absence of significant differences between the three groups at the outset can be used as an indicator that it is the experiential program participation shapes any pre-test/post-test changes.

Analysis of change between the pre-test and post-test survey administrations was conducted using analysis of covariance. Analysis of covariance was chosen over the common "critical ratio" or t-test because the latter often results in overestimation of treatment effects (Campbell and Stanley, 1963) since the participants and control groups are not compared directly. The analysis could be conducted by computing pre-test/post-test "gain scores" and a t-value between the two groups based on these scores, but analysis of covariance with pre-test scores as the covariate is usually preferable to simple gain score comparisons (Campbell and Stanley, 1963, p. 23). Once any differences were identified and found significant, analyses of the level of contribution of the treatment while controlling for other variables was conducted through analysis of covariance.

When significant differences were detected between the Close Up participants and non-participants on post-test dependent variable scores, multivariate two-stage least squares regression was employed to examine the relationships between the variables and their explanatory power overall. Several models proved significant and are discussed within the relevant chapters.

Assumptions, Limitations and Generalizability
of Research Results

Due to the design and limitations of this research, certain assumptions must be specified. First, this study had to rely on accessible samples of students from a self-selecting, tuition-based program and, therefore, total randomness of assignment to one of the three sample groups was impossible. Analysis of research reports in several educational journals finds that a lack of random sampling and random assignment to experimental and control groups is a prevalent and rather common hazard in educational research (Napier and Grant, 1984; Shaver and Norton, 1980). This research design and sample characteristics have been carefully specified and the incumbent threats to both internal and external validity noted so that others may assess the generalizability of results as completely as possible.

It was further assumed that the "Civic Education Project" questionnaires were received, completed, and returned in the manner intended. It was necessary to rely on teachers across the nation to administer the survey,¹¹ but they were provided with detailed instruction and the means to return the surveys in a timely manner.

Variations in survey administration did not appear large enough to cause problems in the quality of the data. Second, it was assumed student respondents in all three sample groups answered the questions honestly and seriously. Instructions provided to teachers specified that although this was not a test, it was to be conducted under "testing conditions". Finally, it was assumed that the respondents did not receive explicit help in completing either the pre-test or post-test questionnaire.

Although this research is intended to examine the outcomes of political learning in traditional classroom settings and an alternative experiential program, some assumption was made that by looking at the outcomes one also inherently examines the process. All existing research on political socialization suffers from this same assumption and corresponding limitations. Further recognizing that survey methodology contributes to this "slice in time" phenomenon, the research results are necessarily limited in their potential for interpretation and generalizability. Panel studies, which allow for several contacts with respondents over an extended period of time, are expensive and thus relatively rare. Because the Close Up Foundation Washington Program is unique in many aspects, the results may not appear to be

generalizable to a larger population. However, given the nature of experiential instructional theory, results may apply to the population of high school students that participate in other experientially-based civics programs conducted in Washington, DC.

One such program, for example, "A Presidential Classroom for Young Americans," founded in 1968 and located in Alexandria, VA, is structured very similarly to the Close Up Foundation program. Presidential Classroom is also nonprofit, nonpartisan, and seeks to expose high school students to the daily operation of government through seminars with Washington leaders, caucus meetings, tours and cultural activities. Presidential Classroom is also tuition-based, but instructional staff are volunteers who are traditionally educators, civil servants, military officers or private sector professionals. These individuals volunteer for one week's class. The major differences between Presidential Classroom and the Close Up Foundation program are in how students are selected for participation. The individual student elects to apply for acceptance to the Presidential Classroom program and selection is based in part of academic achievement (cumulative average of "B" or higher or place in the top 25 percent of his/her school class), junior or senior class status, leadership accomplishments (active in school

or community groups), written essays, demonstrated interest in American government, and the recommendations of the high school principal and activity advisor (Presidential Classroom brochure and application materials, 1990-1991). The school, as a unit, does not sponsor or organize participation. Presidential Classroom classes run from late January to mid-June.

Other experientially-based civics programs exhibit similar characteristics and aspects of the experiential model are in use in schools in the form of internships, role playing and simulation exercises, and community service opportunities. In this respect, this research makes a contribution to understanding the knowledge, behavioral, and attitudinal outcomes resulting from a variety of civics instructional approaches as well as the theory of experiential learning.

Having noted this, conclusions concerning the process and outcomes of learning and socialization are, in fact, offered as a result of the completion of this study, but are strictly generalizable only to the universe of students who attended the Close Up Foundation Washington High School Program during the weeks sampled and their counterparts in participating schools. They are but a small percentage of the total universe of high school students participating in the Close Up program.

Endnotes

1. History, the specific events occurring between the first and second measurement in addition to the experimental variable; Maturation, processes within the respondents operating as a function of the passage of time; Testing, the effects of taking a test upon the scores of a second testing; Instrumentation, in which changes in the calibration of a measuring instrument may produce changes in the obtained measurement; statistical regression, operating where respondents have been chosen on the basis of their extreme scores; Selection biases, resulting from differential criterion employed in selecting respondents for the comparison and experimental groups; Experimental mortality, loss of respondents; Selection-maturation interaction, combinations that may be mistaken for effects of the treatment (Campbell and Stanley, 1968, p. 5).

2. Statistically significant differences (.05 level) were also detected between the Close Up and Non-Close Up students on the Participation, Attentiveness, and Knowledge pretest measures. Analysis of covariance was employed to statistically control for the differences on the pretest for these variables. Specific results are reported in the relevant analysis chapters.

3. Puerto Rico was removed from the initial sampling pool because of language barriers and mail access. Alaska and Hawaii were also later removed due to slow mail delivery of the initial contact letters.

4. The Northeast region includes Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. The Southeast region includes Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida. The Central region is comprised of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The Western region is made up of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Idaho, Nevada, California, Oregon, and Washington. Alaska, Hawaii, and the territories are not included due to mailing time and expense.

5. Returned surveys are defined as completed pre- and post-experience questionnaires.

6. The additional 31 surveys resulted when a teacher in Laurel, MT, used the survey completion as an exercise in her public opinion class.

7. The Close Up Foundation participates in the Partners Program which identifies students who have had contact with the judicial system (either as victims or defendants) and sponsors their participation in the Washington Focus Week. The Foundation also identifies through teachers and school administrators, students "at risk" for failure and sponsors their participation in the Washington Week through a Koret Foundation grant. "At risk" in this instance is broadly defined to include academic, social, family, or community threats to success.

8. Family income is based on the student's report of combined family income. Since the reliability of such information is somewhat suspect, cross checks were made for a portion of the sample with mother and father's occupation and information compared with that listed in Labor Force Statistics Derived from Current Population Survey, 1948 - 1987. (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. August, 1988. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office). This publication lists national averages of weekly median incomes for full-time employees by occupation and sex. While the information provided by the student was roughly accurate, there was enough variation to warrant using Mother and Father's occupation in the analysis rather than family income. Although parents' occupations are also student reported, it is assumed that the student would be in a better position to know the general occupations rather than combined family income.

9. CPS Pilot Scales included the following questions:
Internal Efficacy

1. I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics. (agree)
2. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country. (agree)
3. Other people seem to have an easier time understanding complicated issues than I do. (disagree)
4. I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people. (agree)

5. I often don't feel sure of myself when talking with other people about politics and government. (disagree)
6. I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people. (agree)
7. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. (disagree)

Regime-based External Efficacy

1. There are many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what the government does. (agree)
2. In this country, a few people have all the political power and the rest of us are not given any say about how the government runs things. (disagree)
3. Voting is an effective way for people to have a say about what the government does. (agree)
4. Under our form of government, the people have the final say about how the country is run, no matter who is in office. (agree)
5. If public officials are not interested in hearing what the people think, there is really no way to make them listen. (disagree)
6. People like me don't have any say about what the government does. (disagree)

Incumbent-Based External Efficacy

1. Most public officials are truly interested in what the people think. (agree)
2. Candidates for office are only interested in people's votes, not in their opinions. (disagree)
3. Politicians are supposed to be the servants of the people, but too many of them think they are the masters. (disagree)
4. Generally speaking, those we elect to office lose touch with the people pretty quickly. (disagree)
5. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think. (disagree)

Regime-Based Trust

1. Whatever its faults may be, the American form of government is still the best for us. (agree)
2. There is not much about our form of government to be proud of. (disagree)
3. It may be necessary make some major changes in our form of government in order to solve the problems

- facing our country. (disagree)
4. I would rather live under our system of government than any other that I can think of. (agree)

Incumbent-Based Trust

1. You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right. (agree)
 2. It often seems like our government is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves rather than being run for the benefit of all the people (disagree)
 3. Most government officials try to serve the public interest, even if it is against their personal interests. (agree)
 4. When government leaders make statements to the American people on television or in the newspapers, they are usually telling the truth. (agree)
 5. Unless we keep a close watch on them, many of our elected leaders will look out for special interests rather than for all the people. (disagree)
 6. Those we elected to public office usually try to keep the promises they have made during the election. (agree)
 7. Most of the people running our government are well-qualified to handle the problems that we are facing in this country. (agree)
 8. Quite a few of the people running our government are not as honest as the voters have a right to expect. (disagree)
 9. Most public officials can be trusted to do what is right without our having to constantly check on them. (agree)
10. There were 26 responses for "the American form of government," 32 suggestions offered to "influence government," 8 definitions of "public interest," 20 of "patriotism," 14 definitions of "political power," 30 conceptions of "citizenship," and 14 meanings offered for "special interests."
11. Although initially the teachers were assumed to be a population whose inherent interest in the results of this research would motivate them to agree to administer the surveys in a timely manner and return all surveys, this did not always prove to be the case. The demands on many high school teachers' time precluded the kind of involvement first anticipated.

Chapter Four: ATTITUDES

POLITICAL EFFICACY AND POLITICAL TRUST

Whether the study of political socialization is conceptualized in terms of system support or as a phenomenon of individual political development, the curiosity surrounding attitude acquisition, development and change remains a constant. There are many generic definitions of "attitude," however, Allport (1935) provides a particularly comprehensive and useful understanding. An attitude is "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (Allport, 1935, p. 810). Thus, although an attitude is not a behavior, attitudes do appear to influence behavior (Abramson, 1983). For example, citizens who feel highly politically effective, or "efficacious," behave differently than those individuals who feel politically powerless or alienated. Likewise, individuals who exhibit a high degree of trust in the political system and in that system's leaders approach political participation within that system differently than do citizens who report mistrustful or cynical feelings toward the government (Abramson, 1983).

Referring again to Allport's definition, if attitudes are indeed "organized through experience," we might expect very young children to exhibit rather crude, volatile, and much less stable political attitudes than adults do. Hess and Torney's (1967) measure of "attitude acquisition" supports this notion. Their measure was computed by summing the number of "don't know" questionnaire responses to form an index. By examining this Don't Know (DK) Index over the grade progressions, Hess and Torney found that the number of DK responses diminished as the grade level increased indicating a rather rapid acquisition of information and attitudes.

Evaluations of political objects in gross good and bad terms are expressed earlier than more differentiated beliefs, probably because of the evaluation dimension in semantic assessment of objects and concepts and because the child has had more extensive contact with evaluations of his own behavior as good or bad than with any other distinction; he may transfer this interpersonal learning into the political realm (Hess and Torney, 1967, p. 26).

It is generally agreed that once an individual reaches adulthood, attitudes are expected to remain "a fairly stable mental state, not highly changeable" (Abramson, 1983, p. 35). Consequently, the period of adolescence, lying between childhood and adulthood, should be a time when we would still expect attitude exploration, development, and change (Weissberg, 1974). The

possibility exists as well that an intense, concentrated "experience" like that offered by the experiential learning model has the potential to exert considerable force in attitude change.

Among the attitudes most often examined in political science research in general and socialization more specifically, are political efficacy and trust. These attitudes have long been thought to reflect the citizenry's support for the system and have acted as a kind of social thermometer in reporting the general health and stability of the political system as a whole (Nie, et.al., 1976; Easton and Dennis, 1969). Hence, when trend data from the late 1960's through the early 1970's and Watergate seemed to indicate a precipitous decline in political efficacy and trust, public officials and scholars alike worried about threats to the very heart of the democratic order (Miller, 1974). It's to be expected, then, that political socialization research would be interested in the origins and development of such integral system support attitudes.

In interpreting the meaning and implications of political efficacy and trust, we again employ the two predominant theoretical frameworks: the systems and individual approaches. The systems approach (Easton and Dennis, 1969) views political socialization as the means

through which system life is maintained:

It is clear that no system could hope to persist unless it had some members who saw it as their duty or responsibility to conduct the routine business of the system....At the very least their support must take the form of acquiescent neutrality, if some kind of political system is to persist (Easton and Dennis, 1969, p. 43).

Thus the development of supportive orientations like efficacy and trust are crucial to this understanding of the political system.

On the other hand, as attitudes, efficacy and trust can be studied as predispositions to some type of political action. Hence, other scholars have studied an individual's level of efficacy and trust in government in relation to levels and directions of political participation--both conventional and unconventional. Using this approach, we can also evaluate whether certain agencies of socialization like the school and experiential programs contribute to efficacy and trust, and examine the reciprocal relationships between the attitudes and other relevant individual-level characteristics such as socio-economic status, race, gender and age.

This chapter begins by exploring the dimensions of efficacy and trust, their development and operationalization within the discipline of political science, and the relationships which other researchers have found to exist between efficacy, trust, and

participation. Next, the measures used in this research are presented and evaluated for validity and reliability. Finally, hypotheses are presented, and internal efficacy and trust are analyzed, in light of the contributions of participation in the experiential program, socio-economic variables, and school involvement.

Political Efficacy and Trust: Definitions

Operationalization and Measurement

Political Efficacy

Over the past three decades of research, no political attitude has been studied more extensively than the sense of political effectiveness (Abramson, 1983). The first such measure was introduced by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center¹. Campbell, Gurin, and Miller (1954) combined the responses to several of the items and produced a measure of "the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact on the political process, i.e., that it is worth while to perform one's civic duties" (Campbell, p. 187).

Through subsequent analysis, Campbell et.al. demonstrated that the attitudes tapped by the four questions are highly related and could form a scale. The efficacy measure could then be used to examine and explain other political phenomena. In relating political efficacy

to participation, Campbell, et.al. (1954) concluded:

...it is reasonable to conclude that citizens who feel that public officials are responsive and responsible to the electorate, who think that individual political activity is worthwhile and capable of influencing public policy, and who see that the private citizen's channels of access to governmental decision-makers are not confined to the ballot box, are much more likely to be politically active than those citizens who feel largely overwhelmed by the political process (1954, p. 194).

In The American Voter, Campbell (1960) extended the behavioral connection to predict increased voter turnout for the highly efficacious. Abramson's (1983) trend data for the presidential contests between 1952 and 1980 show that relationship to be enduring.

Further distillation in the concept of efficacy was spawned by Lane's (1959) assertion that internal efficacy was conceptually distinct from what he later termed "alienation" (1962). This latter orientation was also referred to as "support" (Easton, 1965), as "trust" (Gamson, 1968), and most recently as "external efficacy" (Hensler, 1971; Converse, 1972; and Balch, 1974; Craig, 1979; and Abramson, 1983). Internal efficacy is specified as the individual's belief that the means of influence are available to her; and external efficacy, as the belief that the authorities or regime will be responsive to an individual's attempts at influence. Thus in the case of internal efficacy, the attitude object of interest is the

"self," while for external efficacy it is the regime or system.

Miller, et.al. reflect the CPS distinction:

Internal efficacy indicates individuals' self-perceptions that they are capable of understanding politics and competent enough to participate in political acts such as voting....

External efficacy measures expressed beliefs about political institutions rather than perceptions about one's own abilities....The lack of external efficacy...indicates the belief that the public cannot influence political outcomes because government leaders and institutions are unresponsive to their needs (1980, p. 253).

Because the distinction was born out of the original unidimensional measure, the two orientations are, not surprisingly, positively associated in democratic regimes (Craig and Maggiotto, 1982; Coleman and Davis, 1976; Balch, 1874). "Individuals who believe the system is responsive to people like themselves will be more likely to believe that they personally have the skills to induce government officials to act" (Coleman and Davis, 1976, p. 191).

Once the dimension of efficacy was divided to include a systemic component, the relationship with what is now identified as "trust" or "cynicism" was evident. As Miller describes trust (cynicism), it "is a statement of the belief that the government is not functioning and producing outputs in accord with individual expectations"

(1974, p. 952). Thus, trust is a measure of how well government performance corresponds to citizen expectations (Craig and Maggiotto, 1982) and should be highly correlated with external efficacy (Balch, 1974; Marsh, 1977; Craig, 1979). In a study of nine countries, Torney, Oppenheim and Farnen (1975) found that political efficacy loaded on the same factor as positive and trusting feelings about the national government in all nine.

Political Trust

Perhaps more than with efficacy, fluctuations in citizen levels of trust have produced alarm throughout the polity. Almond and Verba (1963) found Americans loyal, trusting, and highly supportive of political authorities. On survey data collected from individuals in 1958 and 1964, seventy-five percent of adults in the United States said the government in Washington could be trusted to do what is right "just about always" or "most of the time," but by 1980, that percentage had dropped to twenty-five percent (Abramson, 1983). Expressing concern about what this trend ultimately means for electoral participation, the President's Commission for a National Agenda for the Eighties, reported:

This widespread public perception that our institutions are not performing well is reflected in an increase in cynicism and a decline in

participation in political activity...(1980, p.2). While all agree that the trend in political trust among the adult and adolescent populations is that of decline, not all scholars agree on its significance. Much of the disagreement centers around the defining the object of the attitude.

In their examination of school-age children, Easton and Dennis (1969) described what was to become a crucial distinction. Defining "support" as "feelings of trust, confidence, or affection, and their opposites, that persons may direct to some object," Easton made a further distinction between support in return for satisfying outputs (specific), or a more "generalized trust and confidence that members invest in various objects of the system as ends in themselves" (diffuse). The objects of support in this sense could either be the political community, the regime, or the authorities (Easton, 1969, p. 59). The civic consequences of high or low support using this distinction, then, are directed at either the basic structure of power (political community), the rules of the game (regime), or incumbents (authorities). The consequences for declines in regime or community-based trust might then be interpreted as more troubling than declining trust in incumbent authorities.

Concern for the stability of the regime was

heightened when Miller (1974) reported that between 1964 and 1970 there was a strong trend of increasing political cynicism. The change in the responses to all but one of the five items is somewhat more than 20 percentage points in the direction of increased distrust of the government and the addition of the weakest item resulted in a change of 17 percentage points (Miller, p. 952). Accepting Gamson's (1968) theory that regime-based trust and internal efficacy are inversely related so as to produce higher rates of participation, Miller warned that "a situation of widespread, basic discontent and political alienation exists in the U.S. today" (1974, p. 951), and that low levels of trust may contribute to higher rates of unconventional political behavior and radical change. In what became only the first in a long line of exchanges between Miller and Citrin, Citrin (1974) was more tempered, suggesting only that "the meaning of recent increases in the level of political cynicism remains ambiguous...to conclude that there exists widespread support for radical change...is premature, if not misleading" (p. 978).

Thus, the validity debate raged on prompting Craig, Niemi and others to propose additions and deletions from the standard National Election Studies (NES) measures of efficacy and trust. Numerous studies discovered that

measures designed for efficacy are in fact also tapping trust and participation, and visa-versa.² Emerging from the confusion in 1987, the Center for Political Studies developed pilot questions, that when scaled were aimed at measuring internal efficacy, incumbent-based external efficacy, regime-based external efficacy, regime-based trust, and incumbent-based trust. Since much of the ambiguity surrounding the previous scales centered around respondent cognitive referents for phrases like "government", "government officials," or the "American form of government" (Hill, 1982), efforts were made to provide sufficient term clarity so that referents would be more clearly related to the underlying dimensions of the scale, particularly for measures of regime and incumbent-based trust.

Analysis of the CPS Pilot questions (Craig, Niemi, and Silver, 1990) support the distinction between internal and external efficacy, between incumbent and regime-based trust, and confirm improved scales for all but incumbent-based efficacy. Craig, Niemi and Silver (1990) further suggest that external efficacy is separate from political trust, at least "when measured in terms of the fairness of political procedures and outcomes rather than in terms of elite responsiveness to popular demands" (p. 306). While the new items are an improvement over the original CPS

scales, questions of validity and independence remain for all the measures with the possible exception of internal efficacy.

Since the CPS pilot questions make at least a priori improvements toward conceptual clarity, the strongest of the CPS Pilot items are included in this analysis to examine levels of trust and efficacy in high school students who participate in the experiential citizenship education model and those who do not.

Measures of Political Trust and Efficacy

Because of the continuing inter-disciplinary debate over the validity and reliability of the measures most often used for efficacy and trust, considerable time in this research was devoted to evaluating and re-scaling the items included on the survey. An initial factor analysis, including all nineteen attitude items³ contained on the questionnaire, produced a five factor solution. Items loaded highest on factors one and two, with six items on the first and four on the second. Factor 1 is most closely associated with the definition of political trust and Factor 2 with internal efficacy. Table IV-1 shows the results of the factor analysis. Factor 3 is only composed of two items and thus is used merely in exploratory analysis of the concept of external efficacy.

Table IV-1

Factor Analysis of Political Attitude
Questionnaire Items

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Percent of variance explained:	16.1%	11.7%	7.4%
TELLTRU *	.68416		
KEEPPROM *	.67833		
DORIGHT *	.67446		
SERVEPUB *	.58713		
VOTEONLY *	.48262		
LOOKFEW *	.47035		
GOODJOB *		.67520	
WELLINFM *		.64975	
WELLQUAL *		.64640	
KNOWISS *		.63398	
FAMSAY *			-.76687
INDIVPWR *			.72576

- *TELLTRU: When government leaders make statements to the American people on television or in the newspaper, they are usually telling the truth.
- *KEEPPROM: Those we elect to office usually try to keep the promises they have made during the election.
- *DORIGHT: Most of our public officials can be trusted to do what is right without our having to constantly check on them.
- *SERVEPUB: Most government officials try to servethe public interest even if it is against their personal interest.
- *VOTEONLY: Candidates for public office are only interested in peoples' votes, not their opinions.
- *LOOKFEW: Unless we keep a close watch on them, many of our elected leaders will look out for a few special interests rather than for all the people.
- *GOODJOB: I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people.
- *WELLINFM: I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people.
- *WELLQUAL: I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics.
- *KNOWISS: I feel that I have a pretty good understanding ofhte important political issues facing our country.
- *FAMSAY: It doesn't seem like my family has much say in what the government does.
- *INDIVPWR: In the United States, how powerful can the average person be as one individual.

¹ Factor analysis performed with principle component extraction and varimax rotation.

All items intended to measure political trust loaded on Factor 1 and were summed to create an additive scale measuring Political Trust. Since the items did not separate into regime-based or incumbent-based dimensions, political trust is defined in this research as a unidimensional measure of system support. Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficient of inter-item correlation revealed the items on the Political Trust measure to be highly correlated (Alpha=.68).

Four items previously identified as reflecting internal efficacy loaded on Factor 2. These items were summed to create an additive scale measuring internal political efficacy. Reliability analysis resulted in an Alpha coefficient of .56.

Although past research has often defined and measured external efficacy and political trust as one dimension, this research maintains political trust as a unique scale and a two item scale for external efficacy. Political trust warranted a unique scale because of the single loading pattern evident during factor analysis. The external efficacy scale has an Alpha coefficient of only .43. While this is very low, the value of the coefficient is somewhat dependent on the number of items making up the scale and so can be low because there are only two items. However, since the correlations between the two items are

also lower than would ordinarily be expected, external efficacy is used for exploratory purposes and discussed only briefly.

Hypotheses

Based on previous research in political socialization and the theory of experiential education, this research hypothesizes that students participating in the experiential Close Up Washington High School Program, which allows for active learning, integration of thought and action related to participatory citizenship, and reflection with peers will 1) exhibit increases in internal efficacy and decreases in political trust of greater magnitude than students from the same high school that do not participate in the experiential program.

When significant change between pre-test and post-test scores is discovered within the Close Up participant group, additional analysis using multivariate two-stage least squares regression will be conducted to evaluate the contribution of various components related to the experiential method of learning like the intensity of, and satisfaction with, the experience. Additionally, reasons for wanting to participate may prove important since the program's participants are self-selected. Thus, we would expect that among those participating in the experiential

program, change would be greatest among those who had chosen the experience apart from external pressure, for those who prepared for the experience before attending, and for those students who met with their Representative and/or Senator.

Because Close Up participation or non-participation cannot be expected to entirely account for levels of political trust and efficacy, the contributions of family, school, and individual level variables are explored by developing regression models incorporating these variables. The students' participation in the experiential program is then included in order to examine any effects on the predictive value of the model as a whole.

Political socialization research has long identified the family as a primary agent of socialization (See for example, Hyman, 1959; Campbell, 1969; Jennings and Niemi, 1974; and Beck, 1977). If the Primacy and Structuring Principles (Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1977) are valid, it seems likely that the family could exert considerable early influence over the child, particularly in the area of internal efficacy since it has been identified as closely related to the psychological theories of self-esteem and locus of control (Madsen, 1987). The variables closely associated with potential family influence are

mother and father's occupation, family income, mother and father's educational attainment, and the type of area (rural, urban, suburban) in which a family lives. For example, we would expect to find a positive association between parents income and educational level and the students' level of internal efficacy. Highly educated parents are most likely to have high combined family incomes and thus be predicted to produce more internally confident children. A negative relationship is predicted between combined family income, parents' educational attainment and political trust.

As expected, family related variables are most closely associated with internally efficacious orientations. Father's education, mother's occupation, private school attendance, attentiveness to public issues, and political knowledge are significantly related to post-test internal efficacy scores. Characteristics of mothers and fathers are also highly correlated (see Table IV-2) and all five of these variables combined reflect the type of family environment and level of economic security in which the student lives. Since highly educated parents are also more likely to engage in conversation with civic content, the additional significance found on the attentiveness and knowledge measures are also confirmed. The positive association between the father's schooling

and the respondent's level of internal efficacy is a fairly widely reported finding; however, the positive relationship between the mother's education and internal efficacy is rarely evident. The fact that it is education and not occupation may reflect the existing gap for women between education and appropriate occupational status. Given that only 16.2% (181 individuals out of 1149) of this total sample reported that their mother did not work outside the home, the relationship may also result from the mother's education occupying a more prominent role within the family socio-economic structure and ultimate economic success.

In addition to the family, the traditional high school experience has been identified as the agency of political socialization with the greatest opportunity to exert influence.⁴ Variables included in this research to reflect the school environment are the students' year in school, whether the school is public or private, whether the student perceives any student access to school decision-making, and a "school involvement" scale designed to measure the student's participation in the school culture and extracurricular activities. Given the literature, we would expect to see a positive association between level of school involvement and internal efficacy and a negative relationship between school involvement and

Table IV-2
Correlations Between Family Characteristics¹

	Mother's Occupation	Father's Occupation	Mother's Education	Father's Education	Family Income	Area
Mother's Occupation	1.00	.16**	.34**	.14*	---	---
Father's Occupation	.16**	1.00	.29**	.23**	---	---
Mother's Education	.34**	.43**	1.00	.43**	---	---
Father's Education	.14*	.23**	.43**	1.00	---	---
Family Income	---	---	---	---	1.00	.16**
Area ¹	---	---	---	---	.16**	1.00

levels of significance: *p=.01 **p=.001

¹ Area refers to the type of community in which the respondent's family resides: urban, suburban, or rural. This information was self-reported by the respondent.

political trust. The more involved a student becomes in the day to day existence of school, the more likely she is to feel that she can influence the school environment; but at the same time, feel more responsible for the outcomes and so exhibit less generalized trust that others can perform the activities and services as well.

Internal efficacy, an orientation reflective of personal confidence, would be most likely affected within the school setting by success and involvement. Among the individual-level variables related to schools, the students' grade average, year in school, whether they feel students have a voice in the school decision hierarchy, and level of school involvement are significantly correlated and contribute most directly on the measures of internal efficacy. Better students, who are heavily involved in the life of the school, are not surprisingly more likely to feel that they can also exert influence in the political world. These same variables exert a very different influence on the orientations of trust and external efficacy. The more a student feels he or she has any influence in the school decision-making hierarchy and the higher the grade level, the more likely she is to be less trusting and externally efficacious.

Finally, responses that indicate the students' age, sex, race, and occupational aspirations are included in

the analysis. Previous literature suggests that levels of trust and efficacy may vary in relation to such characteristics (Hyman, 1959; Greenstein, 1961; Dennis, 1969; Greenberg, 1969, 1970; and Hirsch, 1968, 1970). A significant positive association between age and students' sense of internal efficacy is expected. Older students should exhibit higher levels of internal efficacy, but again, we expect the negative relationship to hold true for trust and external efficacy. Gender was not significant in accounting for levels of internal efficacy, but was negatively correlated with trust. Females are more likely to be trusting than are males of the same age and class in school and this relationship is further confirmed by the negative associations between gender, political knowledge and attentiveness to political issues (Table IV-3). The more a person knows about political issues and governmental activity, and the more attention that is given to the subject, the less likely they are to exhibit diffuse support orientations. Male students score higher on both political knowledge and attentiveness to public issues. Although it was included in the multivariate regression analysis as an individual-level variable, race proved difficult to investigate since the minority⁵ representation is only 14.3 percent of the experiential student sample and 15.8 percent of the non-

experiential student sample. With this strong caveat in mind, race did not prove significant in any of the regression models constructed, nor is it significantly related at the .05 level to internal efficacy, external efficacy, or trust.

Tables IV-4 and IV-5 present the levels of internal efficacy and political trust by respondent characteristics.

Table IV-3

Post-Questionnaire Attitude Mean Scores by Gender²

	<u>Internal Efficacy</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Close Up	3.11	3.06
Non-Close Up	3.03	3.25

	<u>External Efficacy</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Close Up	2.94	2.84
Non-Close Up	2.84	3.01

	<u>Political Trust</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Close Up	3.19	2.94
Non-Close Up	3.03	3.04

² Each attitude dimension is measured on a five-point scale: one is low and five is high.

Table IV-4

Level of Internal Efficacy by
Sample Demographic Characteristics
Close Up Participants

	<u>VERY LOW</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>MODERATE</u>	<u>HIGH</u>	<u>VERY HIGH</u>
<u>Gender</u>					
Male	--	5.8	78.6	14.6	1.0
Female	.6	5.6	82.6	10.1	1.1
<u>Race</u>					
White	.4	6.5	80.9	11.7	.4
Non-White	--	2.4	82.9	9.8	4.9
<u>Community</u>					
Rural	--	10.5	81.9	7.6	--
Suburban	.8	3.3	81.3	13.0	1.6
Urban	--	1.9	78.8	17.3	1.9
<u>Year in School</u>					
Sophomore	3.3	3.3	76.7	13.3	3.3
Junior	--	6.7	80.7	12.6	--
Senior	--	5.3	82.7	10.5	1.5
<u>Input into School</u> <u>Decision-Making</u>					
Not at all	--	--	83.3	16.7	--
Very Little	--	9.1	79.5	11.4	--
Some	--	10.1	74.7	13.9	1.3
A Good Deal	.7	1.3	85.9	10.7	1.3
<u>Level of School</u> <u>Involvement</u>					
Low	--	16.7	66.7	16.7	--
Medium	--	6.5	86.5	6.0	1.0
High	2.2	2.2	60.9	34.8	--
<u>School Type</u>					
Public	.4	6.4	81.8	10.6	.8
Private	--	2.7	78.4	16.2	2.7

Level of Internal Efficacy by
Sample Demographic Characteristics
Non-Close Up Participants

	<u>VERY LOW</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>MODERATE</u>	<u>HIGH</u>	<u>VERY HIGH</u>
<u>Gender</u>					
Male	.8	11.2	74.4	11.2	2.4
Female	4.4	9.3	70.9	9.9	5.3
<u>Race</u>					
White	2.3	10.9	71.4	11.4	3.6
Non-White	4.5	9.1	72.7	9.1	4.5
<u>Community</u>					
Rural	1.0	11.5	75.0	6.3	6.3
Suburban	4.0	7.1	69.0	14.3	4.8
Urban	1.9	14.8	72.2	11.1	--
<u>Year in School</u>					
Sophomore	2.1	4.3	70.2	14.9	8.5
Junior	5.3	11.6	69.5	9.5	4.2
Senior	.8	10.9	75.8	10.9	1.6
<u>Input into School Decision-Making</u>					
Not at all	--	22.2	66.7	11.1	--
Very Little	--	15.6	62.2	15.6	6.7
Some	6.0	10.8	69.9	7.2	4.8
A Good Deal	1.5	7.4	77.2	11.0	2.9
<u>Level of School Involvement</u>					
Low	5.0	15.0	65.0	5.0	10.0
Medium	2.1	11.1	73.5	8.5	4.2
High	4.9	4.9	73.2	14.6	2.4
<u>School Type</u>					
Public	1.9	8.1	72.7	11.0	5.7
Private	3.3	15.0	71.7	10.0	--

Table IV-5

Level of Political Trust by
Sample Demographic Characteristics
Close Up Students

	<u>VERY LOW</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>MODERATE</u>	<u>HIGH</u>	<u>VERY HIGH</u>
<u>Gender</u>					
Male	2.0	5.9	67.3	20.8	4.0
Female	4.4	10.0	74.4	8.9	2.2
<u>Race</u>					
White	2.2	7.9	74.7	12.7	2.6
Non-White	7.3	12.2	63.4	12.2	4.9
<u>Community</u>					
Rural	--	7.7	76.9	10.6	4.8
Suburban	4.8	8.1	68.5	16.9	1.6
Urban	7.7	11.5	69.2	9.6	1.9
<u>Year in School</u>					
Sophomore	10.7	7.1	75.0	3.6	3.6
Junior	3.4	6.8	72.9	11.9	5.1
Senior	2.2	10.3	70.6	16.2	.7
<u>Input into School</u> <u>Decision-Making</u>					
Not at all	--	33.3	66.7	--	--
Very Little	2.2	13.0	67.4	15.2	2.2
Some	5.2	5.2	76.6	9.1	3.9
A Good Deal	3.4	8.1	70.5	15.4	2.7
<u>Level of School</u> <u>Involvement</u>					
Low	--	16.7	83.3	--	--
Medium	3.5	7.5	72.5	13.5	3.0
High	4.3	12.8	63.7	17.0	2.1
<u>School Type</u>					
Public	3.4	7.7	71.9	13.6	3.4
Private	5.3	13.2	71.1	10.5	--

Level of Political Trust by
Sample Demographic Characteristics
Close Up Students

	<u>VERY LOW</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>MODERATE</u>	<u>HIGH</u>	<u>VERY HIGH</u>
<u>Gender</u>					
Male	1.6	10.9	72.7	12.5	2.3
Female	1.9	10.0	72.5	13.1	2.5
<u>Race</u>					
White	1.3	9.5	76.2	11.3	1.7
Non-White	2.2	13.3	62.7	15.6	6.7
<u>Community</u>					
Rural	1.9	7.8	78.6	8.7	2.9
Suburban	.8	14.0	68.2	14.0	3.1
Urban	3.6	7.1	71.4	17.9	--
<u>Year in School</u>					
Sophomore	2.1	8.3	72.9	14.6	2.1
Junior	2.0	13.9	70.3	10.9	3.0
Senior	1.5	8.3	73.7	14.3	2.3
<u>Input into School</u>					
<u>Decision-Making</u>					
Not at all	11.1	--	55.6	33.3	--
Very Little	--	18.4	69.4	8.2	4.1
Some	2.3	11.5	72.4	9.2	4.6
A Good Deal	1.4	7.1	75.0	15.7	.7
<u>Level of School</u>					
<u>Involvement</u>					
Low	--	18.2	59.1	18.2	4.5
Medium	2.0	10.6	74.4	11.1	2.0
High	2.4	7.3	73.2	17.1	--
<u>School Type</u>					
Public	1.8	11.0	73.1	11.0	3.2
Private	1.6	8.1	72.6	17.7	--

Pre-test/Post-test Change:

Participants and Non-Participants

Responses on the pre-test and post-test attitude measures were analyzed on two levels. First the pre-test measures were compared to determine if the groups of schools differed significantly from the start across the dependent variables political trust and internal efficacy. Since response rates were lower than anticipated, some unmatched surveys were included as an additional control group in this initial pre-test comparison in order to see if those students who did not complete both the pre-test and post-test questionnaire are somehow different than students completing both components. No significant differences were expected since the majority of the responsibility for returning completed surveys rested with the sponsoring teacher. However, teacher comments indicated that some students did not complete the post-test questionnaire due to problems of a personal nature such as expulsion from school, pregnancy, family disruption, or illness.

No significant differences at the .05 level were detected between the three groups (Close Up participant schools, non-participant schools, and unmatched surveys) on the internal efficacy, trust, or external efficacy

dimensions. However, differences were detected between students in participant schools and the unmatched sample respondents on independent school involvement scale, indicating that the students from the unmatched sample were less involved in the high school culture than either their participant and non-participant schoolmates. Since the unmatched controls were not used in subsequent analysis, these differences are not discussed further.

Next, using paired t-tests, participant students and non-participant students from Close Up schools were analyzed with respect to differences predicted from participation in the experiential program. The results are presented in Tables IV-6.

First, looking at internal efficacy, the mean difference for the Close Up participants is merely .05 and is not significant. In fact, the Close Up students' post-test mean for internal efficacy is .05 lower than that of the non-Close Up participants. Although neither difference is statistically significant, it does seem rather odd. Even if you allow for some "learning curve" due to multiple survey administrations, it would seem that the students participating in the experiential program, having started at a higher point on the internal efficacy measure, would have ended higher.

Obviously, since the measures are by no means perfect

and the differences are not significant, there is not a lot to ponder. Yet, the fact that there is not a significant shift in internal efficacy for the Close Up participants warrants at least some speculation. Since one of the functions of internal efficacy measures is a comparison between the respondent and "all others," it may be that when confronted with public officials (possibly for the first time) the confidence that the student could do as "good a job" or is as "well-informed about politics and government as most people" may be eroded. Internal efficacy is also, to some extent, a measure of "locus of control." In other words, that one person can influence the actions and outcomes of government. When confronted with the sheer size of the national government as it is embodied in massive federal buildings, grand monuments, and complex processes, the student may feel that there is slight prospect for individual influence.

On the measures of trust (and external efficacy),⁶ the hypothesized reductions for the Close Up participants are confirmed. Non-participants' pre-test mean (3.09) is higher than for Close Up students (2.97), but the post-test scores are identical (3.03). Neither the initial difference between the two groups nor the pre-post-test movement is significant. On the external efficacy measure, however, students in the experiential group have

Table IV-6

Difference of Attitude Means by Sample Group

for Close Up (CU) and Non-Close Up (NON-CU) Students

Attitude Dimension:	Pre-test Means		Post-test Mean	
	NON-CU	CU	NON-CU	CU
Internal Efficacy ¹	2.97 N=279	3.04 N=279	3.16 N=266	3.09 N=275
Political Trust ²	3.11 N=284	3.06 N=283	3.03 N=283	3.03 N=277
External Efficacy ³	3.09 N=238	2.97 N=235	2.95 N=202	2.85 N=192

* None of the Pre-Post Mean changes for these attitudes are significant at either the .05 or .01 levels.

¹ Internal Efficacy is a five-point (one: low...to...five: high) ordinal-level measure created from students' responses on four survey items.

² Political Trust is a five-point (one: low...to...five: high) ordinal-level measure created from students' responses on six survey items.

³ External Efficacy is a five point (one:low...to...five:high) ordinal-level measure created from students' responses on two survey items.

lower posttest mean scores, and the change is significant at the .01 level. Control group students also experience a reduction in external efficacy that is significant ($p < .001$).

One possible intervention for both groups may have been the Iran-Contra Scandal, the committee hearings on the scandal, and the accompanying decline in President Reagan's personal popularity. Since 47.2 percent of the sample was born in 1972 and 26.9 percent in 1973, Ronald Reagan was president for over half of their lives. Although not reflected in this unidimensional measure of trust, Craig et.al. (1990) suggest that attitude is actually composed of a regime-based object and an incumbent-based object of trust. The decline in Reagan's personal esteem overall and the accompanying decline in popular evaluations of political institutions may, therefore, combine to contribute to the resulting decline in trust and external efficacy for both participants and non-participants. This conjecture was further confirmed through the hypothetical political dilemma interviews discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Students often mentioned the Iran-Contra incident and its aftermath and included the constraints levied by its resolution in their political solutions. The President, for example, was "forced to deal with Congress." Dealing with Congress is

always described as "difficult because members of Congress do not agree with one another."

If these findings were based on perfect measures, one might conclude that there is no effect produced by participation in the experiential civics program Close Up. However, in light of the "lingering conceptual dilemmas" (Craig, 1979) associated with the measures of trust and efficacy, such a broad sweeping dismissal seems premature. It does, however, suggest that the experience of the Close Up Washington High School program alone does not overwhelmingly alter levels of internal efficacy, nor does it substantially lower trust and external efficacy. Students who have been to Washington, DC, do exhibit higher internal efficacy means and lower political trust scores, but not statistically significantly lower.

Multivariate Analyses

So far we have looked at change on the attitude dimensions only at the aggregate level, essentially treating the two periods in time as if they were individual cross-sections. Sources of initial variation on internal efficacy, external efficacy, and trust have only been examined singly. Now, by employing multivariate analysis, we are able to incorporate the panel design to look at patterns of change between the pre-test and post-

test as well as the contribution of participation in the experiential program.

Estimated Generalized Least Squares regression is necessary since autocorrelation in the error terms is almost always a problem with this type of time lag research design. The most common test statistic for autocorrelation is the Durbin-Watson (d) statistic. Since the Durbin-Watson statistic depends on the sample size and number of coefficients being estimated as well as the sample values of the explanatory variables, the test is not appropriate in a model that contains lagged values of the dependent variable (when Y_{t-1} is a predictor variable) (Hanushek and Jackson, 1977). To test for the presence of autocorrelation in this research, a scatterplot was examined for non-random patterns in the OLS regression residuals. If autocorrelation in the residuals exists and is not accounted for in the regression model, the estimated variances will seriously underestimate the true variances "leading to the paradoxical result that even though the estimated coefficients appear quite reliable (small variances) they are in fact extremely unreliable" (Ostrom, 1978, p. 19). When error terms are serially correlated (as they are in this data), Generalized Least Squares (GLS) transforms the variables in such a way that the error terms implicit in the transformed variables are

uncorrelated.

The multivariate analysis in this research was conducted in two stages. Regression equations were first estimated using the pre-test value of the attitude dimension as the dependent variable. Independent variables were grouped by school, family social position, and individual-level characteristics.⁷ New predictor variables were computed as a result of the first estimation and used as instruments in the second estimated equations. In the second equations, the post-test variable is used as the dependent variable with the computed predictor (Y_{t-1}) included on the right hand side of the equation as an independent predictive instrument.

When the three models were assessed independently, all three were significant as models only in relation to internal efficacy. Table IV-7 presents the Family Characteristic Model. Each model equation was first run with the component variables only. Next, participation in the experiential program was added. The models were run a third time adding whether the student had met with a member of the U.S. Congress. Table IV-8 presents the Individual Characteristics Model and Table IV-9 reports the results using the School Characteristics Model. Clearly, the strongest model reflected family and its social position. Since internal efficacy is the most

personal of the attitudes, it is not surprising that the family would account for most of the variation on this measure.

An examination of the coefficients and beta weights shows that the father's education and family income are positively correlated with the estimation of internal efficacy, while mother's occupation and mother's education are negatively related. Beta weights indicate the significance of the variables in the equations, and can be interpreted as measures of the correlation between each predictor variable and the dependent variable when all other predictor variables are held constant. In the family model, combined family income, father's education, and pre-existing levels of internal efficacy are by far the strongest predictors of internal efficacy followed by mother's education. Given that both of these are positive, and when combined give an indication of the family's social status, their predictive power is to be expected ($R^2=.36$). When participation in the experiential program is added, the $R^2=.47$ and the beta weight values are slightly altered.

Because Close Up participants overwhelmingly report that meeting their U.S. Representative and/or Senator is both a reason for participating and a favorite activity of the week, a variable reflecting whether the student met

Table IV-7

Multivariate Regression:
Family Characteristics Model

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B¹</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Combined Family Income	.038 *	.012	.373
Mother's Occupation	-.001	.001	-.063
Mother's Education	-.034	.039	-.109
Father's Education	.080 *	.038	.268
Pre-Internal Efficacy	.642 *	.192	.412

R²=.36
F=5.96 p<.001

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Combined Family Income	.040 *	.011	.393
Mother's Occupation	-.001	.001	-.095
Mother's Education	-.028	.035	-.092
Father's Education	.093 *	.035	.313
Pre-Internal Efficacy	.610 *	.178	.391
Experiential Participation	.777 *	.243	.333

R²=.47
F=7.56 p<.001

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Combined Family Income	.038 *	.012	.375
Mother's Occupation	-.001	.001	-.092
Mother's Education	-.023	.036	-.074
Father's Education	.093 *	.035	.310
Pre-Internal Efficacy	.572 *	.184	.367
Experiential Participation	.724 *	.252	.309
Meet Member of U.S Congress	-.013 *	.015	-.204

R²=.47
F=6.54 p<.001

¹ Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with associated standard errors. Coefficients marked by asterisks are significant at or below the .01 level.

Table IV-8

Multivariate Regression:
Individual Characteristics Model

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B²</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Gender	-.020	.124	-.021
Student's Desired Occupation	-.001	.002	-.088
Race	.072	.053	.179
Age	.072	.072	.126
Pre-Internal Efficacy	.527 *	.213	.338

R²=.19
F=2.43 p=.04

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Gender	.009	.122	.010
Student's Desired Occupation	-.001	.002	-.049
Race	.069	.052	.170
Age	.056	.069	.102
Pre-Internal Efficacy	.509 *	.209	.327
Experiential Participation	.548 *	.291	.234

R²=.24
F=2.68 p=.02

² Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with associated standard errors. Coefficients marked by asterisks are significant at or below the .01 level.

Table IV-9

Multivariate Regression:
School Related Characteristics

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B³</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Perceived Participation in School Decision-Making	.073	.049	.199
Year in School	-.133	.082	-.199
Public/Private Institution	.172	.166	.139
Level of School Involvement	-.056	.115	-.063
Pre-Internal Efficacy	.649 *	.235	.416

R²=.23
F=3.12 p=.01

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Perceived Participation in School Decision-Making	.081 *	.048	.222
Year in School	-.106	.082	-.159
Public/Private Institution	.147	.163	.118
Level of School Involvement	-.035	.113	-.039
Pre-Internal Efficacy	.654 *	.230	.420
Experiential Participation	.527 *	.287	.225

R²=.28
F=3.28 p<.001

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Perceived Participation in School Decision-Making	.079	.048	.215
Year in School	-.099	.082	-.149
Public/Private Institution	.105	.169	.085
Level of School Involvement	-.019	.115	-.022
Pre-Internal Efficacy	.632 *	.231	.406
Experiential Participation	.470 *	.293	.201
Meet Member of U.S. Congress	-.017	.018	-.124

R²=.29
F=2.93 p=.01

³ Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with associated standard errors. Coefficients marked by asterisks are significant at or below the .01 level.

with their member of Congress was added to the model. In the case of internal efficacy, the coefficient is negative in the family social position and school-related models. Quite possibly, while the experience of meeting their member of Congress is powerful, it may also be somewhat intimidating or overwhelming. When translated into personal confidence toward the political system, the meeting may serve to empower students overall, while the thought of ongoing personal influence in relation to the member or to Congress seems remote.

School-related variables also combine to produce a significant model for internal efficacy. Private school attendance and the degree to which the student perceives influence in the school decision-making structure are the most powerful components of the total model, while the level of school involvement and year in school are negatively correlated with levels of internal efficacy. It is impossible to tell from this data whether the attitude drives involvement or school involvement drives the attitude. The negative direction of school involvement may be a reflection of the "mock" nature of high school activities. Ziblatt (1970) and others who have investigated political socialization through participation in extracurricular activities have attributed the weak transmission of democratic attitudes

and orientations to the realization by student participants that their decisions can at any time be overruled by a higher authority. This apprenticeship model of political learning allows for the motions of political and quasi-political participation, but always with the understanding that it is "play-acting" of sorts. As with the other two models, the addition of the Close Up experience increases the R^2 to .28. In this case, the addition of a meeting with the students' Representative or Senator also results in a significant model overall and increases the R^2 to .29.

Since external efficacy and trust are outwardly directed in their referents, school-related variables would be expected to combine to form the most predictive models. However, none of the a priori groupings of variables in the school, individual or family characteristics models proved useful in relation to political trust. A combination model including the level of school involvement, perceived student input into the decision-making structure of the school, gender, grade point average, political knowledge and pre-existing levels of political trust create the most powerful model overall (Table IV-10). However, even this model is not significant as a whole.

Table IV-10

Multivariate Regression:
Combination Model for Trust as Dependent Variable

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B²</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Participation in School			
Decision-Making	-.057	.077	-.104
Level of School Involvement	.177	.277	.130
Gender	-.214	.233	-.151
Political Knowledge	-.014	.017	-.177
Grade Average	-.088	.066	-.252
Pre-Trust	.193	.392	.088

R²=.10
Model is not Significant

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Participation in School			
Decision-Making	-.055	.078	-.101
Level of School Involvement	.191	.234	.140
Gender	-.203	.228	-.144
Political Knowledge	-.015	.017	-.124
Grade Average	-.089	.067	-.257
Pre-Trust	.201	.396	.092
Experiential Participation	.140	.489	.040

R²=.11
Model is not Significant

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Participation in School			
Decision-Making	-.052	.078	-.096
Level of School Involvement	.222	.234	.162
Gender	-.139	.228	-.099
Political Knowledge	-.011	.017	-.090
Grade Average	-.088	.067	-.253
Pre-Trust	.192	.395	.087
Experiential Participation	.006	.499	.001
Meet Member of U.S. Congress	-.036	.030	-.179

R²=.13
Model is not Significant

² Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with associated standard errors. Coefficients marked by asterisks are significant at or below the .01 level.

School involvement and pre-existing trust are the only two components with positive betas. This would perhaps suggest that greater integration into the culture of the school produces a greater sense of generalized support. Adopting the transference model of learning, we would expect that the student would exhibit the same type of generalized support within the political system. Participation in the Close Up program increases the R^2 to .11 and the addition of a meeting with a Representative and/or Senator increases the R^2 again to .13. In each case, the models themselves are not significant.

Another fairly predictive model was constructed with politically expressive behavior, attentiveness to public issues, campaign-related activity, political knowledge, and pre-existing levels of political trust (Table IV-11). The combination of these dimensions are a reflection of a student's level of engagement in political activity, as well as the resources she might possess in the form of knowledge and attentiveness to public issues. Only campaign-related activity and pre-existing levels of trust are positively related to the post-experience attitude. Since the politically expressive behavior measure is made up of primarily unconventional activities like protest participation, the negative relationship to generalized trust in the system is expected.

Table IV-11

Multivariate Regression:
Skills and Resources Model with Trust as
Dependent Variable

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B¹</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Politically Expressive Behavior	-.120	.104	-.170
Attentiveness to Public Issues	-.111	.139	-.120
Campaign-Related Activity	.096	.179	.080
Political Knowledge	-.004	.018	-.035
Pre-Trust	.094	.314	.043
R ² = .05 Model Not Significant			
<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Politically Expressive Behavior	-.230	.105	-.175
Attentiveness to Public Issues	-.115	.140	-.124
Campaign-Related Activity	.117	.184	.097
Political Knowledge	-.005	.018	-.042
Pre-Trust	.087	.316	.040
Experiential Participation	.258	.494	.075
R ² = .05 Model Not Significant			
<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>BETA</u>
Politically Expressive Behavior	-.143	.312	-.116
Attentiveness to Public Issues	-.111	.137	-.122
Campaign-Related Activity	.113	.181	.094
Political Knowledge	.002	.018	.014
Pre-Trust	.034	.312	.015
Experiential Participation	.027	.504	.007
Meet Member of U.S. Congress	-.050 *	.029	-.244
R ² = .10 Model Not Significant			

¹ Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with associated standard errors. Coefficients marked by asterisks are significant at or below the .01 level.

Both external efficacy and political trust are reflections of citizen expectations for the political system. In examining the regression analysis overall, females are less externally efficacious and pay less attention to public issues. Gender is the only independent predictor that is significant for trust. Given that proportionately more females choose to participate in the Close Up experience, we might expect that the effects would be greatest for females than for males. Yet, when the models are analyzed for females only, none of the structures are significant. The Close Up experience is never significant independently, nor does it increase the proportion of variation explained for any of the external efficacy and trust models. It appears that the social dictum as to the appropriate political demands women can expect to make are strongly held and persistent, at least in the short term.

None of the models, nor any of the combinations of variables, proved useful in explaining levels of external efficacy. This is likely to be a reflection of the weakness of the measure and the fact that the dimension is composed of only two items.

Conclusions

The preliminary findings reported in this research suggest several observations. First, further work is needed on the measures of multi-dimensional and highly related attitudes like efficacy and trust. Craig, Niemi, and Silver's (1990) work with CPS Pilot study questions and scales makes several advancements in this arena, but, since the new measures have not been tested with adolescents considerable work is left to be done. This research included several of the new pilot attitude items on the questionnaire, but factor analysis did not support making the distinctions between incumbent- and regime-based trust or efficacy. Since Craig, et.al. do find support for these multi-dimensional scales among adults, it may well be that they are just not valid for adolescents. The cognitive maturity necessary to separate the attitude objects may not be present in adolescents. It may quite possibly stem from experience with the system itself through political activity like voting where distinctions are forced between the person and the office. It is worth further exploration, however, since conceivably one could identify the point at which attitude object distinctions are possible.

While the paired difference of means tests reported here would seem to suggest very little effect produced

directly from participation in the experiential learning program, idiosyncracies of this particular program may also be contributing. The duration of the Close Up experience is one week. A preliminary analysis of activities conducted in the student's home school like meeting with the sponsoring teacher, using the Close Up Workbook and Issues publications did not strengthen the contribution of the program to any of the attitude dimensions. An examination of longterm commitments to integrated thought and action programs, perhaps tied to the recent surge in interest in community service, may produce larger quantitatively measurable effects. Longitudinal data would also be instructive because there is nothing to suggest when an outcome might become significant--in two months, one year, five years?

When the Close Up participation variable is included in estimated models, however, it is significant to the explanatory power of all three related to internal efficacy. This suggests that the power of the experiential program is interactive. When combined with skills, resources, and characteristics of the family, individual and components of the school experience, the experiential civics program shows a significant contribution. This finding fits squarely with the instructional theory and learning process of experiential

programs offered by James Coleman (1976). The learner engages in activity; makes connections between actions and consequences; after reflection, the experience is reconstructed and analyzed; and the learner is able to successfully apply the generalized knowledge she has gained to new and different problems. One without the other is not as significant as the integrated whole.

Although they constitute a very small subsample, twelve respondents who did not participate in the Close Up program this year, but were participants during the prior program year, were found within the control sample population. They were separated into an independent group for analysis. In examining their results on the dependent variables of internal efficacy and trust, these students were higher on internal efficacy, more moderate on external efficacy, and lower on trust, than were their counterparts that attended the program this year. Although not statistically significantly different and a very small sample, this would seem to suggest the possibility that the effects of the program become magnified over time. Of course the only valid way to support this assertion would be to retest this year's Close Up participants at later points in time to see if the effects of the program which are relatively small today, are somehow internalized or strengthened over

time. If this proves to be the case, such findings would again be consistent with the theory of experiential learning (Coleman, 1976).

The statistical results reported here, particularly the pre/post change measures related to political attitudes, are relatively small. However, attitudes are the most enduring of all political dimensions and so would be the most difficult to alter in a one week period regardless of the intensity of the experience. It is, nonetheless, an important finding that experiential students are higher on internal efficacy and lower on the dimension of political trust after the Close Up experience. Whether these differences will be magnified over time is left for future study.

Endnotes

1. Four questions makeup the Campbell, et.al. measure of effectiveness: (agree/disagree with disagree scored as efficacious on all four questions)
 1. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.
 2. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.
 3. I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.
 4. People like me don't have any say about what government does.
2. See Finkel, 1985; Craig and Maggiotto, 1982; Craig, 1979; Asher, 1974; Balch, 1974 for discussions of the difficulty in isolating single dimensions for either trust or efficacy.
3. The following items were included on the "Civic Education Project" questionnaire. They were chosen to reflect the attitudes of efficacy and trust on the basis of use in previous research.
 1. I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics. WELLQUAL
 2. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country. KNOWISS
 3. I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people. GOODJOB
 4. I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people. WELLINFM
 5. Other people seem to have an easier time understanding complicated issues than I do. COMPLISS

6. It doesn't seem like my family has much say what the government does. FAMSAY
7. Candidates for public office are only interested in peoples' votes, not their opinions. VOTEONLY
8. Voting is the only way that people like my parents can have a say about how the government runs. VOTESAY
9. In the United States, how powerful can the average person be as one individual? INDIVPWR
10. How much do you feel having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think? VOTEATTN
11. How much attention do you feel the government pays to what people think when it decides what to do? GOVATTN

Trust:

12. Those we elect to office usually try to keep the promises they have made during the election. KEEPPROM
13. Most of our public officials can be trusted to do what is right without our having to constantly check on them. DORIGHT
14. Unless we keep a close watch on them, many of our elected leaders will look out for a few special interests rather than for all the people. LOOKFEW
15. When government leaders make statements to the American people on television or in the newspaper, they are usually telling the truth. TELLTRU
16. Most government officials try to serve the public interest even if it is against their personal interest. SERVEPUB
17. The American system of government is the kind all countries should have. AMERBEST
18. How would you describe the United States government: best in the world. BESTGOV

19. How would you describe the influence of special interests in the United States. SPECINTS

4. Merriam, 1931; Litt, 1963; Coleman, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967; Langton and Jennings, 1968; Sigel, 1970; and Jennings and Niemi, 1974; to name only a few.

5. Minority representation in the sample as whole is comprised of 6.2% Asian, 3% Hispanic, 6.5% African-American, .6% Native American, 80.4% White, and .9% of other races. Because the percentages for individual groups were so low, the variable "Race" was recoded to "white" and "non-white."

6. The measures of trust and external efficacy are so closely related that they will be discussed together. In the analysis though, they are treated as separate measures.

7. The independent variables related to schools used in the initial equations are political knowledge, public or private school, perception of student input in school decisions, level of school involvement, attentiveness to public affairs, and participation or non-participation in the Close Up program. Family Social Position variables used mother's education, father's education, mother's occupation, income, and participation or non-participation in the Close Up program. Individual-level characteristics included gender, race, future occupational aspirations, age, and participation in the Close Up week. In addition, whether or not the student met with his or her U.S. Representative or Senator was included in each model.

8. Since a student's pre-existing level of internal efficacy must be treated as a lagged dependent variable, an equation was constructed to create an instrument which could then be used in the second regression equations to estimate post-experience levels of internal efficacy. In the second equation, the pre-existing level of internal efficacy is calculated by the following equation:

$$I = 2.08 + .026 * \text{know} + .371 * \text{public/private} - .120 * \text{runschoo} - .049 * \text{schoolinv} + .208 * \text{attentiv}$$

where know is political knowledge, public/private whether the student's home institution is public or private, runschoo is the level of student input into school

decision-making, schoolinv is the level of student involvement in school activities and culture, and attentiv is the student's attentiveness to public issues.

Since a student's pre-existing level of political trust must be treated as a lagged dependent variable, an equation was constructed to create an instrument which could then be used in the second regression equations to estimate post-experience levels of political trust. In the second equation, the pre-existing level of political trust is calculated by the following equation:

$$T=2.72 + .049*Gradeave - .274*Express - .067*Runschool \\ -.128*Sex - .120*Attentiv + .286*Campaign + \\ .034*Know$$

where gradeave is the student's self-reported grade average, express is the level of politically expressive behavior, runschool is the level of student input into school decision-making, sex is the student's gender, attentiv is the student's attentiveness to public issues, campaign is the level of campaign-related activity in which the student has engaged, and know is political knowledge.

Chapter Five: Political and Quasi-Political Participation

Although there may be deep and widespread agreement about the importance of political participation as a phenomenon of civic interest, there is considerable disagreement over its importance to the health and welfare of the United States polity. When political scientists examine adult political participation, the findings often contradict what democratic theory would prescribe for the citizen. Classical democratic theory places a rather heavy expectation on the individual for a significant level of knowledge, attentiveness, and activity within the political system. However, the earliest voting and political behavior studies found a citizenry which was neither particularly interested in public issues, informed about such issues, nor particularly active in electoral politics (Berelson, et.al., 1954; Campbell, et.al., 1960; Kessel, 1972; Pomper, 1975; Verba, Nie, and Petrocik, 1976). If this kind of inactivity and apathy is also evident among U.S. adolescents, how can low participation rates be explained and what are the systemic implications? Does a lack of general political participation translate into a perpetually skewed policy agenda?

Contemporary democratic theory has attempted to eliminate some of the apparent "defects" in the classical

model. Pateman (1970) suggests that classical theory is obsolete since it requires a level of widespread participation in the governing process; a level which the populace seems incapable of meeting. Secondly, the fears of a totalitarian take-over arise largely from the belief that total political participation by the masses would lead to the destruction of the democratic regime since democratic ideals and liberal tolerance is not supported throughout the mass citizenry. Some expositions of contemporary democratic theory define political participation solely within the context of electoral choice. Individual citizens choose from among the competing political elites who are then charged with the responsibility of making political decisions (Schumpeter, 1943). Dahl (1956) takes the electoral argument to the next level by suggesting that the polls are the arena in which non-elites choose governing elites. The role for the public is to legitimize government by making these leadership choices.

Thus, contemporary democratic theory largely absolves the individual citizen of much of the responsibility conveyed by the classical model. Non-participation in this sense is a positive, since it precludes those with limited interest and expertise from applying undue stress or demands on the political system (Berelson, 1952).

The meaning of participation must be understood within the theoretical context in which it is placed. Political participation can be either legitimizing, instrumental, or socializing (Salisbury, 1975). Legitimacy through popular consent is very close to Easton's (1969) concept of diffuse support (Patterson, Wahlke, and Boynton, 1973). Through activity related to electoral decisions, as well as symbolic tangential participation, individual citizens give their consent to those individuals as well as the government in which they will operate. System stability is therefore often interpreted as an indicator of a high level of citizen consent (Pateman, 1970).

Instrumentally motivated participation is very different. Political participation in this sense is seen as "...a necessary means of obtaining political power, and power is thought to be necessary to recoup losses, enhance gains, or otherwise enlarge the benefits of life for one's self or one's social sector" (Salisbury, 1975, p. 327). Citizens' instrumental activity is motivated by the perception that the allocation of system resources is slighting their interests. If the system does not respond with the appropriate change, stability may be threatened or disaffection may be expressed through increased alienation, cynicism, and lower levels of efficacy and

trust.

The third interpretation of participation, that of a mediator in social conflict, arises primarily through the writings of Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, and Alexis de Tocqueville. Although the assumptions of basic equality may prevent a similar contemporary interpretation, Rousseau's contention that through active participation, citizens would come to share a common understanding of the public good is really the defining role for political socialization. Participation in this sense is viewed as a learning process and thus higher levels of participation would lead to greater consensus among the social participants.

Alexis de Tocqueville's travels across America in the 1830's convinced him that participation in the political decision-making process produced a sense of political responsibility. When a person feels he or she can have some impact on the direction of social decision, de Tocqueville claimed, she is more likely to adopt a pragmatic, conciliatory attitude toward politics (de Toqueville, Vol. I, 1960). John Dewey (1937) referred to participation as the "keynote to democracy as a way of life...a necessity of every mature human being in the formation of the values that regulate the living of men together" (p. 86).

Theoretical assumptions linking high levels of citizen participation to increased consent, support, and policy satisfaction have produced a research agenda within the study of political socialization that concentrates on how children are taught to perceive participation, early forms of parallel participation in schools and family authority structures, and at what levels young citizens may be expected to participate in the future.

Socialization to Participate in Political Life

As children mature, the opportunities for direct and indirect political learning increase. Since schools occupy a substantial portion of the child's life, they would seem to provide a logical training ground for future political and community participation. Children and adolescents are in an awkward position with regard to "political" participation, because it is by and large defined as an "adult" activity (D'Amico, 1980). Exactly where the threshold is located depends on the type of activity. Voting, the most basic of all political activity, is restricted to citizens over the age of eighteen, the "age of majority." However, voting is seen as both a means of influence and a responsibility of the "good citizen."

Early political socialization research explored how

children adopted a particular view of government (Easton and Dennis, 1969) and the citizen's role within government (Hess and Torney, 1967). When the terms "good citizen," "democratic citizen," "involved citizen" are used interchangeably, it suggests that normatively, the U.S. system promotes high levels of citizen participation (Sigel and Hoskins, 1981). The form of this involvement is of course open to debate. Sigel and Hoskins argue that the "cultural imperative" demands that citizens demonstrate their commitment to the polity in at least three different ways:

First, citizens must feel loyalty or affection for the system. Patriotism might be one manifestation...willingly obeying the country's laws might be another. Second, citizens must be sufficiently well informed to discharge their citizenship duties meaningfully....knowledge of current happenings, conflicts, and possible solutions...Third, being a loyal and informed citizen constitutes only the beginning of democratic citizenship: the democratic citizen is also a participatory one. He not only elects representatives but helps them rule...the democratic citizen must not think that he has discharged his duties simply by being loyal, informed and voting. He must...exercise continuous control over government (Sigel and Hoskins, 1981, p. 39).

The cultural imperative thus demands that citizenship be exercised along affective, cognitive, and participatory dimensions simultaneously. This conception fits well within the theoretical confines of Easton's systems approach as well as within the role prescribed by

contemporary democratic theory since it channels most of the citizen participation through electoral politics. If these understandings of citizenship had been transmitted by the end of high school, it would seem that voting and other participation among 18-24 year olds would mirror that of the rest of the population, but in fact, they vote at the lowest levels of any cohort (Brody, 1978; Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980). Mobility, continuing education, work and family pressures, and a lack of attachment to the community are offered as explanations (Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980), but these are so heavily correlated with socio-demographic variables, that it is hard to sort out the main contributions or motivations from peripheral influences. The bottom line, however, is that political participation in the United States is a very complex and theory-specific phenomenon. Therefore, while schools, school-based activities, and experiential program participation may contribute, they cannot be viewed in isolation from the driving socio-political theory. In this analysis, socio-demographic variables related to the family's economic security, individual-level and school-related variables are used to explain the levels of citizen involvement reported by students who participate in the Close Up program and those who do not.

Schools and Political Participation

Indirect political learning through transference and apprenticeship models, and direct political learning through anticipatory political socialization, political education and experience can all take place within the single context of the school. When participation is the subject, however, the learning is tempered or filtered through an interpretation of what level political engagement is socially preferred.

High schools have traditionally been viewed as a surrogate for the broader society (Ziblatt, 1965), thus the rationale for extracurricular programs. It is assumed that students who participate in these activities will develop positive attitudes about their role in the political system at large and that upon reaching adulthood, will simply integrate political activity into an already vigorous social existence. Since traditionally defined extracurricular activities like sports, debate, school newspaper, service clubs, and student government are much less integrated with the rest of the academic experience than the theory of experiential learning would require for influence, we would expect that participation in the Close Up Foundation civics program would significantly contribute to political and quasi-political

participation.

Within the research literature, extracurricular activities have been examined with regard to their affect on system-supportive political attitudes. Among those who participate in extracurricular activities, Lewis (1962) found higher levels of political efficacy, greater legitimacy attributed to political institutions, and expectations for future political participation as adults.

Eyler (1977) suggests that perhaps the opposite causal relationship may be at work in that political attitudes predispose certain student to participate in school activities. Studies support her assertion that attitudes are fairly stable after about the eighth grade, and that the high school experience does not exert much influence on attitude change (Hess and Torney, 1967; Langton and Jennings, 1968, Jennings and Niemi, 1974; and Ehman, 1980). Using path analysis, Eyler (1977) suggests a model in which "students who come to school with more positive attitudes toward the political system generalize these attitudes to the school as a surrogate political system and in turn seek out involvement in extra-curricular and governance activities in the arena of high school" (Eyler, 1977, p. 46).

The student's perception of school climate and organizational entre plays an integral role in future

political orientations and participatory behavior. The more a school allows student participation in decision-making, the higher the students' political efficacy, trust, and social integration (Ehman and Gillespie, 1975; Sigel, 1977; Metzger, 1978). Merelman (1971), on the other hand, found that school input variables including student decision-making were related to support for democratic norms and to knowledge, but not to political participation.

Participation Research: A Puzzle

Part of the reason there are so many puzzling findings exist about the levels of participation over time may stem from the cacophony of differing expectations and motivations surrounding political activity in the United States. The perpetual question since the mid-1960's has been: Why the decline? Does it arise from a change in expectations of government produced by a change in attitudes toward government? If so, socialization and political learning played a crucial role in originating and defining the change. If attitudes are a predisposition to action, and if attitudes can largely be explained by socio-economic variables--particularly education and family occupation (and occupational expectations in the case of adolescents), what does that

suggest about causal patterns of participation? Voting studies have time and again identified education as the single most important predictor of electoral participation (Conway, 1991, p. 23). Yet, as the general levels of education throughout the society rise, participation and voting rates have declined (Abramson, 1983; Conway, 1991). We expect participation to be greatest when interest is highest, perhaps when an election is close (Aldrich, 1976) or a particular issues affects a voter personally (Almond and Verba, 1963). Yet, citizens predicted that the 1968, 1976, and 1980 elections would be close, but turnout continued to decline (Aldrich, 1976). Turnout may well be lower than is currently reported since individuals have a tendency to overestimate the level of their own participation (Clausen, 1968; Katosh and Traugott, 1981). This urge to report political engagement when in fact the citizen stayed home, is yet another product of socialization forces corresponding to the place for individual-level participation within the democratic polity (Grant and Roos, 1984).

This Chapter examines several variables and measures related to the school and school culture and relates them to student-reported political and quasi-political activities. The introduction of the experiential model is also examined for its affect on the level and type of

school, political, and quasi-political activity. In much the same way the effects of the experiential program on attitudes were examined, the two groups of students are compared at the outset through analysis of variance across the pre-test school involvement and participation measures. A variety of significant differences were detected at this stage, and so when comparing pre-test/post-test change, analysis of covariance was employed to introduce statistical controls on the variables where preexisting differences were significant. Both the difference of means and adjusted means are reported on all affected measures for both groups. Since political participation is legally constrained for most of these respondents, considerable examination is made of the school-related forms of political and quasi-political forms of participation. Ideally, the study would allow researchers to reestablish contact with these respondents in five to ten years in order to see if levels of school participation did, in fact, result in similar or greater levels of social and political engagement. The grounds for this type of future contact is built into the research design.

Measures of School and Political Participation

Because this research involves adolescents, measuring political activity is somewhat difficult. Adult political activity is usually defined as electoral participation through registration and voting, contributions to candidates or causes, or contact with public officials over some issue or problem. Adolescents rarely share in the same kinds of participatory activities.

Sigel and Hoskins (1981) utilize a fourteen item scale of political and quasi-political experiences in which high school students might take part. Defining three arenas of potential participation (campaign, community, and school), Sigel and Hoskins examine the types of behavior that might occur in each. Considerable attention is given to campaign-related activity which they suggest is quite open at the grass-roots level for student participation. The activities that they include in this arena, however, are largely related to the functions of political parties.¹ Because parties have become much less relevant to campaign politics in the ten years since The Political Involvement of Adolescents was published, some items directly related to party activity were excluded from the final scale used in this research. Initial pilot testing confirmed that student activity was much more likely to center around single-interest politics, particularly the

environment, and that party-centered electoral activity was uncommon.

The eleven items chosen to represent political and quasi-political activity in this research were subjected to factor analysis and three factors were extracted. Table V-1 presents the factor loadings for each of the three factors. The variables loading on each factor were combined to create an additive measure reflective of their common elements.² Three measures were ultimately chosen and reflect Campaign-related activities, Political Communication, and Politically Expressive Behavior. In addition to political activity, an additive measure was created to represent the level of involvement in the life of the school. This measure included holding an office in student government, participation in athletics, music, drama, debate, service clubs, and work on the student newspaper. Students were asked whether or not they participated in any of the activities, and a cumulative score indicates the level of total extracurricular school involvement (Table V-2). Factor analysis was used to explore the dimensions of school activity and two factors were extracted. Factor one included being an officer, athletics, debate, service clubs, and the student newspaper. Music and drama loaded on Factor two. Even though the factors are logical in their divisions of the

"type" of extracurricular activity, it was decided that for the initial analysis, only the level of activity would be used. Subsequent regression analysis including the type of school activity as well as level is discussed at the end of this chapter.

Correlations confirmed the suspicion that some types of participation like music and drama would not be closely related to political engagement. In fact, music did not significantly correlate with any of the individual political participation variables. This is to be expected since it is the only extracurricular activity included in the analysis that does not have some extension to the larger political domain. Athletics proved to be the next less associated with the political activities and proved significantly related only to telling someone how to vote (.13) and talking with a candidate(.12). Given that athletics is a very structured activity with rules and limits, it is not that surprising that the significant relationships are with electoral forms of participation. Drama proved positively correlated with collecting for a charity (.09), campaigning for a candidate (.12), wearing a campaign button (.18), contacting a government official (.10), and engaging in political protest (.10).³

Table V-1

Factor Analysis of Political Participation
Questionnaire Items

	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>	<u>Factor 3</u>
Percent of variance explained:	26.2%	10.7%	10.2%
CAMPAIGN *	.77916		
WRBUTTON *	.71807		
TALKCAND *	.51192	.32826	
TELLVOTE *	.47176	.34471	
COLLECT *	.46774	.32076	
TALKFRND *		.77236	
UNPOPVW *		.76852	
NOSTAND *			.67505
PROTEST *			.66776
CONTACT *			.53640
TALKSHOW *			.53259

The variables are responses to whether the respondent has had the following experiences "more than once," "once," "never":

- *CAMPAIGN: Campaigned for a candidate
- *WRBUTTON: Worn a campaign button or put a sticker on a car
- *TALKCAND: Talked to a political candidate
- *TELLVOTE: Tried to convince people how to vote
- *COLLECT: Collected for a charity or done volunteer work
- *TALKFRND: Talked to friends about politics
- *UNPOPVW: Expressed an unpopular view in class
- *NOSTAND: Refused to stand for the Pledge of Allegiance
- *PROTEST: Participated in a political protest or demonstration
- *CONTACT: Gone to a government office or contacted a government official with a complaint
- *TALKSHOW: Called a radio station during a political talk show or written a letter to a newspaper

¹ Factor analysis performed with principle component extraction and varimax rotation. Factor 1 reflects Campaign-related Activity, Factor 2 reflects Political Communication with Others, and Factor 3 reflects Politically Expressive Behavior. The three measures are additive scales created from these variables.

Table V-2

Type and Level of School Involvement

	‡ (N) Close Up Students	‡ (N) Non-Close Up Students
Student has run for an office in school government or a club	68.5 (196)	56.0 (163)
Student has held office in school government of club	74.4 (215)	62.6 (181)
Student participates in Athletics	55.4 (160)	56.7 (164)
Student plays in band, orchestra, or sings with choral group	33.6 (96)	30.4 (88)
Student participates in Dramatic presentations	23.6 (67)	17.1 (49)
Student is a member of school Debate team or club	18.9 (54)	11.5 (33)
Student is member of service organization or club	59.9 (172)	50.5 (147)
Student is active with school Newspaper	21.7 (62)	16.5 (47)

Of all the activities, holding school office might be expected to produce the strongest and greatest number of significant correlations with political forms of participation because it is an apprenticeship of sorts, but in fact it is surpassed by work on the school newspaper. The nine types of activities associated with holding school office are, as expected, highly related to electoral participation.⁴ Holding school office is also associated with other school activities like athletics (.15), service clubs (.19), and debate (.13). Involvement with the school newspaper produced significant and positive relationships with 10 types of political activities⁵ and is also related to other school activities like debate (.14) and holding school office (.09). All activities except affiliation with the newspaper resulted in significantly negative correlations with refusing to stand for the National Anthem.

The typologies of students that appear in the correlations between the school activities themselves present a picture that should look familiar to anyone who attended an American high school. The athletes are likely to also be involved in school government and service clubs, but not music, drama, debate, or the newspaper. Students active in drama are also likely to be involved with music and debate, but not in any of the other

activities. Debaters prove to be active in school government, drama, and the newspaper. The clear associations between some types of involvement, but not others suggests that in addition to the level of school involvement, the nature of that involvement may prove significant to political participation as well and is subsequently investigated through regression analysis.

Hypotheses

Based on previous research in the area of adolescent participation and the effects of extracurricular involvement in the socialization process, this research hypothesizes that students participating in the experiential Close Up Washington High School Program, which allows for active learning, integration of thought and action related to participatory citizenship, and reflection with peers will 1) exhibit significant increases in political communication with others and politically expressive behavior and 2) on the post-test measures will exhibit significantly higher levels of campaign-related behavior, political communication with others, and politically expressive behavior than students from the same high school who do not participate in the experiential civics program.

Since participation in political and quasi-political

activities can be the product of many forces, multivariate regression is employed to examine the contributions related to school, family, and individual characteristics. These variables are used to examine both school involvement and political involvement since previous research suggests a correlation between the two. When political participation is the dependent variable in the regression models, the students' participation in the experiential civics program is added in order to examine whether the predictive value of the models is significantly affected due to the experience.

Certain relationships are expected among individual, family, school-related variables and the dimensions of political participation as well as the level and type of school involvement.

First, we would expect that students expressing positive attitudes towards the school to look for ways to express those predispositions through activity (Eyler, 1982). These students are expected to be more active, scoring higher on the school involvement measure. If these same students view the school as a political system, the level of school involvement should carry over into activities of a more explicitly political nature (Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1977) therefore exhibiting higher levels of campaign-related activity, political communication with

others, and politically expressive behavior.

The gender of the student is expected to mediate the relationships between school involvement and political participation since some activities are in fact socially pre-defined as "male," both in school and in politics (see Table V-3). Although the gender gap is not reported to be as wide (Merelman, 1971; Jennings and Niemi, 1974) as previously suggested by the earliest political socialization literature (Hyman, 1959), the gap is widest where participation is at issue. Merelman (1971), for example, found that although there were few gender-based differences in political attitude, males were six times as likely to report a future interest in political participation than were girls. Other evidence suggests that boys also make the link between activity and future educational and occupational status during high school, but girls reported seeing no relevant future connections for high school participation (Rehberg and Shafer, 1973).

Socio-economic status has also been linked to participation in the wider political science literature (Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980; Conway, 1991). While examining political attitudes it was possible to make linkages between family situations and levels of efficacy and trust in students, but it may be a more tenuous link with participation since the discussion of strictly

political participation is rather speculative. While we would expect that highly participatory parents would produce active children, this research does not provide any data with which to make conclusions about the parents level of participation. We do know, however, that highly educated parents are more likely to participate, as are individuals of particular income levels and occupations and there may be some relationship evident between the families socio-economic status, students' school involvement and dimensions of political participation. In addition, the causal dilemma of the relationships remain since there is no way to tell whether the attitudes (which are after all predispositions) determine participation, or whether levels of involvement are more influential in promoting certain attitudes over others.

The addition of the experiential model Close Up Washington program suggests that it should again be reinforcing in its effects. Students attending the experiential civics program, Close Up, are expected to exhibit higher pre-test and post-test mean scores along the three participation dimensions. For significant regression models, we would expect Close Up participation to intensify certain contributions and increase the predictive value of the model as a whole. Since the Close Up experience is by definition much closer to the "ideal"

Table V-3

Political Participation Dimensions by Gender

	<u>Campaign-Related Activity</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Close Up	2.00	2.01
Non-Close Up	1.81	1.80

	<u>Politically Expressive Behavior</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Close Up	2.06	1.89
Non-Close Up	1.73	1.56

	<u>Political Conversation with Others</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Close Up	2.47	2.55
Non-Close Up	2.28	2.31

	<u>Attentiveness to Public Issues³</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Close Up	3.28	3.04
Non-Close Up	2.94	2.84

² The political participation is an additive measure based on political and quasi-political activities that students may have never done, done once, or more than once. The range on the measure is from one (never) to three (more than once).

³ Attentiveness is measured with a five point scale in which one is low and five is high.

described by the theory of experiential learning, we might expect that it will be more predictive than other types of school participation that are farther removed from the world of politics. Duration and intensity are also descriptors for influence when describing the likely socializing influence of various factors, and in this case, one week may be too short to produce large, quantifiable differences with these measures.

ANALYSIS

Pre-test Differences Between Groups

Responses on the pre-test and post-test behavior measures were analyzed on two levels. First the pre-test measures were compared to determine if the Close Up participants were different from the non-Close Up students on any of the participation measures. If pre-existing differences were present and not controlled in the analysis, the actual effects of the experiential model would be overestimated due to interference rather than to the true product of the experience. Unlike the attitudinal measures, pre-existing differences were detected at the .05 level of significance in campaign-related participation as well as the politically expressive behavior dimension. In addition, pre-test differences on both knowledge and attentiveness to public

issues were found between the participant and non-participant students at the .05 level. Pre-test scores for knowledge and attentiveness are used in this analysis as independent variables since they are theoretically relevant to levels of participation and to the particular definition of civic responsibility.⁶ Since there were not any significant differences detected on the political efficacy and trust measures, but differences exist on the participation measures, it may suggest that the political participation scores for students are more closely related to school-level variables rather than political attitudes. This proposition will be investigated through regression analysis employing the level of school involvement and the type of activity as independent predictor variables.

Pre-test/Post-test Change:

Participants and Non-participants

Using Paired t-tests, Close Up participants and non-participants were analyzed with respect to differences predicted from participation in the experiential model civics program. Results are presented in Table V-4. Analysis of covariance is used to adjust the post-test means for pre-existing differences on the pre-test measures. Analysis of covariance is useful in quasi-experimental research designs where extraneous variance

may result in overestimating the magnitude of the treatment effect (Wildt and Ahtola, 1978). This is particularly important in this research since the "intact" group of Close Up participants is self-selecting. By employing analysis of covariance, the pre-test means can be assumed to be statistically equal when in reality there were pre-existing differences. Analysis of covariance was performed using the post-test score as dependent variable, the program participation as independent, and pre-test scores as covariates. Additional analysis for the participation measures specified preexisting levels of knowledge and attentiveness as covariates since these are assumed to facilitate participatory activity and were significantly different for the two groups.

Table V-4 shows that on all three measures of participation, the Close Up students had significantly higher post-test means. The differences persisted even when adjusted for pre-test differences. For all three of the measures, the mean score is based on students' frequency of participation on eleven political and quasi-political activities.⁷ Close Up participants remain higher on the campaign-related activity measure (1.94) when compared with non-participants (1.80) after the post-test means have been adjusted for previous differences in campaign-related behavior. The pre-test/post-test change

for the participants is not significant and is contrary to the hypothesized direction. This may be a reflection of the short period of time between the two survey administrations since few if any major electoral opportunities would have presented themselves in the interim. A more appropriate measure of effect would be a retest for both groups after an election cycle.

The political conversation measure exhibits the highest mean scores for both groups and the Close Up participants remain significantly higher after the Washington experience. However, contrary to the hypothesized increase, the mean score for the Close Up students remains the same (2.52) on both the pre-test and post-test measures, and drops .02 when controlled for the pre-test score. This seems inconsistent with the significant increase in attentiveness for this group after the experiential program (Table V-5). Talking about politics would seem to logically follow attentiveness to public issues. If an individual is more attentive to politics, he or she should feel more confident and thus be more likely to engage in political discussions with others. It would also seem likely that the Close Up experience should give participants exposure to the appropriate vocabulary to engage in political dialogue. This cannot be tested directly from the data, but may be

Table V-4

Pre- and Post-test Mean Comparisons on the
Political Participation Dimensions

for Close Up (CU) and Non-Close Up (NON-CU) Students

PARTICIPATION DIMENSION	Pre-test Mean		Post-test Mean		Adjusted Post-test Mean ¹	
	NON-CU	CU	NON-CU	CU	NON-CU	CU
Campaign-Related Participation ²	1.89 N=274	2.00 N=260	1.77 N=261	1.97 N=238	1.80	1.94
	(F=6.37 p=.001)		(F=10.48 p=.001)		(F=5.58 p=.004)	
Political Talk with Others ³	2.40 N=291	2.52 N=287	2.30 N=289	2.52 N=286	2.34	2.48
	**	**	(F= 5.6 p=.003)		(F=3.15 p=.04)	
Political Expression through Behavior ⁴	1.38 N=291	1.51 N=287	1.63 N=287	1.95 N=285	1.69	1.96
	(F=5.25 p=.005)		(F=11.08 p=.001)		(F=6.66 p=.001)	

**No significant differences at the .05 level.

¹ Adjusted Posttest Means are the result of Analysis of Covariance conducted with the pretest as covariate and posttest as dependent. Analysis of Covariance was used in this instance because significant differences at the .05 level existed on the pretest score for all three measures of participation.

² Campaign-related Participation is a three point (one: never, two: once, three: more than once) ordinal-level measure from students' responses on five survey items.

³ Political Talk with Others is a three point ordinal-level measure (Low: never, Moderate: once, High: more than once) created from students' responses on two survey items.

⁴ Political Expression through Behavior is three-point ordinal-level measure (Low: never, Moderate: once, High: more than once) created from students' responses on four survey items.

Table V-5

Pre- and Post-test Comparisons on the
Attentiveness to Public Affairs Dimension

for Close Up (CU) and Non-Close Up (NON-CU) Students

	<u>Pre-test Mean</u>		<u>Post-test Mean</u>		<u>Adjusted Post-test Mean¹</u>	
	NON-CU	CU	NON-CU	CU	NON-CU	CU
Attentiveness ²	2.89	3.07	2.88	3.15	2.89	3.12
	N=276	N=270	N=273	N=277		
	(F=6.68 p=.001)		(F=10.80 p=.001)		(F=10.80 p=.001)	

¹ Adjusted Posttest Means are the result of Analysis of Covariance conducted with the pretest as covariate and posttest as dependent. Analysis of Covariance was used in this instance because significant differences at the .05 level existed on the pretest score for all three measures of participation.

² Attentiveness to Governmental Activity is a five point interval-level measure (Low: never...to... High: five times a week) created from students' responses on six survey items including: self-reported level of interest in government and political issues, how often the student watches a national news program, reads about political issues in the newspaper, talks about politics with parents, friends, and other adults.

suggested in the increase in knowledge scores and more complex cognitive schema (Chapter Six) evident for most participants.

The final measure, politically expressive behavior, reflects the kinds of demonstrative activities in which an individual might take part and are primarily unconventional forms of political behavior. These included refusing to stand for the National Anthem, taking part in a protest or demonstration, contacting a public official with a complaint and calling a radio or television talk show. The mean scores on this measure are the lowest for any of the participation dimensions. Most likely, this is a reflection in the lack of variation in the frequency of unconventional political behavior (Table V-6 and V-7). For each of the four dimensions of politically expressive behavior, those students indicating that they have never engaged in the activity is over 70 percent. Refusing to stand for the National Anthem results in the highest level of "never" responses, with 95 percent of each group in this category. These results probably reflect the fact that for sixteen and seventeen year olds, conformity within a particular range of behavior is important. While adolescence is a time for

trying on a variety of "faces," experimentation and expressive behavior is more likely to be evident in hair styles, clothes, and music than in political activity. A quick look at contemporary teen magazines (e.g. Tiger), however, suggests that conformity even in clothing and hair is also more the norm than the exception. Adjusted mean scores on the dimension of politically expressive behavior show Close Up participants increase by .45 to 1.96. Non-participants also increase, but the post-test means are significantly lower than those for experiential students (1.69).

Table V-6

Pre-test
Political and Quasi-Political Participation

<u>Pretest Activity</u>	<u>Non-Close Up</u>	<u>Close Up Participant</u>
Collected for a Charity		
Never	69 (23.6%)	59 (20.5%)
Once	57 (19.5%)	55 (19.0%)
More than Once	166 (56.8%)	174 (60.4%)

Campaigned for a Candidate		
Never	230 (78.8%)	196 (67.8%)
Once	38 (13.0%)	63 (21.8%)
More than Once	24 (8.2%)	30 (10.4%)

Tried to Convince Someone		
How to Vote		
Never	160 (54.8%)	135 (46.7%)
Once	45 (15.4%)	39 (13.5%)
More than Once	87 (29.8%)	115 (39.5%)

Worn a Campaign Button or		
Displayed a Political		
Bumper Sticker		
Never	154 (52.7%)	110 (38.1%)
Once	51 (17.5%)	51 (17.6%)
More than Once	87 (29.8%)	126 (43.6%)

Talked to a Candidate		
Never	170 (58.2%)	123 (42.6%)
Once	56 (19.2%)	78 (27%)
More than Once	66 (22.6%)	88 (30.4%)

Talked with a Friend		
About Politics		
Never	45 (15.4%)	25 (8.7%)
Once	36 (12.3%)	30 (10.4%)
More than Once	211 (72.3%)	233 (80.9%)

Expressed an Unpopular Political View in Class		
Never	50 (17.2%)	38 (13.2%)
Once	55 (18.9%)	51 (17.7%)
More than Once	186 (63.9%)	199 (69.1%)

Refused to Stand for the National Anthem		
Never	277 (95.2%)	277 (95.8%)
Once	5 (1.7%)	2 (.7%)
More than Once	9 (3.1%)	9 (3.1%)

Participated in a Protest or Demonstration		
Never	249 (85.3%)	223 (77.4%)
Once	27 (9.2%)	40 (13.9%)
More than Once	16 (5.5%)	25 (8.7%)

Contacted Government with a Complaint		
Never	250 (85.6%)	230 (79.6%)
Once	27 (9.2%)	37 (12.8%)
More than Once	15 (5.1%)	20 (7.6%)

Called a Radio or Television Talk Show		
Never	264 (90.4%)	248 (85.8%)
Once	20 (6.8%)	24 (8.3%)
More than Once	8 (2.7%)	17 (5.9%)

Table V-7

Post-test
Political and Quasi-Political Participation

<u>Pretest Activity</u>	<u>Non-Close Up</u>	<u>Close Up Participant</u>
Collected for a Charity		
Never	73 (25.1%)	60 (20.9%)
Once	73 (25.1%)	56 (27.3%)
More than Once	145 (49.8%)	171 (59.6%)

Campaigned for a Candidate		
Never	78 (28.4%)	45 (17.4%)
Once	173 (62.9%)	166 (64.1%)
More than Once	24 (8.7%)	48 (18.5%)

Tried to Convince Someone		
How to Vote		
Never	116 (40.0%)	101 (35.1%)
Once	53 (18.3%)	47 (16.3%)
More than Once	121 (41.7%)	140 (48.6%)

Worn a Campaign Button or		
Displayed a Political		
Bumper Sticker		
Never	137 (46.9%)	107 (37.2%)
Once	63 (21.6%)	47 (16.3%)
More than Once	92 (31.5%)	134 (46.5%)

Talked to a Candidate		
Never	147 (50.3%)	55 (19.2%)
Once	69 (23.6%)	75 (26.2%)
More than Once	75 (25.7%)	156 (54.5%)

Talked with a Friend		
About Politics		
Never	34 (11.7%)	14 (4.8%)
Once	38 (13.1%)	27 (9.3%)
More than Once	219 (75.3%)	247 (85.5%)

Expressed an Unpopular Political View in Class		
Never	45 (15.5%)	33 (11.5%)
Once	58 (19.9%)	43 (14.9%)
More than Once	188 (64.6%)	212 (73.6%)

Refused to Stand for the National Anthem		
Never	269 (92.1%)	274 (95.5%)
Once	7 (2.4%)	2 (.7%)
More than Once	16 (5.5%)	11 (3.8%)

Participated in a Protest or Demonstration		
Never	227 (78.3%)	181 (62.6%)
Once	49 (16.9%)	71 (24.6%)
More than Once	14 (4.8%)	36 (12.5%)

Contacted Government with a Complaint		
Never	228 (78.6%)	181 (62.8%)
Once	38 (13.1%)	54 (18.8%)
More than Once	24 (8.3%)	53 (18.4%)

Called a Radio or Television Talk Show		
Never	251 (86.0%)	236 (81.9%)
Once	29 (9.9%)	38 (13.2%)
More than Once	12 (4.1%)	14 (4.9%)

Multivariate Regression Analysis

Multivariate regression may expose interactions between variables that when combined, provide an explanation for levels of political activity along the three dimensions. Similar to the method used in Chapter Four with attitudes, the individual, family and school-related variables were combined in a priori models based on the results of previous political socialization research. In order to successfully explain levels of political and quasi-political activity, levels of school involvement were combined with grade average, gender, attentiveness to public affairs and internal efficacy. The pre-test score for each measure was first used to compute an estimated instrument which was then included in a second regression equation (Ostrom, 1990). For each significant model, participation in the experiential civics program was added in order to assess its contribution to the post-test dependent variable. Models were also created to examine levels of school involvement since a relationship between high school activity and future political activity has been suggested by other research (Sigel and Hoskins, 1980). Individual, family and school-related variables were combined to create these models. The model including parental

education, occupation and family income did not prove significantly explanatory nor did the combination of the students' age, race, gender, and occupational aspirations.

When grade average was combined with internal efficacy, external efficacy and political trust, a significant model resulted explaining 22 percent of the variation in school involvement (see Table V-8, Model 1).

Of the four variables, grade average was the strongest positive predictor followed by internal efficacy. External efficacy and trust were both negatively associated with school involvement. Similar relationships have been found for external efficacy, trust and political participation (Gamson, 1968).

When gender is included in the models for school involvement, it exhibits a negative relationship, but is significant as an individual predictor. Combined with internal efficacy and grade point average (both positively related), a second significant model results (Table V-8, Model 2). Attentiveness to media and public issues and the students' grade average are both very strong predictors of school involvement. When one or both are included in models containing other family, school, or individual-level variables, significant models often result.

Accepting the notion that school involvement is a

parallel activity to political engagement and thus would predict the latter, regression models were created in which one of three dimensions of political participation acts as the dependent variable and school involvement combined with the estimated instrument as well as other independent measures complete the model. No significant models could be constructed for any of the three dimensions of political or quasi-political activity. One reason may be the lack of variation found in the individual components of the participation dimensions. While active in school-based functions, strictly political involvement is rare among these students.

Table V-8

Multivariate Regression:
School Involvement

MODEL 1

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Student's Grade Average	.110	.030	<.001
Internal Efficacy	.106	.089	NS
External Efficacy	-.058	.079	NS
Political Trust	-.052	.080	NS

R²=.22
Adjusted R²=.16 F=3.90 p< .007

MODEL 2

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Student's Grade Average	.113	.029	<.001
Internal Efficacy	.089	.086	NS
Gender	-.209	.118	<.001

R²=.25
Adjusted R²=.21 F=6.21 p<.001

MODEL 3

<u>Independent Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Student's Grade Average	.120	.030	<.001
External Efficacy	-.103	.076	NS
Political Trust	-.080	.080	NS
How Student Participation in School Decision-Making	.021	.047	NS
Gender	-.279	.120	.02

R²=.27
Adjusted R²=.21 F=4.11 p<.003

Discussion and Conclusions

Even when the means are adjusted for pre-treatment differences, the Close Up students exhibit higher levels of political and quasi-political participation. These students also engage in more school-related extracurricular activities, but are statistically equivalent on the political attitude measures. This would seem to dispute Eyler's (1977) claim that attitudes, being predispositions, lead to behavior in school and through transference, to the larger political realm. The opposite causal relationship is not, however, directly confirmed either--that higher levels of engagement in the political process or school lead to more regime supportive and internally efficacious attitudes. No differences occurred between the groups either before or after the Close Up experience on the measures of internal efficacy, external efficacy, or political trust. However, differences existed both before and after the Close Up experience on two of the three political participation dimensions. One alternative explanation revolves around levels of knowledge and attentiveness to political issues.

Significant pre-test differences existed at the .05 level on the measures related to political knowledge and attentiveness. Attentiveness, which includes a measure of

media consumption, proved to be a very strong predictor of a student's level of school involvement. Knowledge was negatively associated (although not significant as an individual independent predictor variable) with the three dimensions of political participation and levels of school involvement.

Knowledge and attentiveness relate to the resources an individual brings to bear on the task at hand whether it is school-related or part of the larger political world. When attitudes were analyzed, participation in the Close Up experiential learning program accentuated the skills and resources the students already possessed. The same appears to be true with regard to political behavior. Participation in the program significantly increased attentiveness and knowledge for the Close Up students, but the mean scores remained the same for non-participants. Levels of attentiveness are not particularly high within either sample and the levels of knowledge are less than 50 percent on three of the six items (Table V-9).

The experiential theory of learning suggests that new knowledge is reconstructed through active reinterpretation of existing conditions. Each new level of knowledge is built upon the transformation of existing states through social interaction and personal interpretation (Vygotsky, 1962). Therefore, for each student, the potential

contribution of the experiential civics program Close Up is dependent on the existing attitudes, knowledge, attentiveness, and behaviors as well as the individual's capacity to engage in cognitive reinterpretation of the phenomenon before her.

The "good citizen" ideal requires that citizens in the democratic polity ought to be knowledgeable, interested, and participate in social and political decision-making (Hess and Torney, 1967). For U.S. adolescents, the opportunities to engage in electoral politics by voting is limited by law, but when asked to name three things that "a person like yourself" could do to influence government, voting was mentioned first by 29.4% of Close Up participants and 34.2% of non-participants. Since the majority of students in both groups are under the age of 18, voting is not something they could logically do to influence government. Mentioned second by both Close Up (20.1%) and non-participants (18.2%) alike was writing letters to public officials. Yet, in looking at the frequencies for this activity, 85.6% of the non-participants and 79.6% of the Close Up students reported that they had never engaged in this type of political activity. The third choice for influence over government for both Close Up and non-Close Up students was to take part in protests or demonstrations. However, looking at

Table V-9

Dimension of Political Knowledge:
Frequency of Correct Responses

Percentage of Correct Responses ¹		
Pretest	Close Up Students ‡	Non-Close Up Students ‡
(a) Which party has the most Representatives in the House	55.2 (159)	44.5 (130)
(b) To which party does Edward (Ted) Kennedy belong?	8.7 (25)	14.4 (42)
(c) How long is the term of office for the U.S. Senate?	51.2 (148)	40.4 (118)
(d) Has the Equal Rights Amendment been ratified?	33.7 (97)	26.8 (78)
(e) Who was the last Justice appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court?	11.2 (32)	8.6 (25)
(f) From which document do the following lines come... [Preamble to U.S. Constitution]	62.2 (32)	60.3 (176)
Posttest	Close Up Students ‡	Non-Close Up Students ‡
(a) Which party has the most Representatives in the House	66.0 (190)	48.6 (141)
(b) To which party does Edward (Ted) Kennedy belong?	10.4 (30)	12.7 (37)
(c) How long is the term of office for the U.S. Senate?	59.7 (172)	45.2 (132)
(d) Has the Equal Rights Amendment been ratified?	35.7 (102)	28.8 (83)
(e) Who was the last Justice appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court?	17.8 (51)	10.4 (30)
(f) From which document do the following lines come... [Preamble to U.S. Constitution]	61.1 (176)	61.4 (175)

¹ Percentages in this case are based on 289 Close Up students and 292 Non Close-Up students.

the frequency of this activity within these same students again finds an overwhelming number of students, 85.3% non-participant and 77.4% of the participants, reporting that they have never participated in this type of political behavior.

The open-ended definitions of citizenship find that the top responses for Close Up participants and non-participants included rights, freedom, residency in the United States, and a sense of nationality. Only one response type included an "active" component, but "trying to improve community" only generated 2.4 percentage response frequency.

These observations suggest that several findings need to be explored further. First, students do not seem to perceive themselves among those capable of influence when it comes to politics since the first item of influence is legally forbidden and the other two rarely used. Because political confidence, or internal efficacy, is significant in explaining school involvement and some dimensions of political participation, this may explain the relatively low levels of political participation. More tangentially, it may also explain the low levels of knowledge about the system and public officials. If politics is so removed from one's reach, understanding and political knowledge may be unimportant and thus energies would be directed

elsewhere.

The addition of experiential program participation to these findings suggests that politics may be made more interesting and students' attentiveness to public issues increased, but the only changes in the post-test method of influence question for the participants was that petition replaced protest as the third thing someone could do to influence government. Combined with skills and resources, attitudes and a comfortable family economic situation, Close Up increases the levels of participation for experiential students. The fact that the multivariate analysis of political forms of participation proved meaningless and the low frequency of participation on each of the participation components suggests that political participation is not a part of students' daily lives. Further, contrary to the literature, school involvement may not be directly related to political participation in the student's mind.

The true measure of the influence of experiential learning related to political participation cannot really be exacted until all avenues of civic participation are open to students. The fact that voting is mentioned first as a method of influence fits very comfortably within the contemporary democratic theory conception of desirable citizen participation. The fact that protest is

mentioned, but not used, may suggest that unconventional activity exists as an option should the appropriate situation arise for its use.

Endnotes

1. These activities included distributing leaflets, registering voters, stuffing envelopes, and the like.
2. The variables are responses to whether the respondent has had the following experiences "more than once," "once," "never":

Campaign-related Activities is created from five variables:

CAMPAIGN: Campaigned for a candidate
WRBUTTON: Worn a campaign button or put a sticker on a car
TALKCAND: Talked to a political candidate
TELLVOTE: Tried to convince people how to vote
COLLECT : Collected for a charity or done volunteer work

The Political Communication measure is created from two variables:

TALKFRND: Talked to friends about politics
UNPOPVW : Expressed an unpopular view in class

Politically Expressive Behavior is created from four variables:

NOSTAND : Refused to stand for the Pledge of Allegiance
PROTEST : Participated in a political protest or demonstration
CONTACT : Gone to a government office or contacted a government official with a complaint
TALKSHOW: Called a radio station during a political talk show or written a letter to a newspaper

3. All correlations are at least significant at the .01 level.

4. Significant and positive correlations with holding school office are campaign (.24), telling someone how to vote (.20), talking to a candidate (.22), talking to a friend about politics (.19), expressing an unpopular view in class (.20), contacting a government official (.11), and wearing a campaign button (.10).

5. Work with the newspaper correlated with collecting money (.10), campaigning (.24), telling someone how to vote (.19), wearing a campaign button (.16), talking with a candidate (.19), talking with a friend about politics (.26), expressing an unpopular view in class (.17), contacting a government official (.16), calling a talkshow (.20), and engaging in political demonstrations (.08).

6. Post-test scores for knowledge and attentiveness will be examined later as dependent variables and compared between the groups of Close Up and non-Close Up participants.

7. The scale values are two (more than once), one (once), and zero (never).

Chapter Six: Political Cognition and Political Schema

So far in this research, we have explored what adolescents in this sample know about politics and the U.S. system, how much attention they pay to public affairs, the levels of internal and external efficacy and political trust they exhibit, and how involved they are in the school and larger political processes. By comparing the samples at two points in time, the effects of the experiential civics program have also been analyzed. What is missing though is a look at how, as individuals, these students think about the political world and public issues. In this chapter, the theory of social cognition is employed to assess the cognitive schema of Close Up participants before and after participation in the program. The design for this portion of the research does not include a control group of students and so all respondents referred to in this chapter are Close Up participants only.

Political Socialization Research:

Appropriate Tools for the Task?

The process by which citizens learn about and incorporate politics into their daily lives has been the subject of political socialization research over the last

30 years. Almost all of this research has concentrated on the transmission of system-specific knowledge, values, attitudes, and skills thought necessary for the perpetuation of the democratic regime. Agents such as the family, the school, peers and the media have all been examined both in terms of their ability to transmit the substance of politics and the ultimate success of the transmission. Methodologically, these examinations have relied upon surveys based on large national samples. In other words, we have asked: what do children and adults know about the political system, what attitudes do they hold about the system and its components, and what do they do about it in terms of actual participation? From these snapshots in time, we have come to the conclusion that Americans are largely uninterested in politics, that they are ignorant of the very processes which promote self-government, and that their political attitudes are unstable and unattached to any internal political core.¹

Additionally, researchers have tried to tease out some kind of learning process that occurs within an individual, but these efforts have also been primarily based on same large survey-generated data sets. In approaching political socialization and learning in this way, researchers have made the assumption, implicitly or otherwise, that people think about politics in the same

kinds of ways, and when differences among people are found, they can most often be attributed to demographic variables or to the failings of one of the socializing agents. In sum, most research has approached political socialization in terms of inputs and outputs without much success in examining what occurs in between. Without an understanding of the process of political thought, results have not been particularly rich in their predictive value nor have they been satisfying in relation to placing the individual citizen within the context of a democratic theory.

Recently, some political scientists have begun to look toward other disciplines for theoretical approaches more appropriate to the study of socialization as a process. The earliest forays into psychology and sociology were attempts to identify and apply "new" theories to existing data sets², but more recent work utilizes both cognitive developmental theories and new methodologies. Social cognition theory forces us to shift our attention from external political behavioral phenomena to the study of internal representations and political information-processing strategies.

This chapter takes the immediate analysis one step deeper by including the process of individual political thought. It further explores some relatively new research

theory and methodology in the area of political cognition, applies a cognitive mapping technique to adolescents' domestic political schemata, and explores implications for both the study of political socialization and for civic education programs.

Social Cognition Theory and Politics

In its most general sense, social cognition can be defined as "knowledge of others" (Butterworth, 1982, p. 3). More precisely, Barker and Newson (1979) define it as, "how children of different ages construct a relation between themselves and the social objects of knowledge." This suggests not only a knowledge of others, but of one's self as well. In this regard, the individual and the social are not mutually exclusive, but complementary objects of knowledge. Thus, Piaget's "individualistic" approach is not completely opposed to the more "social" approach of Soviet psychologist L.S. Vygotsky (1962).

The major difference in these two approaches appears to lie in the locus of development. Piaget's theories of cognitive development are biologically grounded, suggesting that development proceeds from the level of the individual to that of society. Vygotsky, on the other hand, argues that development occurs first through social interaction and is then later internalized. In this

regard, development proceeds from the social to the individual level. For the purposes of this discussion, we will accept that the two are not mutually exclusive since interaction between the individual and society are essential to both, albeit in different proportions. Social cognition theory allows for the juxtaposition of the individual and the social, and it is precisely this juxtaposition which makes theories of social cognition valuable to understanding the acquisition of political knowledge and orientations.

Piaget's theories of development incorporate two important elements: discrete stages of cognitive development and a hierarchical process of movement toward mature cognitive thought (Torney-Purta, 1989). Further, Piaget assumes that thought is a pragmatically constituted, structured, developing activity (Rosenberg, et.al., 1988). These internal representations or structures are variously referred to as scripts (Abelson, 1981) or schema (Torney-Purta, 1989; Rosenberg, 1988). Torney-Purta defines a schema as, "a cognitive structure that organizes previously acquired information, influences memory and problem solving, and relates to attitudes" (1989, p. 15). In other words, a schema is

an organized body of knowledge, a mental structure that represents some part of some stimulus domain (Rumelhart and Ortony, 1977).

...the schema is a representation abstracted from experience, which is used to understand the work and deal with it. It consists of a set of expectations about how part of the world is organized; these expectations are applied to categorize various stimuli (Howard, 1987).

The concept of schema can be traced back to Immanuel Kant (Howard, 1987) and was introduced into psychology research in 1932 (Bartlett, 1932) in an effort to explain memory. When used by political scientists, an individual's political schema can operate as a very personalized and internal map that may guide researchers to a more complete understanding of a person's attitudes, orientations, and political behavior. Schema may be understood as a political cost-cutting device as well. Once solidified, it may frame new situations in such a way that the citizen can respond quickly and in a manner appropriate to personal circumstances.

Since a schema is "self-constructed," it is not necessarily an accurate reflection of reality, but rather an internal glimpse at the unique view of reality held by that individual. Therefore, if an individual can accurately relate his or her unique schema to a researcher, the possibility of bias in attaching the researcher's "meaning" (both theoretical and practical) to political knowledge, beliefs and attitudes, and behavior is greatly reduced. This possibility has widespread

implications for many areas of political science research and has already been employed on a limited basis (see Rosenberg, 1988; Sears, 1986; and Conover and Feldman, 1984).

In the area of survey methodology, schema has been used to explore the process individuals utilize in responding to political attitude questions (Tourangeau, 1987). Results of attitude surveys are largely meaningless if the respondent's political schema does not resemble that of the researcher or survey author. It further suggests that since individuals' political schemata are not necessarily similar, but based on a wide variety of individual variables, aggregate measures of political attitudes may not be very useful when they are interpreted in isolation from cognitive process information.

This is particularly important when the respondents are adolescents. If high school students retrieve wildly different representations of political concepts, and in turn, utilize them in answering the standard attitude questions, has an "attitude" been measured? Does an attitude exist as researchers have defined it? One example from this research illustrates the point. An open-ended concept question at the beginning of the "Civic Education Project" survey asked the student, "When someone

talks about SPECIAL INTERESTS, what do you think they are talking about?" When the frequencies for this question are examined, the largest percentage of students (37.7%) said that "special interests" are "things that are interesting" and another 18.5 % interpreted special interests as "hobbies." Subsequently, five questions later when these students reached the item which asked, "How would you describe the influence of special interests in the United States: too much influence(7)....too little influence(1)?" what information are they retrieving to respond to this question? Only 29.3% chose the middle category, 14.3% placed themselves closest to "too little influence" and 56.4% selected closest to "too much influence." For those who define "special interests" as hobbies, does this question even make any sense? If it is nonsensical, do they skip the question? The low number of missing responses on this question (16 out of 289) would seem to suggest that they do not move past what they do not understand, but like their adult counterparts (Bishop, 1983), respond to the question. For researchers who later analyze the results and attach a normative meaning to the perceived level of special interest dominance in American society, these results would suggest that the endeavor runs the risk of being meaningless.

Political Schema and Change: A New Methodology

The notion that political thought is both structured and active allows for the possibility that individuals' internal representations of political structure and his/her place within that structure can be altered or reconstituted. As we have seen in the case of attitudes, adolescence is a prime time for reconstruction and change.

Judith Torney-Purta has developed a methodology to examine high school students' international political and economic schemata which is based on hypothetical political problems (Torney-Purta, 1989, 1990). Using a computer-assisted foreign policy simulation developed at the University of Maryland as the "treatment," Torney-Purta poses hypothetical political dilemmas to students ranging in age from 12-17. Students are interviewed both before and immediately after they have participated in the two week simulation exercise. The students are asked to "think-aloud" in constructing their responses. Prompts or probes are given only when the student seems to complete his/her answer, at which time an interviewer will ask if there might be problems associated with the solutions or reasons the solution offered would not work. Transcripts of students' recorded verbal responses are then evaluated on a number of different dimensions.

Responses to Torney-Purta's interviews were initially examined using analyses developed by both Jurd (1978) and Voss (1983), but were rejected since they did not seem to capture the increased complexity of a student's post-experience response. Responses were then examined with regard to actors, actions, and constraints imposed on the situation similar to research conducted on logical problem-solving. In addition to coding the transcripts, Torney-Purta developed a graphic model depicting the relationships between the actors, actions, and constraints mentioned by the students. For the most part, the complexity, defined by an increase in the number of actors, actions, constraints, as well as the connections between the components, increased in the post-experience diagrams indicating that some type of restructuring had occurred (Torney-Purta, 1989, 1990).

Several features of Torney-Purta's research make it unique and suggest that a similar methodology should be applied in other political domains. First, the Project ICONS foreign policy simulation is conducted as a part of Maryland's Summer Center for International Studies which is based on competitive admission. Most (but apparently not all) of the students attending the program have been identified by their schools as "gifted and talented." Student participants undergo briefings about foreign

policy, are divided into teams and assigned to represent six foreign countries, prepare a position paper outlining the foreign policy agenda of "their country," and engage in a negotiation process related to the specific foreign policy scenario presented at the start of the program (Torney-Purta, 1990, p. 3).

Torney-Purta's hypothetical dilemmas closely paralleled the content of the ICONS simulation exercises in which the students had just participated. It is not really surprising that students showed an increase in the use of appropriate political vocabulary as well as greater complexity in relationships among actors, actions, and the recognition of constraints given the intensity and proximity to the interviews. When placed in a hypothetical role as "finance minister" or "diplomat," students were able to draw on the situations they had experienced in their simulation exercises.³ Having already spent two weeks role-playing a foreign diplomat, they were readily able to "assume" the role of a political leader and express how they viewed the responsibilities, options, and power relationships contained in the hypothetical as well as assess what solutions or actions were available. It is unclear, however, if the students approached the problem based on their "assumed" country's perspective, an undefined or purely hypothetical country's

perspective as is described in the problem, or that of the United States. Would a student exhibiting a relatively undeveloped international schemata be most likely to use information learned most recently or fall back to his or her knowledge of the United States perspective? This further raises the question of persistence. How long-lasting are any changes evident immediately following the "treatment"?

"Thinking-Aloud" About Domestic Politics

As a methodology, this think-aloud technique based on hypothetical political situations has proven effective at capturing existing cognitive structures and is sensitive to development and change in representations of politics. Yet the true test of a new methodology comes from its applicability to other situations. Are the increases in cognitive sophistication found by Torney-Purta a methodological artifact or can the same phenomenon be reproduced in other political domains as well? The research described below adopts Torney-Purta's basic approach in that it utilizes the "thinking aloud" and hypothetical political situations, but differs in the subject matter and form of "treatment."

Methodology

Fifteen students who attended the Close Up Foundation Washington focus program in April of 1989 were interviewed just prior to their week in Washington, DC and then again about one month later in their home communities. These students were asked to respond to five hypothetical political problems.⁴ In the material presented below, selected students are from Cooperative High School, an arts magnet school located in an economically depressed section of New Haven, CT; Windham High School, a suburban school located in Williamantic, CT; and Regina Dominican, a private girls school located in Willmette, IL, a wealthy suburb of Chicago, IL. All students self-reported on the survey that they had taken at least one civics class.

An additional five students were interviewed during the fall of 1990 using a slightly different set of questions in which the situations remained the same, but the students were asked to solve the problems as citizens rather than political leaders.⁵ Students responding to these hypotheticals were from New Hope High School in New Hope, PA. New Hope is an affluent community located about 30 miles north of Philadelphia, PA.

The hypothetical questions were designed to include various elements of American politics and government that the Close Up Washington program would expose students to

in some way. There was no way to construct questions specifically tailored to the students' week in Washington, DC, in as much as a substantial portion of a specific program week is determined by current issues. Each student interviewed was assigned to a different workshop group while in Washington, DC, and so had a somewhat different exposure and experience. However, the concepts of federalism, separation of powers, and the duties and powers of the three branches of government are an integral part of all Close Up activities and so would be known to all regardless of the particular week of participation or workshop assignment. Other concepts contained in the questions like balancing the benefits of one group against another, U.S. intervention in foreign countries, scarce resources, and electoral politics are an integral part of the current political landscape. Issues such as apartheid, the budget deficit, toxic waste, and defense contractor scandals were included to introduce elements of morality, value judgements and knowledge of current events.

The questions were first pilot tested on college students at the University of Maryland, College Park, and slight word order changes were made in the interest of clarity. The phrase "who else would you include in your efforts to solve this problem" was added to encourage

students to think in terms of the entire political system of institutions and individuals. In conducting the interviews, the prompt, "Anything else you could do?" and "Do you see any problems with your solution?" were used to elicit more complete information and any potential constraints the student might see. Questions were then pilot-tested using high school students and no other changes were made.

The hypotheticals were presented to each student individually and the responses taped. Students were given a copy of the dilemmas and were told to read along silently as the researcher read each problem aloud. Students were encouraged to take as much time as they needed in considering their response. In some cases, the reading level of the student was gravely deficient, and the question had to be read aloud by the researcher several times. In other cases, students had to be prompted to provide a complete solution. Where references were vague, students were asked to explain further to whom they were referring and exactly how the specified action would be undertaken.

The second set of interviews employed this type of prompting to a much greater degree in response to the vague references found in the transcripts of the first interviews. Students in the second sample were also asked

to explain and define concepts like apartheid, what the president does, who the Secretary of State reports to, and what toxic waste "is like." Only through this more rigorous prompting can we know positively that students are using terms and concepts in a conventional manner. Asking student to list the attributes of the president or Congress often brought to light incorrect or inconsistent information.

Hypotheses

Given the previous work using this methodology and the theory of social cognition which suggests that mental representations of politics are unique to each individual and subject to change when the individual is confronted with an experience of sufficient intensity, we would expect that pre-Close Up solutions to the hypothetical dilemmas would be rather incomplete and personalized, with few direct references to public officials by name or specific intricacies of the political process. Within the post-Close Up responses, however, we would expect to see the student generalize out to the political process to a greater degree, identifying political rather than personalized actors, more specific actions, and a greater number of constraints that are more detailed in their description and references. Since the content of

hypothetical dilemmas is not as directly connected to the Close Up week in Washington, DC, as the Torney-Purta dilemmas are to the ICONS simulation, we do not expect a similar dramatic increase in the number of actors, actions, and constraints to be offered by students after the experiential program.

Analysis

Discussion of Results

The audio tapes of each interview were transcribed and analyzed for content. Selected responses were mapped in order to present a graphic representation of each student's solution to the dilemma. Figures VI-1 through VI- feature the maps of selected responses from the first set of questions which place the student in the role of a political leader and the second set in which students approach the problem from the position of "citizen."

Figure VI-1

Pre-Close Up
New Hope High School-Female
Toxic Waste Hypothetical
Respondent as Citizen

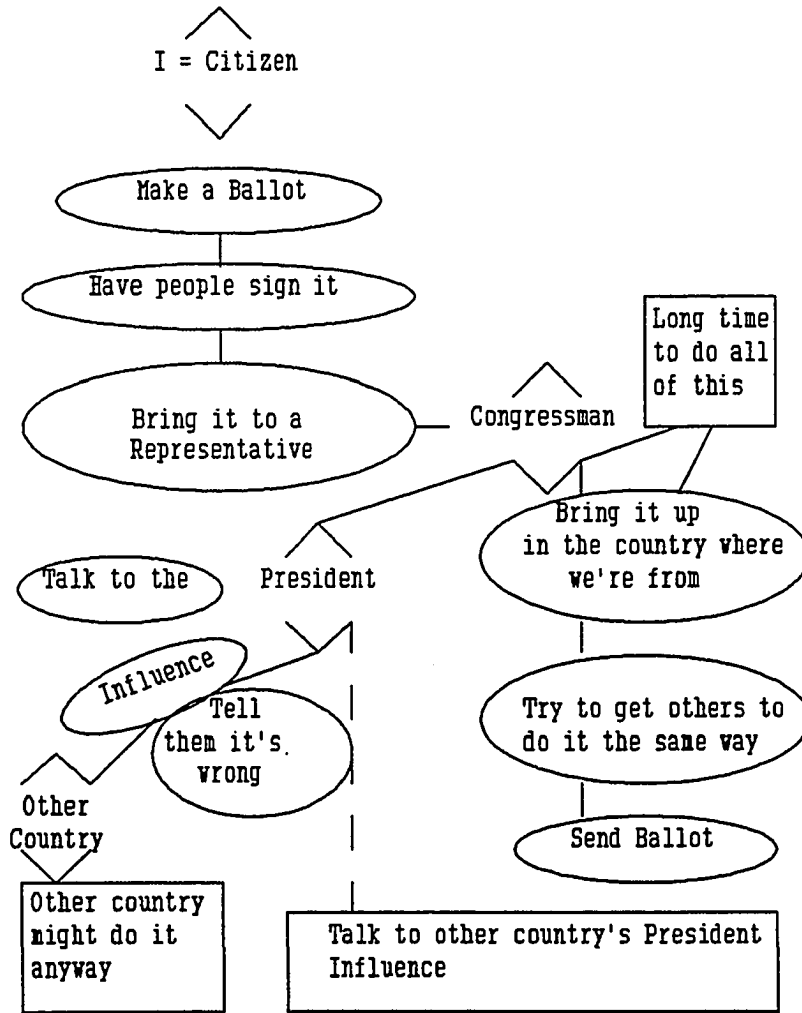


Figure VI-2

Post-Close Up
New Hope High School-Female
Toxic Waste Hypothetical
Respondent as Citizen

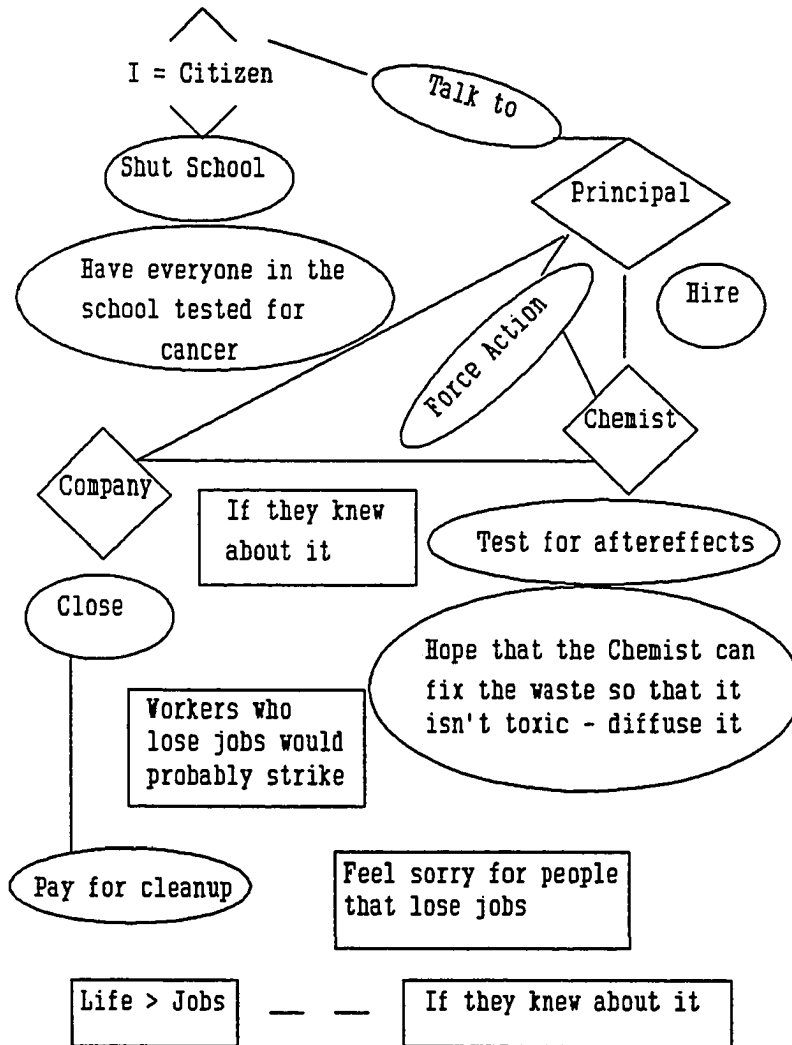


Figure IV-3

Pre-Close Up
New Hope High School-Female
Apartheid Hypothetical
Respondent as Citizen

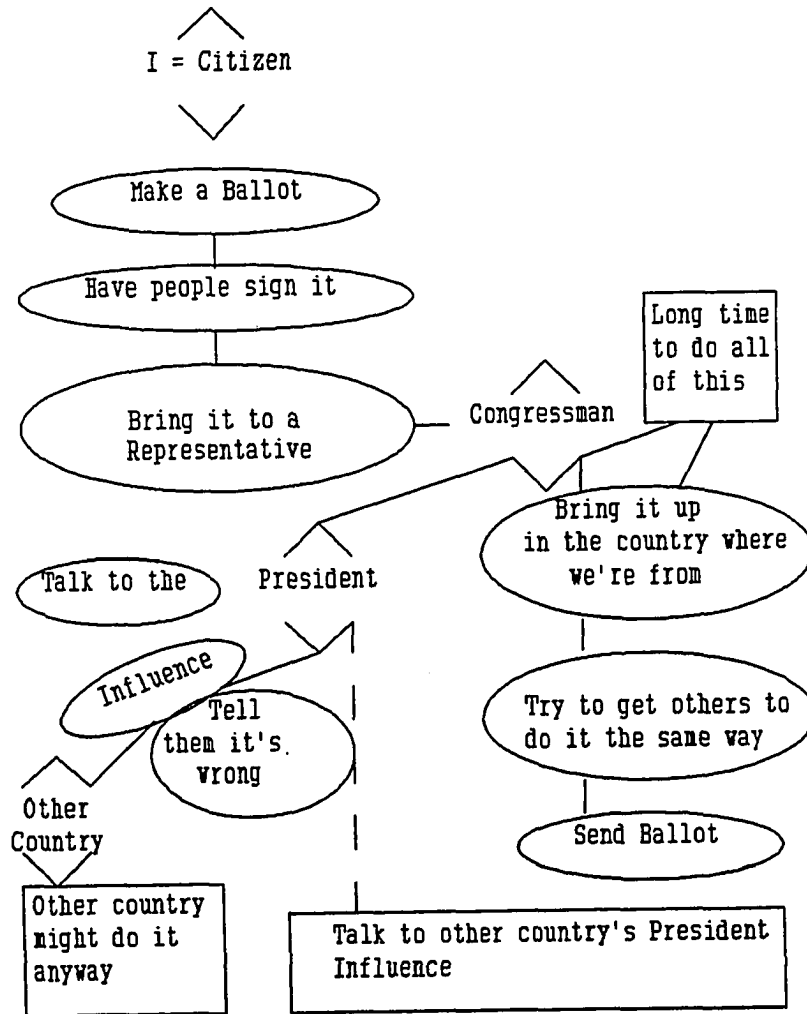
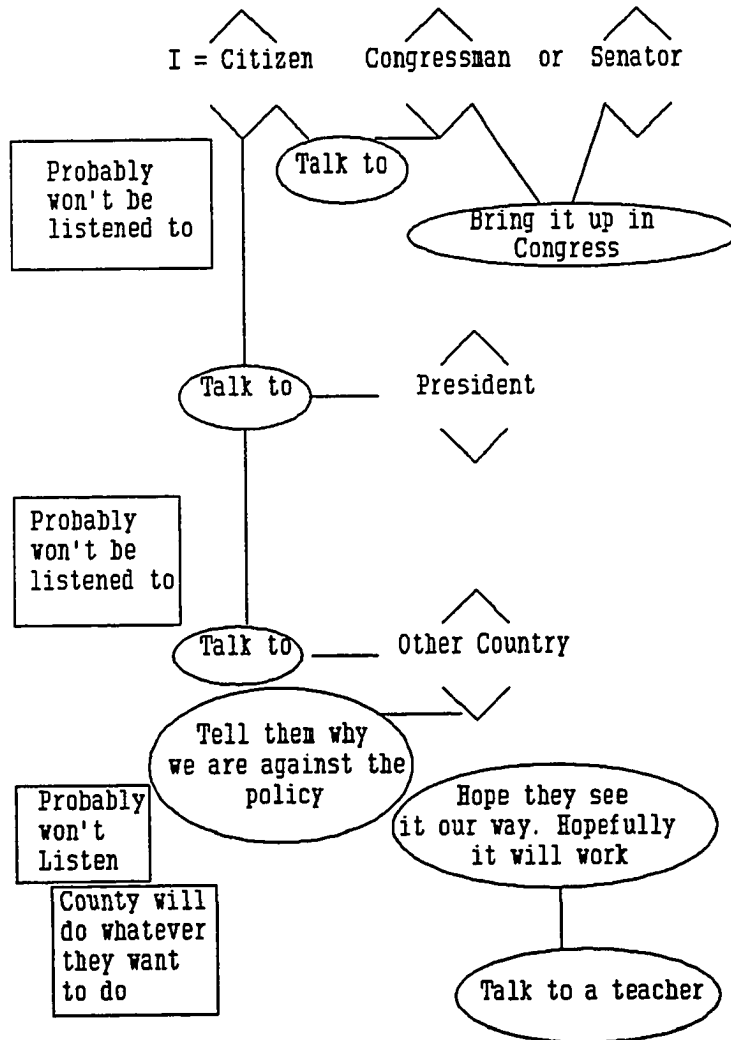


Figure VI-4

Post-Close Up
New Hope High School-Female
Apartheid Hypothetical
Respondent as Citizen



Several difficulties were encountered in attempting to map these responses. First, it would seem important to note which actions precipitated others or which might be undertaken first before moving on to others since sequential and integrated thought are signs of greater sophistication. Yet it proves very difficult to construct graphically clear representations of all the actors, actions and constraints while maintaining the sequence of discussion. Torney-Purta did not maintain the sequence of discussion in her mapped international representations (Torney-Purta, 1990, p. 6).

In comparing pre- and post-Close Up responses, each student differs in the level of change. The results are consistent with those found through analysis of the questionnaire responses in the previous chapters. Students entering the program with a fairly detailed representation report the same or more detail on the post-test solution. The post-test interviews were conducted one month after students had returned to their communities and students often prefaced their remarks with, "I think my solution will be the same as it was before...." Overall, the number of actions and constraints mentioned during the follow-up interview increased, but the number of actors remained relatively constant.

Individual students differed substantially from one another in the complexity of both their pre- and post-experience responses indicating wide variations in the levels of cognitive sophistication present within individuals of the same chronological age. The reasons behind this variation are not immediately apparent from this data set, but reinforce the importance of recognizing that people think about politics in very different ways. Some general observations regarding the responses appear below and some examples of student response transcripts appear at the end of the chapter.

Actors

Students appear to treat government as a "whole." When placed in the role of "U.S. official" or "mayor," they sometimes even included their own role among those they would include in order to solve the problem. For example, in response to the XYZ Chemical Company problem, in the pre-experience interview Khalilah says that she would:

...get all the people and have fundraisers and if that doesn't work, I'd get all the highers like mayor, governor, and all that stuff (I: You are the Mayor.) Oh yeah. Well you know, the higher up people...

The task of playing the role of "political leader" proved very difficult, if not impossible, for many

students in the first set of interviews. This finding prompted the second set of scenarios which place the student in the role of "average citizen," someone like themselves. The results to these questions were expected to be more "realistic" since the students would have a wider repertoire of familiar activities from which to choose. Often this did not prove to be the case. In responding the "Toxic Waste" hypothetical (pre-Close Up), Elayne says,

...I would first close down the school because you can always get cancer. And then I'd probably have someone talk to the toxic company and see what they have to say about it. And if they're aware of the problem...because if they're aware of the problem its illegal you know. Then we would charge them with illegal trespassing or something like that...I don't want to sue them cause that's not quite right...it should be something higher...maybe like having them arrested or something like that.

Not only are the references to other actors vague, but the amount of personal responsibility and power to "close the school," delegate someone else to "talk to the toxic company," and "having them arrested" are inappropriate actions for a single citizen to undertake.

Some of the actors mentioned do not exist in U.S. domestic politics as labeled by the students. For example, in the apartheid problem, Dawn would send the "minister to that country to see exactly what they were planning." The role she describes coincides with that of

an ambassador, but are the two synonymous in her mind? Other actors mentioned were simply not political, possibly indicating that the student did not view the scenario as a "political" problem. In the apartheid problem, Khalilah includes "other officials and parents, people like that..." This may indicate that she is unable to see herself in the "adult" role of a U.S. official. Similar non-political actors were evident in the responses to the second set of hypotheticals. Principals were a frequent player in the toxic waste scenario and were often mentioned as being able to influence the company to clean up the waste.

Actions

Actions tended to be conceived as self-directed and self-contained in the sense that the "official" or "citizen" decides what needs to be done and carries out the action independently. Kristin, acting as an individual citizen, would go to the country that was planning to adopt the policy of apartheid to, as she says,

see for myself what's going on. Because you know myself, I'm against that and I think it's totally wrong. I think I'd contact Peter Cosmeyer, he's my Congressman....I could go to him to see if I can do something. You can go to the government and stuff like that. But...since, like I said you can go there [the other country] and maybe you can talk to a leader and they'd talk to the people and sell how they feel and maybe get a groups together and try a proposal or something like that...(pre-Close Up, New Hope HS).

This independent action also included citizens contacting the president of the United States in their efforts to solve the problem. The apartheid question again,

First, I'd contact any congressman or Senator and see what they have to say about it and tell them we're against it and hope to bring it up either in Congress or something like that. And maybe talk to the president and see what he has to say and talk to the country that is considering this new type of law that we're against. And tell them our reasons why, hoping that they'll see it our way and not take this. Hopefully it will work (Elayne, New Hope, pre-Close Up).

This personalized view of government and the individual's role within it sounds very much like the early stages of Easton's (1969) process of the development of diffuse support in very young children.

Separation of powers is, for the most part, ignored or not included these students' domestic representations. Andrew recognizes in the Secretary of Defense problem that some laws could be changed to reduce the possibility of this defense contractor scandal ever happening again. Yet he, as the Secretary of Defense, is the one adjusting the laws. The concept of federalism is also not often recognized. For example, in the XYZ Chemical problem, Andrew would first go to the EPA," and if it was a big enough problem, the Governor."

Actions do not tend to recognize the self-determination of another country--even though constraints on US intervention and a reluctance to "be in their business" were often mentioned. For example, "taking a survey of everybody in that country to see what they want to do..." or "tell people its not like apartheid..." were common responses.

Actions also tended to move actors toward consensus or specifically away from conflict. Even when suggesting an investigation to get to the bottom of defense contractor fraud, Andrew anticipated Congress would oppose such an investigation because,

its just the way not everybody in Congress agrees on what type of investigation, who should investigate, how much money should be spent, what should they be charged with--the people who are brought to trial--should they be pardoned, or accorded...(Andrew, Windom HS).

His explanation does not agree with his assertion that Congress would oppose the investigation, but rather that there might be disagreement over its purpose and organization.

Constraints

Constraints are relatively few in the pre-experience interviews, but increased slightly in post-Close Up responses. When constraints increased they also tended to

be more closely related to the action or actions they were limiting, indicating a more sophisticated connection between actions and the constraints. All students required the prompt "do you see any problems with your solution" before offering their first constraint. Usually the constraints involved a shortage of money. Sometimes, the lack of money was related to budget deficits--either state or national.

With constraints as well as actions, there seems to be a very urgent desire to make politics conciliatory. Personal effort ("I'd do the best I can," "I'd work real hard") and hierarchical leadership structures ("the president might not agree with me, but I'm on his cabinet so I would go with the President because he could fire me...") are used to overcome conflicts suggested by the constraints.

The constraints mentioned mainly involved issues of personal motivation ("some people might not want to excel"), not enough money ("can't build new schools, there's a trade deficit and we don't have any money"), individual protesters, and objections from other countries about strategies involving US intervention ("other countries with one really strong leader would just ignore us"). In some cases the constraints as they are described by the student are not necessarily related in

the political system. An example is cited above, "can't build new schools, there's a trade deficit, and we don't have any money." The link between the trade deficit and building local schools requires quite a stretch.

If another institution was mentioned as a constraint it was most often Congress. The president was viewed as helpful, someone to turn to for advice, someone who could provide needed money and promotion in the case of new schools and revitalized interest in science, but also as someone who is "cutting lots of things because we are out of money." Congress, on the other hand, must be told things--it is important to be open with Congress. This may be a reflection of the Iran-Contra scandal revelations and investigations being conducted while these students were in Washington. Congress is also mentioned as a constraint because they don't always agree and "it's really hard to make them do things." Other constraints that relate to the Iran-Contra scandal included the destruction of evidence and covering up a problem by the perpetrator. This was particularly evident in the solutions to the defense contractor fraud.

Implications

Although this portion of the research is a pilot study to test the hypothetical/mapping methodology with domestic dilemmas and a different intervening experience, several interesting findings merit further discussion. First, in looking at the differences between the responses of individual students of the same age and from the same towns to the same hypothetical domestic political situations, it is very clear that individuals do not go about the process of thinking about politics in the same way. Students clearly applied different political schema to the problems offered. Since similarity in "process of thought" has been an underlying assumption contained in a good portion of the political socialization and attitude research, a major reconceptualization of the way we measure political thought and attitudes needs to be considered. The implications of unique individual political schema also extend directly to survey methodology--and particularly in this case where adolescents are the respondents. The responses to the open-ended concept and definitions included on the survey and discussed throughout this research make it clear that we need a measure for political attitudes that is more sensitive to individual respondents' interpretations of important political terms and concepts.

As a methodology, the "think-aloud" interviews based on political hypothetical merit serious attention and future application. There are problems, however, such as the ability to capture sequential thought patterns in the graphic maps. Further, it is still unclear whether the Torney-Purta hypotheticals are so close to the ICONS foreign policy experience that changes in post-experience schemata are forgone conclusions. It also remains to be seen how long these changes will last. It is premature to make any judgements about persistence, but longitudinal data are crucial to any argument about radical schema restructuring as a result of certain kinds of educational programs or other experiences. The changes in schema detected in this research were certainly not of a radical order. It seems very likely that some changes will persist, but the depth of change remains open to question. The domestic post-Close Up interviews were conducted one month after the students' week in Washington, DC, and some minor restructuring was evident. Torney-Purta's more significant changes may have resulted in part because post-experience interviews were done immediately following the intensive two-week ICONS simulation.

Still unclear as well is students' ability to imagine themselves in a hypothetical role. What perspective are they taking? From what perspective are they retrieving

information to aid in constructing their responses? In order to get a better understanding of these issues, more extensive probing is necessary. It might be useful to have students do some type of attribute list (Hastie, 1987) of the various potential actors/actions before engaging in the hypothetical. The second set of hypothetical interviews conducted in this research asked students to list attributes of actors, but only during the course of their responses. Cues might have already been offered to aid with the attribute listing.

At issue also is what exactly is "political" for high school students. Many of these responses included non-political actors (parents in the apartheid problem), non-political solutions (have a fair and all pitch in to clean up the toxic waste), and a complete lack of acknowledgement of the severity of some situations (no moral indignation over apartheid even among African-American students, no recognition that "toxic waste" can't be cleaned up by parents and teachers). While the fact that community referents far outnumbered federal or even state governments and officials, it is unclear whether this represents a populist schema or a lack of relevant information.

It is also difficult to compare domestic vs. international schema on the basis of this research since

the type of "treatment" the two groups of students received was so different. In fact, measuring the effect of the Close Up experience on domestic political schema may be difficult based on the hypothetical problems employed in this research. The first five scenarios ask students to imagine themselves in the role of a political leader or official of some kind, while the Close Up mission is more directed toward developing responsible citizen participation. The second set of hypotheticals were developed in an effort to test this assertion. The fact that students still indicated autonomous decision-making leaves uncertain whether students can include themselves in the role of average citizen. Because most of the hypotheticals asked the respondents to solve problems usually addressed only by adults, the same inability to generalize may be present even when role playing a "citizen." The problems did not preclude in any way an "adolescent" level of participation.

Simply as a way to examine how high school students define and relate to domestic political situations, these questions are useful and they do suggest some differences between international and domestic representations that need further exploration. Various forms of domestic conflict are clearly present in the hypothetical, but are rarely ever dealt with directly. It appears that the

international world is based on conflict and that actors (countries) are expected or assumed to be in conflict with one another. In the domestic political arena, however, conflict is disturbing to students even though separation of powers and pluralism makes domestic conflict an inevitable part of the American system. Apparently students can identify mechanisms that mediate conflict in the international area (for example, the UN); but in domestic politics, the most obvious mediating agents (political parties) are never mentioned.

The implications for civic education programs like Close Up and civic curriculum employed in the traditional classroom are just emerging. Clearly more attention needs to be focused on the role of conflict, the distinction between political and private interests, and the role of the citizen within the political system at large. Since students in the social studies classroom are presented with explicitly political material, alteration of the curriculum could produce a corresponding cognitive restructuring. The research presented here is just a start and really can't offer specific guidelines until some of the inconsistencies in the methodology are investigated further. Overwhelmingly, the results presented here suggest that individuals do not define, think about, or manipulate political content similarly.

This discovery, more than any other, may have the greatest impact on society's efforts to transmit political information and attitudes, as well as for the study of political socialization.

Endnotes

1. See People For the American Way, 1989. "Democracy's Next Generation: A Study of Youth and Teachers," for poll data on youth between the ages of 15-24.

2. For example see Greenstein's (1965) discussion of freudian applications, Merelman's (1971, 1972) use of Piaget, and Cook's (1985) discussion of the applicability of Soviet psychologist Vygotsky's theories.

3. Subjects were given the following hypothetical dilemmas:

1. Imagine you are the finance minister of a developing country. The interest payment on your debt to banks in the developed countries is due, but there is not enough money in your treasury to pay it. What actions would you take to solve this problem? What would you do; what would you ask other to do? Just think aloud and tell me whatever comes to your mind about what you would do to solve this problem if you were the finance minister.

2. Imagine you are a diplomat in a country. You hear that the government of a neighboring country, let's call it Country C, is planning a system of laws very much like Apartheid which would apply to a group of immigrants who are of a different race from the others who live in Country C. Your country is very much against Apartheid. What actions would you take to solve this problem? What would you do; what would you ask others to do? Just think aloud....

4. The following five hypothetical problems were presented to students in the order in which they appear. They will be referred to as the Apartheid, Department of Defense, XYZ Chemical, NSF, and Farm Crisis problems respectively:

1. Imagine that you are a U.S. official in charge of relations with another country which has a large number of immigrants of a racial group different from that of the majority of the citizens. Word comes to you that this country is planning a system of laws very much like Apartheid which would apply to this racial group. Your country (U.S.) is very much against this proposal. If

you were this U.S. official, what actions would you take, and who else would you include in your efforts to solve this problem?

2. Imagine now that you have been named Secretary of Defense. You are now in charge of the defense budget and the operations of the pentagon. It has come to your attention that several defense contractors have been overcharging the government, delivering damaged goods, and billing the government for projects never completed. If you were the Secretary of Defense, what actions could you take, and who else would you include in your efforts to solve this problem?

3. Imagine that you are now the mayor of a small town. You have been informed that a toxic waste dump containing XYZ Chemical Company chemicals has been found under a school in your town. There is evidence that the students attending the school have a higher than normal rate of cancer. The cost of the clean up is expected to be so high that the company will be forced to go out of business and many jobs will be lost. As the mayor of this small town, what actions could you take, and who else would you include in your efforts to solve this problem?

4. Imagine now that you are the head of the National Science Foundation and you have been informed by the President of the United States that America needs more people to enter technical careers, like engineering or the sciences. As the head of the National Science Foundation, what would you do and who would you ask to help you to solve this problem?

5. For this one I have some cards for you to look at. On the cards are five groups that might have an opinion to be brought to the attention of a presidential candidate on the American farm crisis. The five groups are: mass production farmers, small production farmers, U.S. Banks, U.S. Department of the Treasury, and U.S. Department of Agriculture. All I want you to do is sort the cards in the order of who would have the most important opinion to be heard by the presidential candidate (about the farm crisis) to the group with the least important opinion and tell me why.

5. The hypotheticals used in the 1990 interviews were the following:

#1 Imagine that you are watching the news one day and you see a report that a neighboring country is planning a

system of laws very much like apartheid. You know the U.S. has diplomatic relations with this country and you know the United States is very much against this proposed policy. What can you as a citizen of the United States do to solve or influence the outcome of this problem? Who would you contact and what kinds of actions could you take?

#2 It has come to your attention that several defense contractors have been overcharging the U.S. government, delivering damaged goods, and billing the government for projects never completed. The Secretary of Defense is in charge of the defense budget and operations of the Pentagon. After learning of this problem, what could you do and who else would you contact in your efforts to solve (or influence) this problem?

#3 Imagine that a toxic waste dump containing XYZ Chemical Company chemicals has been found under the school in your home town. There is evidence that students attending this school have a higher than normal rate of cancer. The cost of the clean up is expected to be so high that the company will be forced to go out of business and many jobs will be lost. As a resident of this town, what could you do and who would you include in your efforts to solve this problem?

#4 This past year the President announced that America needs more people to enter technical careers like science, math, or engineering. Is there anything that can be done to encourage more people to go into such careers? Who could do something about this and what kind of things could you suggest to solve this problem?

Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Implications

Benjamin Barber describes a "strong democracy" as one that

...rests on the idea of a self-governing community of citizens who are united less by homogeneous interests than by civic education and who are made capable of common purpose and mutual action by virtue of their civic attitudes and participatory institutions rather than their altruism or their good nature...strong democracy is consonant with--indeed it depends upon--the politics of conflict, the sociology of pluralism, and the separation of private and public realms of action (Barber, 1984, p. 117).

Civic education can therefore play a crucial role in transforming generations of individuals into a community of citizens capable of active participation in the life of the polity. The citizen role that we adopt early in life, that of a player or a spectator, may irrevocably dictate life long levels of civic engagement. Political socialization as a continual process introduces citizens to the norms, behaviors, and attitudes acceptable within the contemporary understanding of one's political system.

The United States political system relies upon regularized citizen engagement, but primarily through the electoral process by which representatives are selected. Direct citizen participation is largely channeled into symbolic exercises that have little correlation to raw political power and influence over tangible outcomes and

social policies. Thus the levels of citizen electoral participation in the United States, low by comparison to other Western democracies, may seem only tangentially related to the health of the nation. Yet, can the United States prosper in the apparent absence of widespread support expressed through more fundamental system-supportive attitudes like trust and efficacy, individual and group-based participation, and a clear distinction between the private and the political?

This study began with the basic question of how best to undertake the task of civic education. A review of the existing political socialization literature suggested that neither the family nor the schools are particularly successful in promoting an active, informed, and engaged citizenry that would satisfy the requirements set forth by classical democratic theory. Perhaps then the level of individual activity is dependent upon a more personalized interpretation of the civic expectations inherent in a democratic society. If this is the case, the type of civic education society chooses to offer children and adolescents may play a determining role in how those personalized expectations come to be defined.

Conceptualizing Citizenship

It seems particularly difficult to deal with the issue of citizenship both as a researchable issue and as a pedagogical concept. First, the idea carries with it a significant level of psychological baggage associated with the "national character" or "modal personality" research (see Inkles and Levinson, 1969 for a review of this literature). Often citizenship and patriotism are been treated as similar concepts (Janowitz, 1983) when they are in fact distinct in many ways. In addition, the United States has a political and philosophical history in which citizenship is inherently dualistic in its definition and practice. Webster defines the "citizen" as a "member of a state or nation who owes allegiance to it by birth or naturalization and is entitled to full civil rights" (1984, p. 113). "Membership" implies a belonging or communal understanding, while "entitlement to full civil rights" suggests a legalistic or contractual basis of citizenship. The two are not mutually exclusive, but provide the basis for considerable tension within the U.S. system.

Most of the philosophical underpinnings of the United States political system can be characterized in the tradition of philosophical liberalism (Pratte, 1988) or liberal individualism (MacIntyre, 1984). Grounded in the

thought and writings of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, liberalism promotes a set of beliefs and practices in which human beings are viewed as fundamentally self-interested, self-rewarding individuals. The public arena is for resolving disputes using previously established rules. Individuals are bound by a "social contract" rather than their relationships as neighbors and friends, united in a common pursuit. As Pratte suggests, liberalism can be defined by the principle of individualism

...it honors individual capacity, protects individual rights and freedoms, ties "progress" to laissez-faire economics, and promotes the politics of instrumental change while maintaining a long-term stability, usually defined as progress and prosperity, based on private self-interest and joint interest politically felt (1988, p. 28).

The community "is simply an arena in which individuals each pursue their own self-chosen conception of the good life, and political institutions exist to provide that degree of order which makes such self-determined activity possible" (MacIntyre, 1984, p. 195). In other words, social and civic relationships exist only insofar as they provide the means and meaning for individuals to advance their own self-interests. The focus is on procedures and rules, rights accorded by virtue of birth and residency, and legalistic means of solving conflict between citizen interests. Thus,

philosophical liberalism is a rather practical civic life; an understanding not lost on the founders in Philadelphia, particularly Federalist Alexander Hamilton. He wrote that men are not angels and so governments are formed. Incentives, built into the structures of government, allow men to pursue their own interests while unwittingly promote the social good as well (Federalist #51). Structures and legal provisos, however, remove the ultimate responsibility for communal success from the individual.

Whether liberalism has served the United States well is not really at issue. The pertinent question becomes: is liberalism still desirable?" The alternative philosophical tradition is grounded in the teachings of Aristotle, but has at its contemporary core the critique of liberalism or "thin democracy" (Barber, 1984). Contemporary critics argue that modern society can no longer support individualistic competition. A new focus on global interdependence, ecological fragility, and economic survival has returned attention to the tradition of civic republicanism (Pratte, 1988), strong democracy (Barber, 1984), or communal citizenship (Conover and Searing, 1987).

This perspective suggests that human beings are inherently moralistic and ethical, that individuals are

capable of balancing private gain and the public good in their autonomous actions, and that the collective good is the most desirable endpoint of human activity. Politics then is primarily the pursuit of the communal good and thus a public activity. Civic excellence, therefore, requires a certain level of shared knowledge, history, skills, and character among the citizenry. As a challenge to liberalism; the tradition is called civic republicanism

...because it sees as both necessary and proper that the public good be defined in terms of civic virtue, in terms of what individuals decide together, acting not as private persons but as citizens. It is called civic republicanism because it purports to use democratic government in a positive and expansive role to achieve a moral, public good (Pratte, 1988, p. 42).

In placing citizens within this framework, community membership developed through civic education, should promote a sense of human dignity, mutual respect, and an ethic of obligation to others (Pratte, 1988; Conover and Searing, 1987). Additionally, there are some skills that all citizens must learn. The value and skills necessary to perform social action (Pratte, 1988), inquiry and civic discussion (Barber, 1984), a willingness to engage in active political life, a knowledge and understanding of process and political institutions, and the ability to use these resources in an effective manner. Alexis de Tocqueville observed that these skills were practiced in

America through widespread civic participation. Essentially, ordinary citizens were in possession of the polity. For de Tocqueville, the success of democracy in America was the combination of a number of factors, not the least of which was a strong sense of religious morality. This morality, although it did not rule the government, allowed individuals to conduct public business in a fair and ethical manner contributing to a vigorous civic life.

What is the civic template today? Certainly liberalism, with its concentration on the individual is still prominent within the American culture. Contemporary events, however, could force a reexamination of the larger community, the public good, and how citizens should behave in relation to a more global understanding of citizenship. Civic education in schools holds the possibility of effecting a transformation of civic understanding through the political socialization process. A quick look at existing structures and the components of the school experience leads one to doubt whether such change is possible within the current framework. Civic instruction based on experience with the political system itself could help students identify with that larger community.

This study examined the political attitudes of internal efficacy and trust, school and political

involvement, attentiveness to public issues, and the level of political knowledge among 1149 U.S. high school students. The findings suggest several generalizations. First, attitudes are deeply held, stable predispositions to behavior of a verbal or physical nature (Abramson, 1983). If researchers could isolate the contributing forces that shape an individual's attitudes, we could then predict levels of support, personal system attachments, and potential political participation. Adolescence presents both an opportunity and a challenge. Attitudes are largely set by about the eighth grade, but may not yet be stable. Therefore, if an intervention of sufficient intensity were introduced, the possibility exists that attitudes could be reshaped during the period prior to the age when the entire range of political activities become available. Prior research suggests that the traditional high school civics classroom experience does not counter the primarily passive and idealized view of politics that is acquired in early childhood (Easton and Dennis, 1969).

Cognitive developmental theories have been employed by curriculum specialists presumably to determine appropriate challenges for specific developmental periods (Perry and Bussey, 1984). By the time a child reaches the age of 11, the formal operations stage in Piaget's continuum, political images should begin to take on

greater depth, clarity and precision. The child can begin to associate issues and ideological orientations with political parties, perceive and understand more abstract political symbols, and institutions, apart from the president, have taken on greater meaning. The motivation to move from one stage to the next is a result of cognitive disequilibrium. When a child is confronted with a new experience that does not fit her previous cognitive schema, she is motivated to reexamine the structure and to work out a better explanation--presumably at the next stage of development. Assimilation refers to the attempt to understand an experience in terms of an existing schema and accommodation refers to the process of altering current schema to fit the social reality. "Cognitive-developmentalists like to say that development is a function of 'person-environment interaction' because they believe that the motivation for learning and development depends on an optimal match between the child's current level of understanding and new environmental input" (Perry and Bussey, 1984, p. 18). This would suggest that development only proceeds when a child (or adolescent) is challenged with novel material.

An examination of 30 social studies books used in grades 1-3, found that the material concentrated exclusively on "citizenship and government" in the home,

school, and local community stressing friendliness, cooperation, respect for property, and concern for others (Massialas, 1975, p. 16). Textual material presented in later grades presented more factual material, but in a formal and structural manner. Only one of 45 middle-school texts contained any information about political parties. "Clearly the limits of the school curriculum may help to explain children's lack of sophistication about political parties and pressure groups, and their relative lack of cynicism in viewing politics and government" (Massialas, 1975, p. 19). Schools, either consciously or unconsciously, delay introducing material involving divisions in policy-making responsibility, systemic sources of political tension and conflict due in part to their overriding interest in promoting order and stability (Moore, et.al, 1985). By the time a student reaches high school, the delay in "introducing conflictual symbols is ultimately detrimental to the proper functioning of a vital, participatory democratic polity" (Moore, et.al., 1985, p. 221).

If an active understanding of the citizen's role is not developed by late adolescence, very few social institutions outside the school could conceivably intervene. Because the civic instructional focus is usually reserved for high school this research focuses on

the high school years and experiential programs designed for adolescents. High school students clearly possess the cognitive maturity to understand and assimilate the active, pluralistic, and often conflictual nature of U.S. politics, but perhaps the message is missed because it has simply not been presented. While the paired difference of means tests reported here for internal efficacy and political trust would seem to suggest very little effect produced directly from participation in the experiential learning program, idiosyncracies of this particular program may also be contributing. The Close Up experience is only one week long. A preliminary analysis of activities conducted in the student's home school--like meeting with the sponsoring teacher, using the Close Up Workbook and Issues publications--did not strengthen the program's contribution to any of the attitude dimensions. An examination of longer term commitments to integrated thought and action programs, perhaps tied to the recent surge in interest in community service, may produce larger quantitatively measurable effects. Longitudinal data would also be instructive because a significant outcome might surface at any time.

When the Close Up participation variable is included in estimated regression models however, it strengthens the explanatory power of all three related to internal

efficacy and some aspects of political participation. The effects of the experiential program are interactive and most powerful when combined with skills, resources, and characteristics of the family, individual and components of the school experience. Political knowledge and attentiveness relate to the resources an individual brings to bear on the task at hand whether it is school-related or part of the larger political world. When attitudes were analyzed, participation in the Close Up experiential learning program accentuated the skills and resources the students already possessed. The same appears to be true of political behavior. In the case of attentiveness and knowledge, participation in the program increased both significantly for the Close Up students, but the mean scores remained the same for non-participants. This finding fits squarely with experiential instructional theory and learning. The learner engages in activity; makes connections between actions and consequences; after reflection, the experience is reconstructed and analyzed; and the learner is able to successfully apply the generalized knowledge she has gained to new and different problems (Coleman, 1976). One without the other is not as significant as the integrated whole.

If, however, a student enrolls in the experiential

Close Up program with a deeply held liberal definition of citizenship, the Close Up experiential program does not produce radical alterations. The higher attitude and participation mean scores of the twelve respondents who did not participate in the Close Up program this year, but were participants during the prior program year, suggest that passage of time intensifies the effects. Longitudinal analysis is crucial in determining the ultimate effects, if any, of the experiential program once a student reaches adulthood.

The "good citizen" ideal requires that citizens in the democratic polity ought to be knowledgeable, interested, and participate in social and political decision-making (Hess and Torney, 1967). For U.S. adolescents, the opportunities to engage in electoral politics by voting is limited by law, but when asked to name three things that "a person like yourself" could do to influence government, voting was mentioned first by 29.4% of Close Up participants and 34.2% of non-participants. Since the majority of students in both groups are under the age of 18, voting is not something they could logically do to influence government. Students do not seem to perceive themselves capable of influence when it comes to politics since the first item of influence is legally forbidden. Because political

confidence, or internal efficacy, is significant in explaining school involvement and some dimensions of political participation, this may explain the relatively low levels of political participation. More tangentially, it may also explain the low levels of knowledge about the system and public officials. If politics is so removed from one's reach, understanding and political knowledge may be unimportant and thus energies are directed elsewhere. The true measure of the influence of experiential learning related to political participation cannot really be exacted until all avenues of civic participation are open to students.

Examining individual political thought, it is clear that students who are descriptively very similar do not think about politics nor approach the political system in the same ways. When presented with hypothetical political dilemmas, students clearly applied different political schema. Because assuming similarity in "process of thought" has been an underlying assumption contained in a good portion of the political socialization and attitude research, a major reconceptualization in the way we measure political thought and attitudes needs to be explored. The implications of unique individual political schema also extend directly to survey methodology-- particularly when, as here, adolescents are the

respondents. The responses to the open-ended concept and definitions included on the survey and discussed throughout this research, make it clear that we need a measure for political attitudes that is more sensitive to individual respondents' interpretations of important political terms and concepts.

At issue also is what exactly is "political" for high school students. Responses on the survey and in the hypothetical interviews were most likely to first offer local or community solutions or responses and then, almost as an afterthought, include the federal government. It is unclear, however, whether this represents a populist schema or a lack of relevant information. An analysis of students' responses to open-ended questions included in this study and responses to political hypothetical problems combine to suggest an interesting set of contradictions. Perhaps, most importantly though, several findings suggest that the adolescents in this study simply do not view themselves as "citizens."

When students were asked to define "citizenship," the top category of responses were those that reflected "residency" or "birth right" (53.9%). The next three responses were "rights" offered by 53.2%; "sense of community" by 24.7%; and "freedom" by 23.6%. This pattern would suggest that U.S. adolescents have

internalized the tenets of philosophical liberalism.

First, if high school students understand citizenship as a condition conferred by birth within the borders of the United States, the concern expressed by 11.9% that "illegal aliens are trying to get our stuff" is placed in a systemic context. Further, Merelman's suggestion that in uncontested regimes like the United States, resistance to political conflict may be widespread and may take the form of particularized schema in which some groups are labeled as "inherently dangerous, aggressive, and potent" (Merelman, 1990, p. 51), explains the considerable preoccupation with transforming politics into conciliatory behaviors and with identifying racial and ethnic groups as threats within the political system of resource allocations. For example, one survey item asked students to identify three things they felt least proud of as Americans. The question format was closed and the responses included poverty, the lack of interest in public affairs, discrimination against minority groups, people who are just out for themselves, corruption in government, the treatment of the United States by other countries, people who put America down, and an open-ended "other" category. The response most often volunteered in the other category had to do with "affirmative action." Voluntary responses on the blank comments page of the

survey often had to do with various ethnic and social groups "taking" or "getting" services, benefits, or jobs that "rightly" belonged to "true Americans." These responses are not only socially disturbing, but completely antithetical to the pluralist conception of participatory democracy described by Barber (1984) above.

The implications for civic education programs like Close Up and civic curriculum employed in the traditional classroom are just emerging. Clearly more attention needs to be focused on the role of conflict, the distinction between political and private interests, and the role of the citizen within the political system at large. Because students in the social studies classroom are presented with explicitly political material, alteration of the curriculum may produce a corresponding cognitive restructuring. However, the traditional civics classroom setting may not be the appropriate place for these messages to be presented. Experiential programs like the Close Up Foundation week in Washington, DC, may provide students with a dose of political reality not encountered within schools. However, the results presented here suggest that in order for this message to be received and make an impact, the student must be receptive and prepared with pre-existing attitudes, skills, resources, and predispositions to participate.

Schools could adopt some of the experiential instructional method without radically altering the existing pedagogical framework. Schools exist within communities, are governed by citizen boards, are subject to local, state, and federal regulations, and operate within a regionally defined set of expectations. This is the perfect experiential setting in which to debate the foundations and structures of the governing process and the citizen's role within the polity. Competing pressures to maintain order, stability, and a generalized equality among students may prevent this experiment from ever taking place. If this is the case, experiential programs like the one offered through the Close Up Foundation may act as a supplement. The experiential setting alone cannot transform citizens' representations of citizenship, nor should it do so. Citizenship is defined collectively, but that definition is so closely dependent upon the type of civic education and family environment, that radical transformations are unlikely to occur within the current social and political climate.

Overwhelmingly, the results presented here suggest that individuals do not define, think about, or manipulate political content in the same way. This discovery, more than any other, may have the greatest impact on the efforts to transmit political information and attitudes as

well as the study of political socialization. The United States is entering a crucial period in its post cold war existence, and the role that is defined for citizens to play within this new world understanding is rather vague. Mass participation in politics can only occur if citizens are capable of assuming the individual responsibility for action, as well as the understanding the consequences of that involvement for themselves and for the polity. Within current school practices, there is nothing to suggest that schools are shouldering the responsibility for transmitting an active, participatory view of citizenship. Alternative programs like those offered by the Close Up Foundation may be a supplement to enhance civic qualities within adolescents. This research suggests that the likelihood that experiential learning programs can overcome the sedentary nature of citizenship schema and transform political spectators into individuals who are confident in their ability to join the political contest if they choose to do so is largely dependent upon the interaction of the experience with pre-existing skills, resources, and individual characteristics.

Further research is needed to investigate the carry-over to civic participation or lack of participation. Schema theory would suggest that an individual whose civic landscape is based solely in philosophical liberalism

would not be likely to see citizen action directed at collective good and community improvement to be required. Civic education provides the mechanism through which the basic expectations of human relationships could be changed to reflect the tenets of civic republicanism. The likelihood that schools, as currently constituted, are up to the task seems remote. Therefore, some sort of radical restructuring may be required in order to produce changes of this magnitude. More realistically, community service opportunities that promote direct linkages between individuals and community survival may be a first step. The fact that more and more school districts are adopting service requirements supports the notion that contemporary social pressures require an active, engaged, politically astute citizenry dedicated to the idea that civic health requires renewed participation. Whether this is a fad or trend remains to be seen.

REFERENCES

- A Presidential Classroom for Young Americans.
"Presidential Classroom for Tomorrow's Leaders,"
Alexandria, VA. Information and program application
for 1991.
- Abramson, Paul R. Political Attitudes in America:
Formation and Change. (San Fransisco, CA:
W.H. Freeman and Company, 1983).
- Abramson, Paul R. and Ada W. Finifter. "On the Meaning
of Political Trust: New Evidence from Items
Introduced in 1978," American Journal of Political
Science, 1981 (25) pp. 297-307.
- Achen, Christopher H. "Interpreting and Using
Regression," Sage University Series: Quantitative
Applications in the Social Sciences, series no.
07-029 (Newberry Park, CA: Sage Publications,
1989).
- Allport, Gordon W. "Attitudes," In Carl Murchison, ed.,
A Handbook of Social Psychology. (Worcester, MA:
Clark University Press, 1935).
- Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. The Civic Culture:
Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations.
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).
- Asher, Herbert B. "The Reliability of the Political
Efficacy Items," Political Methodology, 1974
(Spring) pp.45-72.
- Arons, Stephen. Compelling Belief: The Culture of
American Schooling (NY: McGraw Hill, 1983).
- Babbie, Earl R. Survey Research Methods
(Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1973).
- Backstrom, Charles H. and Gerald D. Hursh-Cesar.
Survey Research, 2nd ed., (New York: John Wiley and
Sons, 1981).
- Balch, George I. "Multiple Indicators in Survey
Research: The Concept 'Sense of Political
Efficacy,'" Political Methodology, Spring (1)
1974, pp.1-43.

- Barber, Benjamin R. Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984).
- Battistoni, Richard M. Public Schooling and the Education of Democratic Citizens (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985).
- Beck, Paul Allen and M. Kent Jennings. "Childhood Socialization Environments and Adult Political Involvement," paper delivered at the 1988 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- Beck, Paul. "The Role of Agents in Political Socialization," Stanley Ranshon ed., Handbook of Political Socialization (NY: Free Press, 1977).
- Beck, Paul and M. Kent Jennings. "Pathways to Participation," American Political Science Review, 1982 (76) pp.1-94.
- Berelson, Bernard, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).
- Boyer, Ernest L. High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America (NY: Harper and Row Publishers, 1983).
- Bray, James H. and Scott E. Maxwell. "Multivariate Analysis of Variance," Sage University Series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, series no. 07-054 (Newberry Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989).
- Brown, Frank B. "The Case of Citizenship Education," in Education for Responsible Citizenship: The Report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education, (NY: McGraw Hill, 1977).
- Broudy, H. S. Truth and Credibility: The Citizen's Dilemma. (New York: Longmans, 1981).
- Butterworth, George. "A Brief Account of the Conflict Between the Individual and the Social Models of Cognitive Growth," In, George Butterworth and Paul Light (Eds.), Social Cognition: Studies of the Development of Understanding, 1982, pp.3-16.

- Butts, R. Freedman. "Attending to the Civic Mission of American Education," Kettering Review, 1984 (Winter).
- Carmines, Edward G. and Richard A. Zeller. "Reliability and Validity Assessment," Sage University Series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, series no. 07-017 (Newberry Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1979).
- Carter, Harold J. Intellectual Foundations of American Education (NY: Pitman Publishing Co., 1973).
- Campbell, Angus, Gerald Gurin, and Warren Miller. The Voter Decides. (Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson, 1954).
- Campbell, Donald T. and Julian C. Stanley. Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research. (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1963).
- Chiarelott, Leigh. "Dewey's Theory of Experience: An Application to Citizenship Education," Social Studies, (70) 1979.
- Citrin, Jack. "Comment: The Relevance of Trust in Government," American Political Science Review, (68) 1974, pp. 973-988.
- Claxton, Guy. Live and Learn: An Introduction to the Psychology of Growth and Change in Everyday Life, (London: Harper and Row Publishers, 1984).
- Close Up Foundation, Washington High School Program Curriculum Guide, (Arlington, VA: Close Up Foundation, 1989).
- Coleman, James. The Adolescent Society. (New York: The Free Press, 1961).
- Coleman, James. "Differences Between Experiential and Classroom Learning," Experiential Learning: Rationale, Characteristics and Assessment, In Morris T. Keeton and Associates (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1976).
- Conant, James B. The Comprehensive High School, (citation incomplete).

- Connell, Robert V. The Child's Construction of Politics, (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1971).
- Conover, Pamela Johnston and Stanley Feldman. "How People Organize the Political World: A Schematic Model," American Journal of Political Science, 1984 (28), pp. 95-126.
- Conover, Pamela Johnston and Stanley Feldman. "The Role of Inference in the Perception of Political Candidates," In Lau, Richard R. and David O. Sears (Eds.) Political Cognition (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc., 1986).
- Conover, Pamela Johnston and Donald D. Searing. "Citizenship Regained: A New Framework for the Study of Political Socialization," A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois, September, 1987.
- Conrad, Daniel and Diane Hedin, (Eds.) Youth Participation and Experiential Education, (NY: The Hawthorn Press, 1982).
- Conway, M. Margaret. Political Participation in the United States, 2nd edition. (Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1991).
- Cook, Timothy. 1985. "The Bear Market in Political Socialization and the Costs of Misunderstood Psychological Theories," American Political Science Review, 1985 (79), pp.1079-1093.
- Craig, Stephen C. "Efficacy, Trust, and Political Behavior: An Attempt to Solve the Lingering Conceptual Dilemma," American Politics Quarterly, 1979 (7), pp.189-209.
- Craig, Stephen, Richard Niemi and Glen E. Silver. "Political Efficacy and Trust: A Report on the NES Pilot Study Items," Political Behavior, 1990 (12) pp. 289-314.
- Craig, Stephen and Michael Maggiotto. "Measuring Political Efficacy," Political Methodology, 1982 (8), pp. 85-110.

- Crew, Adolph. "Experiential Learning: Theory and Practical Applications in Secondary Schools," (Alabama University: University College of Education, 1977).
- Cronbach, Lee J. "Test Validation," In R. L. Thorndike (ed.) Educational Measurement (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1974).
- Cronbach, Lee J. "Coefficient Alpha and the Internal Structure of Tests," Psychometrika 1951 (16), pp.297-334.
- D'Amico, Joseph. "The Active Approach: A Blueprint for Citizenship Education in the 80s," Clearing House, September 1980-May 1981 (54), pp. 176-188.
- D'Amico, Joseph. "Reviving Student Participation," Educational Leadership, (October, 1980).
- Davies, B. Social Control and Education. (London: Methuen and Company, 1976).
- Dawson, Richard E., Kenneth Prewitt and Karen S. Dawson. Political Socialization, 2nd edition, (Boston, MS: Little, Brown, and Company, 1977).
- Dennis, Jack (ed). Socialization to Politics: A Reader. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973).
- Denver, David and Gordon Hands. "Notes and Comments: Does Studying Politics Make a Difference? The Political Knowledge, Attitudes and Perceptions of School Students," British Journal of Political Science, 1989 (20), pp. 263-288.
- Dewey, John. Democracy and Education, (NY: MacMillan, 1916).
- Dewey, John. Experience and Education, (NY: Collier Books, 1938).
- Dillman, Don A. Mail and Telephone Surveys: The Total Design Method (New York: Wiley, 1978).
- Easton, David. "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems," World Politics, 1957 (9), pp.383-400.

- Easton, David. A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: Wiley, 1965).
- Easton, David. "The Theoretical Relevance of Political Socialization," Canadian Journal of Political Science, 1968 (1), pp.125-146.
- Easton, David and Jack Dennis. "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, 1967 (67), pp.25-38.
- Easton, David and Jack Dennis. Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy. (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1969).
- Ehman, Lee H. "The American School in the Political Socialization Process," Review of Educational Research, Spring 1980, (50), pp. 99-119.
- Ehman, Lee H. "An Analysis of the Relationships of Selected Educational Variables with the Political Socialization of High School Students," American Educational Research Journal, 1969 (6), pp. 559-580.
- Eyler, Janet. "Test of a Model Relating Political Attitudes to Participation in High School Activities," Theory and Research in Social Education Spring 1982, (10) pp. 43-62.
- Feldman, Stanley. "The Measurement and Meaning of Trust in Government," Political Methodology, pp. 341-353.
- Fiske, Susan. "Schema-Baed Versus Piecemeal Politics: A Patchwork Quilt, But not a Blanket, of Evidence," In Lau, Richard R. and David O. Sears (Eds.) Political Cognition (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc., 1986).
- Friedenberg, Edgar Z. Coming of Age in America, (NY: Random House, 1963).
- Gallant, Thomas F. "Dewey Then--Experiential Education Now," School and Society, January, 1972 (11).
- Gamson, William A. Power and Discontent (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1968).

- Greenberg, Edward S. "Black Children and the Political System," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1970 (Fall), pp. 333-345.
- Greenstein, Fred I. Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).
- Greenstein, Fred I. "Sex-related Political Differences in Childhood," The Journal of Politics, 1961 (23), pp. 353-371.
- Guttman, Amy. Democratic Education. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).
- Guyton, Edith M. "Critical Thinking and Political Participation: Development and Assessment of a Causal Model," Theory and Research in Education, 1988 (XVI), pp. 23-49.
- Hamill, Ruth and Milton Lodge. "Cognitive Consequences of Political Sophistication," In Lau, Richard R. and David O. Sears (Eds.) Political Cognition (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc., 1986).
- Hastie, Reid. 1987. "Information Processing Theory for the Survey Researcher," In H. Hippler, N. Schwartz, and S. Sudman (Eds.), Social Information Processing and Survey Methodology, (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1987) pp. 42-70.
- Hawkins, Brett W., Vincent L. Marando and George Taylor. "Efficacy, Mistrust, and Political Participation: Findings from Additional Data and Indicators," The Journal of Politics, 1971 (33), pp.1130-1139.
- Henkel, Ramon E. "Tests of Significance," Sage University Series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, series no. 07-004 (Newberry Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989).
- Herzog, A. Regula and Jerald G. Bachman. "Effects of Questionnaire Length on Response Quality," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1981 (45), pp. 549-559.
- Hess, Robert D. and Judith Torney. The Development of Political Attitudes in Childhood (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967).

- Hildegard, Ernest R. and Gordon H. Bower.
Theories of Learning. (New York: Appleton,
Crofts, 1966).
- Hill, David B. "Attitude Generalization and the
Measurement of Trust in the American Leadership,"
Political Behavior, 1981 (3), pp. 257-270.
- Hill, Kim Quayle. "Retest Reliability for Trust in
Government and Governmental Responsiveness
Measures: A Research Note," Political
Methodology, 1978, pp.33-45.
- Hippler, Hans J., Norbert Schwartz, and Seymour Sudman.
(Eds.) Social Information Processing and Survey
Methodology (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1987).
- Howard, Robert W. Concepts and Schemata: An
Introduction (London: Cassell Education, 1987).
- Hyman, Herbert. Political Socialization
(Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1959).
- Ichilov, Orit (Ed.) Political Socialization, Citizenship
Education, and Democracy (New York: Teachers
College Press, 1990).
- Inkles, Alex and Daniel J. Levinson, "National
Character: The Study of Modal Personality and
Sociocultural Systems," in Gardner Lindzey and
Elliot Aronson, The Handbook of Social Psychology,
2nd edition (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969).
- Illich, Ivan. Deschooling Society.
(NY: Harper and Row, 1971).
- Janowitz, Morris. The Reconstruction of Patriotism:
Education for Civic Consciousness (Chicago: The
University of Chicago Press, 1983).
- Jaros, Dean. "Transmitting the Civic Culture: The
Teacher and Political Socialization," Social
Science Quarterly, 1968 (49), p.285.

- Jennings, M. Kent and Lawrence E. Fox. "The Conduct of Socio-political Research in Schools: Strategies and Problems of Access," The School Review, December 1968, pp.428-445.
- Jennings, M. Kent and Richard Neimi. Political Character of Adolescence, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).
- Jones, Ruth S. "Democratic Values and Preadult Virtues: Tolerance, Knowledge, and Participation," Youth and Society, December 1980 (12), pp. 189-220.
- Jones, Ruth S. "Evaluating Student Involvement as a Technique for Improving Citizenship Education," Theory and Research in Social Education, (1) 1973-1976.
- Jones, Ruth S. "Changing Student Attitudes: The Impact of Community Participation," Social Science Quarterly, September, 1974.
- Jurd, M.F. "Concrete and Formal Operational Thinking in History," In J.A. Keats, F.K. Collis, and G.S. Halford (Eds.) Cognitive Development. (Chester: Wiley, 1978).
- Kant, Immanuel. Kant on Education. Translated by Annette Churchton. (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1900).
- Katz, Michael. Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools. (NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1975).
- Keeton, Morris and Pamela Tate. Learning by Experience-What, Why, How, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1978).
- Keeton, Morris (ed.). Experiential Learning: Rationale, Characteristics, and Assessment (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1976).
- Kim, Jae-on and Charles W. Mueller. "Introduction to Factor Analysis: What it is and How to do it," Sage University Series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, series no. 07-013 (Newberry Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989).

- Klaassen, C. "Political Education in the Netherlands," International Journal of Political Education, 1981 (4), pp. 233-244.
- Lane, Robert E. Political Life: Why and How People Get Involved in Politics. (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1959).
- Langton, Kenneth P. Political Socialization. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).
- Langton, Kenneth and M. Kent Jennings. "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," American Political Science Review, (62) 1968, pp. 852-867.
- Lau, Richard and D. Sears (Eds.) Political Cognition. (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1986).
- Leonard, George. Education and Ecstasy, (NY: Delacorte Press, 1968).
- Liebetrau, Albert M. "Measures of Association," Sage University Series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, series no. 07-032 (Newberry Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989).
- Linn, Robert L. and Jeffrey A. Slinde. "The Determination of the Significance of Change Between Pre- and Post-testing Periods," Review of Educational Research, 1977 (Winter), pp. 121-150.
- MacIntyre, A. After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984).
- Macke, Anne Statham. "Trends in Aggregate-Level Political Alienation," The Sociological Quarterly, 1979, pp. 77-87.
- Madsen, Douglas. "Political Self-Efficacy Tested," American Political Science Review, 1987 (81), pp. 571-581.
- Madsen, Douglas. "A Structural Approach to the Explanation of Political Efficacy Levels Under Democratic Regimes," American Journal of Political Science, 1978 (November), pp. 867-883.

- Manheim, Jarol B. and Richard K. Rich. Empirical Political Analysis: Research Methods in Political Science, 2nd edition, (New York: Longman, 1986).
- Mansbridge, Jane. Beyond Adversary Democracy (New York: Basic Books, 1980).
- Marsh, David B. "Political Socialization: The Implicit Assumptions Examined," British Journal of Political Science, 1971 (October).
- Massialas, Byron G. Education and the Political System (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969).
- Massialas, Byron G. Social Issues Through Inquiry: Coping in an Age of Crises, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1975).
- Merelman, Richard M. "The Role of Conflict in Children's Political Learning," In Orit Ichilov (Ed.), Political Socialization, Citizenship Education, and Democracy. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1990).
- Merelman, Richard. "Democratic Politics and the Culture of American Education," American Political Science Review, 1980 (74) p.319.
- Merelman, Richard. "The Adolescence of Political Socialization," Sociology of Education, 1972 (45), p.134.
- Merelman, Richard M. "The Development of Policy Thinking in Adolescence," American Political Science Review, 1971 (65) pp.1033-1047.
- Merelman, Richard M. Political Socialization and Educational Climates: A Study of two School Districts. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971).
- Metzger D. and R.D. Barr. "The Impact of School Political Systems on Student Political Attitudes," Theory and Research in Social Education, 1978 (6), pp.48-79.
- Milbrath, Lester W. Political Participation. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1977).

- Miller, Arthur H. "Political Issues and Trust in Government: 1964-1970," American Political Science Review, 1974 (68), pp.951-972.
- Miller, Arthur H. "Rejoinder to 'Comment' by Jack Citrin: Political Discontent or Ritualism?" American Political Science Review, 1974 (68), pp. 898-1001.
- Miller, Delbert C. Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement, 3rd Edition, (NY: David McKay Company, Inc., 1977).
- Moll, Luis C. (Ed.) Vygotsky and Education: Instructional Implications and Applications of Sociocultural Psychology. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Morrisett, Irving. "Romance and Realism in Citizenship Education," The Social Studies, 1981 (72).
- Moore, S., Lare, J., and Wagner, L. The Child's Political World. (New York: Praeger, 1985).
- Napier, John D. and Evelyn T. Grant. "Delimiting the Problem of Generalizability of Research Results: An Example from a Trend Study of a Citizenship Education Project," Theory and Research in Social Education, 1984 (Fall), p. 17-34.
- Niebuhr, R. "Democracy's Distinction and Danger," Center Magazine, 1971 (July/August).
- Niemi, Richard and Associates. The Politics of Future Citizens. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974).
- Norusis, Marija J./SPSS Inc. SPSS Base System Users Guide. (Chicago: SPSS Inc. 1990).
- Norusis, Marija J./SPSS Inc. The SPSS Guide to Data Analysis for Release 4. (Chicago: SPSS Inc., 1990).
- Nunnally, J.C. Psychometric Theory. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978).
- Nyberg, David and Kieran Egan. The Erosion of Education: Socialization and the Schools. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1981).

- Parker, Walter C. "Participatory Citizenship: Civics in the Strong Sense," Social Education, 1989 (October), pp. 353-360.
- Passow, Harry A. Secondary Education Reform: Retrospect and Prospect, (NY: Teachers College Press, 1976).
- Pateman, Carole. Participation and Democratic Theory. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).
- Patrick, John H. "Political Socialization and Political Education in Schools," Stanley Ranshon, (Ed.) Handbook of Political Socialization (NY: Free Press, 1977).
- Patrick, John and Richard Remy. Civics for Americans, (NY: Scott, Foresman, 1980).
- Patterson, Franklin et.al. The Adolescent Citizen. (New York: Free Press, 1960).
- Perry, D. and Bussey, E. Social Development. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1984).
- Peters, R.S. "Aims of Education: A Conceptual Inquiry," Peters, ed., The Philosophy of Education (Oxford University Press, 1973).
- Piaget, Jean. To Understand is to Invent, (NY: Grossman Publishers, 1973).
- Pratte, Richard. The Civic Imperative: Examining the Need for Civic Education (New York: Teachers College Press, 1988).
- President's Commission for a National Agenda for the Eighties. The electoral and Democratic Process in the Eighties. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980).
- Reimer, Everett. School is Dead: Alternatives in Education (Gardent City: Doubleday, 1970).

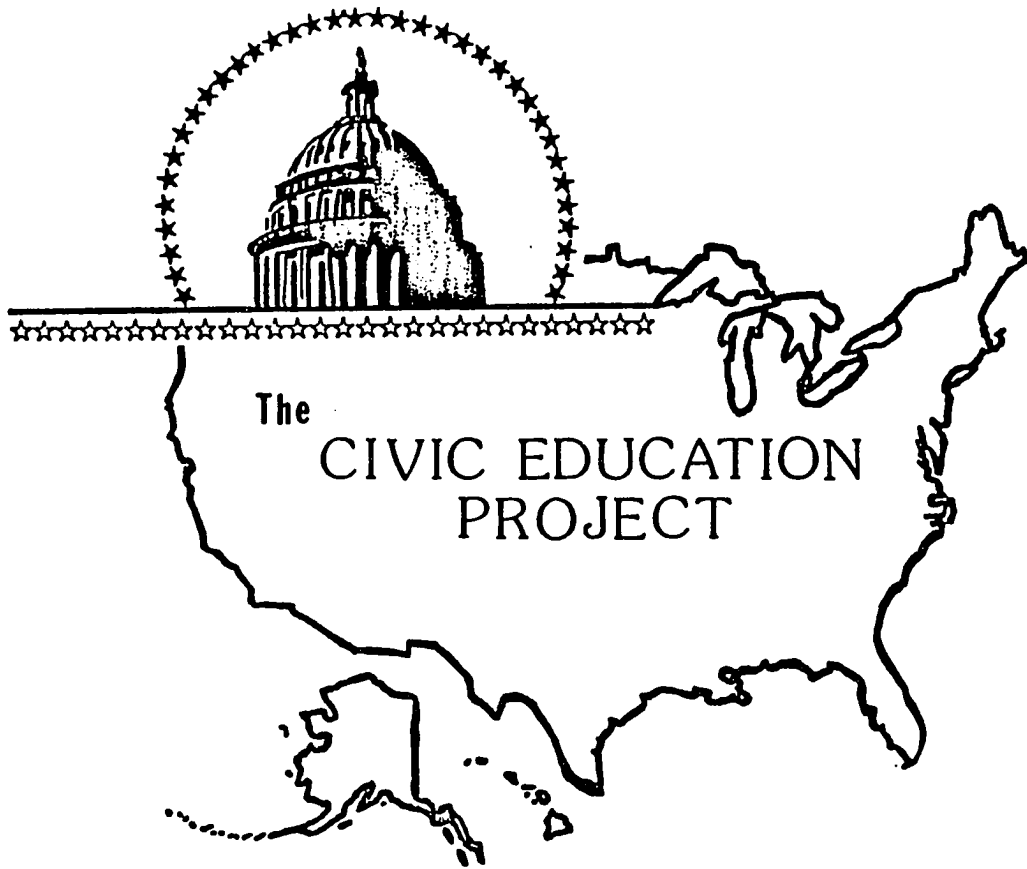
- Renshon, Stanley A. "The Role of Personality Development in Political Socialization," in Schwartz and Schwartz (eds.) New Directions in Political Socialization (New York: Free Press, 1975).
- Riccards, Michael P. The Making of the American Citizenry (NY: Chandler Publishing Co., 1965).
- Robinson, John R., Jerrold G. Rusk, and Kendra B. Head. Measures of Political Attitudes (Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research, 1968).
- Roos, John and Ken Grant. "Measuring Participation Using Public Opinion Surveys: Who Lies and Why," Political Methodology, pp. 292-298.
- Rosenberg, Shawn, D. Ward and S. Chilton. Political Reasoning and Cognition: A Piagetian View, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988).
- Salisbury, Robert H. "Research in Political Participation," American Journal of Political Science, 1975 (May), pp. 323-341.
- Schwartz, David C. and Sandra Kenyon Schwartz (Ed.) New Directions in Political Socialization. (New York: The Free Press, 1975).
- Shaver, J.P. and J.D. Napier. "Populations, Samples, Randomness, and Replication in Two Social Studies Journals," Theory and Research in Social Education, 1980 (8), p.1-10.
- Shermis, S. Samuel and James L. Barth. "Teaching for Passive Citizenship: A Critique of Philosophical Assumptions," Theory and Research in Social Education, 1982 (10), pp.17-37.
- Shumpeter, J. Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1943).
- Siegel, Michael E. "Citizenship in Five Massachusetts High Schools," Theory and Research in Social Education, 1977 (5), pp.31-55.
- Sigel, Roberta S. Learning About Politics. (NY: Random House, 1970).

- Sigel, Roberta S. and Marilyn B. Hoskins. The Political Involvement of Adolescents. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1981).
- Sigelman, Lee and Stanley Feldman. "Efficacy, Mistrust, and Political Mobilization," Comparative Political Studies, 1983 (16), pp. 118-143.
- Silberman, M. The Experience of Schooling. (Eastbourne: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).
- Singleton, H. Wells. "Participatory Citizenship Education," Theory into Practice, 1981 (20), pp. 206-209.
- SPSS, Inc. SPSS Reference Guide. (Chicago: SPSS, Inc., 1990).
- Steinaker, Norman and M. Robert Bell. The Experiential Taxonomy: A New Approach to Teaching and Learning, (NY: Academic Press, 1979).
- Stentz, Michael C. and H. David Lambert. "An Empirical Reformulation of Political Efficacy," Theory and Research in Social Education, 1977 (5), pp. 61-85.
- Struve, P.W. and B. Snider. "The Political Socialization of Adolescents: A Study of Students in a Midwestern High School," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, DC, March 1980.
- Tedin, Kent L. "The Influences of Parents on the Political Attitudes of Adolescents," American Political Science Review, 1974 (68), pp. 1579-1592.
- Torney-Purta, Judith. "From Attitudes and Knowledge to Schemata: Expanding the Outcomes of Political Socialization Research," In Orit Ichilov, ed. Political Socialization and Citizenship Education. (Teachers College Press, 1990).
- Torney-Purta, Judith. "Political Cognition and its Restructuring in Young People," Human Development, 1989 (32), pp. 14-23.

- Torney, Judith et.al. Civic Education in Ten Countries (NY: John Wiley and Sons, 1975).
- Tourangeau, Roger. "Attitude Measurement: A Cognitive Perspective," In H. Hippler, N. Schwartz, and S. Sudman (Eds.), Social Information Processing and Survey Methodology, pp.149-162.
- Turner, Mary Jane. "The Close Up Foundation: A Unique American Organization," International Journal of Political Education, 1984 (6), p. 391-198.
- Verba, Sidney and Norman Nie. Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality. (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).
- Verba, Sidney, Nie, Norman H. and John Petrocik. The Changing American Voter. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).
- Vosniadou, Stella and W. Brewer. "Theories of Knowledge Restructuring in Development," Review of Educational Research, 1987, (57), pp. 57-67.
- Voss, J., S. Tyler and L. Yengo. "Individual Differences in the Solving of Social Science Problems," In R. Dillon and R. Schmeck (Eds.) Individual Differences in Problem Solving. (New York: Academic Press, 1983).
- Vygotsky, L.S. Thought and Language. Translated by Hanfmann, Eugenia and Gertrude Vakar (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1962).
- Walter, Gordon and Stephen Marks. Experiential Learning and Change, (NY: Wiley and Sons, 1981).
- Weisberg, Herbert F., Jon A. Krosnick, and Bruce D. Bowen. An Introduction to Survey Research and Data Analysis, 2nd edition, (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1989).
- Weissberg, Robert. Political Learning, Political Choice, and Democratic Citizenship. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974).

- Wildt, Albert R. and Olli Ahtola. "Analysis of Covariance," Sage University Series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, series no. 07-012 (Newberry Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1978).
- Williams, John T. "Systemic Influences on Political Trust: The Importance of Perceived Institutional Performance," Political Methodology, 1984, pp.125-142.
- Wolfinger, Raymond and Steven Rosenstone. Who Votes? (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980).
- Wood, George H. "Education For Democratic Participation: Democratic Values and the Nuclear Freeze Campaign," Theory and Research in Social Education, 1985 (XII), pp. 39-56.
- Ziblatt, David. "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization," Roberta Sigel ed., Learning About Politics (NY: Random House, 1970).

APPENDIX A



YOU HAVE BEEN SELECTED BY CHANCE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROJECT. THIS STUDY IS DESIGNED TO FIND OUT WHAT HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS LIKE YOURSELVES THINK ABOUT CURRENT EVENTS, THE GOVERNMENT, THE AMERICAN POLITICAL PROCESS, AND BEING A CITIZEN. UNLIKE MOST OTHER QUESTIONS YOU ANSWER IN SCHOOL, THIS IS NOT A TEST AND YOU WILL NOT BE GRADED. IN FACT, IN MANY CASES, THERE IS NOT A "RIGHT" ANSWER. YOUR RESPONSES WILL BE ANALYZED ALONG WITH THOSE OF THOUSANDS OF OTHER STUDENTS AND WILL ONLY BE USED FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS RESEARCH. NO ONE IN THIS SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE ANY OF YOUR INDIVIDUAL ANSWERS AND THE RESULTS WILL NOT BE PUT INTO YOUR RECORDS.

YOUR RESPONSES ARE VERY IMPORTANT TO US. PLEASE TRY TO BE AS HONEST AND COMPLETE AS YOU CAN IN ANSWERING EACH QUESTION. HOWEVER, IF YOU FIND AN ISSUE OR QUESTION YOU ARE NOT FAMILIAR WITH, IT IS PERFECTLY OK TO INDICATE THAT YOU HAVE NOT HEARD OF THIS TOPIC OR THAT YOU DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION ON A PARTICULAR ISSUE.

WE HOPE THAT YOU WILL FIND THIS INTERESTING
AND THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP.

9. Sometimes people in government are in search of POLITICAL POWER. What do you think they might want?

10. When you think of United States citizenship, what kinds of things do you think of?

11. When someone talks about SPECIAL INTERESTS, what do you think they are talking about?

NEXT WE HAVE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR INTEREST IN GOVERNMENT AND CURRENT EVENTS!

12. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government all the time whether there is an election going on or not. Others are not that interested. How often do you follow what's going on in government?

- 0 _____ NEVER
- 1 _____ HARDLY AT ALL
- 2 _____ ONLY NOW AND THEN
- 3 _____ SOME OF THE TIME
- 4 _____ MOST OF THE TIME
- 5 _____ ALL OF THE TIME

13. Even though your life can be very busy, some people watch the national news on TV. How often would you say that you watch a national news program on TV?

- 0 _____ NEVER
- 1 _____ ONCE A WEEK
- 2 _____ TWICE A WEEK
- 3 _____ THREE TIMES A WEEK
- 4 _____ FOUR TIMES A WEEK
- 5 _____ FIVE TIMES A WEEK
- 6 _____ JUST ON THE WEEKENDS
- 7 _____ EVERYDAY

14. How about the newspaper? How often would you say that you read the sections of the newspaper that deal with politics and current events?

- 0 _____ NEVER
- 1 _____ ONCE A WEEK
- 2 _____ TWICE A WEEK
- 3 _____ THREE TIMES A WEEK
- 4 _____ FOUR TIMES A WEEK
- 5 _____ FIVE TIMES A WEEK
- 6 _____ JUST ON THE WEEKENDS
- 7 _____ EVERYDAY

FOR THE NEXT FIVE QUESTIONS, PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT IS CLOSEST TO THE WAY YOU FEEL!

15. How would you describe the United States government?

(7) _____ (6) _____ (5) _____ (4) _____ (3) _____ (2) _____ (1) _____
BEST IN THE WORLD WORST

16. How would you describe the influence of special interests in the United States?

(7) _____ (6) _____ (5) _____ (4) _____ (3) _____ (2) _____ (1) _____
TOO MUCH TOO LITTLE

17. In the United States, how powerful can the average person be as one individual?

(7) _____ (6) _____ (5) _____ (4) _____ (3) _____ (2) _____ (1) _____
VERY POWERFUL VERY UNPOWERFUL

18. Here are some experiences people your age may have had.
PLEASE MARK HOW OFTEN YOU HAVE HAD EACH EXPERIENCES.

I HAVE...	MORE		
	THAN ONCE	ONCE	NEVER
a.) collected for a charity like United Way, UNICEF, or done volunteer work	2 ___	1 ___	0 ___
b.) campaigned for a candidate	2 ___	1 ___	0 ___
c.) tried to convince people how to vote	2 ___	1 ___	0 ___
d.) worn a campaign button or put a sticker on a car	2 ___	1 ___	0 ___
e.) talked to friends about politics	2 ___	1 ___	0 ___
f.) talked to a political candidate	2 ___	1 ___	0 ___
g.) called a radio station during a political talk show or written a letter to a newspaper	2 ___	1 ___	0 ___
h.) expressed an unpopular view in class	2 ___	1 ___	0 ___
i.) gone to a government office or contacted a government official with a complaint	2 ___	1 ___	0 ___
j.) participated in a political protest or demonstration	2 ___	1 ___	0 ___
k.) refused to stand for the National Anthem or Pladge of Allegiance	2 ___	1 ___	0 ___

19. Generally speaking what are the THREE (3) things that you are LEAST proud of as an American. (Please number 1,2,3)

- 0 ___ POVERTY
- 1 ___ THE LACK OF INTEREST AND PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS
- 2 ___ PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MINORITY GROUPS
- 3 ___ PEOPLE WHO ARE JUST OUT FOR THEMSELVES
- 4 ___ CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT
- 5 ___ THE WAY OTHER COUNTRIES TREAT THE UNITED STATES
- 6 ___ PEOPLE WHO PUT AMERICA DOWN
- 7 ___ OTHER
- 9 ___ DON'T KNOW

20. How much do you feel having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think?

- 0 ___ NOT VERY MUCH ATTENTION
- 1 ___ SOME
- 2 ___ A GOOD DEAL OF ATTENTION
- 9 ___ DON'T KNOW

21. How much attention do you feel the government pays to what people think when it decides what to do?

- 0 ___ NOT VERY MUCH ATTENTION
- 1 ___ SOME
- 2 ___ A GOOD DEAL OF ATTENTION
- 9 ___ DON'T KNOW

THE NEXT SERIES OF STATEMENTS ASK YOU TO RATE YOURSELF IN COMPARISON TO THE "AVERAGE PERSON":

22. I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics

- 1 ___ STRONGLY DISAGREE
- 2 ___ DISAGREE
- 3 ___ NEITHER DISAGREE NOR AGREE
- 4 ___ AGREE
- 5 ___ STRONGLY AGREE
- 9 ___ DON'T KNOW

23. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.

- 1 ___ STRONGLY DISAGREE
- 2 ___ DISAGREE
- 3 ___ NEITHER DISAGREE NOR AGREE
- 4 ___ AGREE
- 5 ___ STRONGLY AGREE
- 9 ___ DON'T KNOW

24. I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people.

- 1 ___ STRONGLY DISAGREE
- 2 ___ DISAGREE
- 3 ___ NEITHER DISAGREE NOR AGREE
- 4 ___ AGREE
- 5 ___ STRONGLY AGREE
- 9 ___ DON'T KNOW

25. I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people.
- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 2 DISAGREE
 3 NEITHER DISAGREE NOR AGREE
 4 AGREE
 5 STRONGLY AGREE
 9 DON'T KNOW
26. Other people seem to have an easier time understanding complicated issues than I do.
- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 2 DISAGREE
 3 NEITHER DISAGREE NOR AGREE
 4 AGREE
 5 STRONGLY AGREE
 9 DON'T KNOW
27. I think that I am as well-informed about government and politics as most people.
- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 2 DISAGREE
 3 NEITHER DISAGREE NOR AGREE
 4 AGREE
 5 STRONGLY AGREE
 9 DON'T KNOW
28. Those we elect to office usually try to keep the promises they have made during the election.
- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 2 DISAGREE
 3 NEITHER
 4 AGREE
 5 STRONGLY AGREE
29. Most of our public officials can be trusted to do what is right without our having to constantly check on them.
- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 2 DISAGREE
 3 NEITHER
 4 AGREE
 5 STRONGLY AGREE

30. Most government officials try to serve the public interest even if it is against their personal interests.
- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 2 DISAGREE
 3 NEITHER
 4 AGREE
 5 STRONGLY AGREE
31. When government leaders make statements to the American people on television or in the newspaper, they are usually telling the truth.
- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 2 DISAGREE
 3 NEITHER
 4 AGREE
 5 STRONGLY AGREE
32. Unless we keep a close watch on them, many of our elected leaders will look out for a few special interests rather than for all of the people.
- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 2 DISAGREE
 3 NEITHER
 4 AGREE
 5 STRONGLY AGREE
33. Candidates for public office are only interested in peoples' votes, not their opinions.
- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
 2 DISAGREE
 3 NEITHER
 4 AGREE
 5 STRONGLY AGREE
34. Do you happen to know which political party has the most members in the U.S. House of Representatives?
- 9 DON'T KNOW
 1 YES, THE _____ PARTY
35. Do you happen to recall if Edward (Ted) Kennedy is a Republican or Democrat?
- 3 REPUBLICAN
 2 DEMOCRAT
 1 OTHER
 9 DON'T KNOW
36. Do you happen to remember how long the term of office is for a United States Senator?
- 9 DON'T KNOW
 1 YES, _____ YEARS

37. Do you recall if the Equal Rights Amendment has been ratified as an Amendment to the Constitution?

- 0 ___ DON'T KNOW
- 1 ___ NO, IT HAS NOT
- 2 ___ YES, IT HAS

38. Do you remember who was the last Justice appointed to the Supreme Court?

- 0 ___ DON'T KNOW
- 1 ___ YES, JUSTICE _____

39. Do you happen to know from which of the documents listed below the following lines come?

"We the People, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Prosperity...."

THESE LINES ARE FROM THE:

- 1 ___ DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
- 2 ___ ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION
- 3 ___ COMMUNIST MANIFESTO
- 4 ___ UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION
- 5 ___ MAGNA CARTA
- 9 ___ DON'T KNOW

40. Looking ahead to the time when you are on your own, how active do you think you will be in public affairs and politics?

- 3 ___ VERY ACTIVE
- 2 ___ SOMEWHAT ACTIVE
- 1 ___ NOT ACTIVE AT ALL
- 9 ___ DON'T KNOW

41. Do you ever talk about politics, current events, or public affairs with any of the following people?

a.) Your parents or other members of your family

- 0 ___ NEVER
- 1 ___ ONLY AROUND ELECTIONS
- 2 ___ A FEW TIMES A MONTH
- 3 ___ SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK, BUT NOT EVERYDAY
- 4 ___ EVERYDAY

b.) How about your friends outside of class?

- 0 ___ NEVER
- 1 ___ ONLY AROUND ELECTIONS
- 2 ___ A FEW TIMES A MONTH
- 3 ___ SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK, BUT NOT EVERYDAY
- 4 ___ EVERYDAY

c.) Finally, how about with adults other than teachers or members of your family?

- 0 ___ NEVER
- 1 ___ ONLY AROUND ELECTIONS
- 2 ___ A FEW TIMES A MONTH
- 3 ___ SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK, BUT NOT EVERYDAY
- 4 ___ EVERYDAY

NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU AND THE CLASSES YOU MAY HAVE HAD IN SCHOOL:

42. Have you ever had any classes in school in the past three years that required you to pay attention to current events, public affairs, and politics?

- 0 ___ NO (YOU MAY SKIP TO QUESTION 51)
- 1 ___ YES

IF YES, LIST THE ONES YOU HAVE HAD: _____

43. How much did these courses increase your interest in things like current events and politics?

- 0 ___ NOT AT ALL
- 1 ___ SOME
- 2 ___ A GOOD DEAL

44. Who was (or is) your teacher for this class? _____

45. Does this teacher also teach other classes?
 0 NO
 1 YES, (please list all you can remember)

46. Does this teacher also have extra-curricular responsibilities?
 0 NO
 1 YES, (Mark all that apply)
 _____ COACHES AN ATHLETIC TEAM
 _____ SUPERVISES A CLUB
 _____ LEADS THE CHOIR OR OTHER MUSICAL GROUP
 _____ OTHER _____

IN YOUR OPINION, HOW ACCURATE ARE EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS:

47.) Civics and government courses do not pay enough attention to controversial political issues such as race relations, political demonstrations, and issues of war and foreign relations.

- 4 VERY INACCURATE
- 3 SOMEWHAT INACCURATE
- 2 SOMEWHAT ACCURATE
- 1 VERY ACCURATE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

48.) Civics and government courses don't always give me a realistic picture of the way American politics works.

- 4 VERY INACCURATE
- 3 SOMEWHAT INACCURATE
- 2 SOMEWHAT ACCURATE
- 1 VERY ACCURATE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

49.) Civics and government courses don't give me the practical knowledge I need to participate in politics.

- 4 VERY INACCURATE
- 3 SOMEWHAT INACCURATE
- 2 SOMEWHAT ACCURATE
- 1 VERY ACCURATE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

50.) Civics and government courses fail to provide me with new information about politics. Much of what is taught, I already knew before I took the class.

- 4 VERY INACCURATE
- 3 SOMEWHAT INACCURATE
- 2 SOMEWHAT ACCURATE
- 1 VERY ACCURATE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

51. If you had the chance to design your civics or government class, what topics or issues would you be sure to include? (Please be as specific as you can)

NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR SCHOOL AND SCHOOL IN GENERAL:

52. In what year of school are you?

- 4 SENIOR
- 3 JUNIOR
- 2 SOPHOMORE
- 1 FRESHMAN

53. In some schools the students participate in running school affairs; in others, the teachers and administrators decide everything. How is it in this school--how much do students participate?

- 0 NOT AT ALL
- 1 VERY LITTLE
- 2 SOME
- 3 A GOOD DEAL
- 9 DON'T KNOW

54. Have you ever run for an office in school or out of school? (CHECK ONE)

- 0 NO, HAVEN'T RUN (SKIP TO QUESTION 54)
- 1 YES, BOTH IN SCHOOL AND OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL
- 2 YES, IN SCHOOL
- 3 YES, OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL

54a.) IF YOU ANSWERED YES TO QUESTION 53, DID YOU WIN THE OFFICE?

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ YES AND NO
- 2 ___ YES

DURING THIS SCHOOL YEAR HAVE YOU BEEN A MEMBER OF ANY OF THE FOLLOWING:

55. A school athletic team?

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ YES

56. A school band, orchestra, or singing group?

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ YES

57. A school dramatic club?

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ YES

58. A school debate or speech team/club?

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ YES

59. A school sponsored service organization?

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ YES

60. Worked on the school newspaper?

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ YES

61. Have you been an officer or committee head of a class, club, athletic team or school organization during the last three years?

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ YES

62. What is your overall grade average?

- 10 ___ A
- 9 ___ A-
- 7 ___ B+
- 6 ___ B
- 5 ___ B-
- 4 ___ C+
- 3 ___ C
- 2 ___ C-
- 1 ___ D+ or below
- 0 ___ I WOULD RATHER NOT SAY

63. Are you planning to go to Washington, DC this year for the CLOSE UP PROGRAM? [IF NO--SKIP TO QUESTION 65]

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ NOT THIS YEAR, BUT I HAVE BEEN TO CLOSE UP BEFORE
- 2 ___ YES

64. What made you want to participate in the CLOSE UP TRIP to Washington, DC? _____

64. Have you done anything in your classes or a club to get a head start on the CLOSE UP WEEK?

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ YES, (describe) _____

65. Have you ever been to Washington, DC as a part of another class trip, or with your parents or other adults?

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ YES, WHEN I WAS IN GRADE SCHOOL
- 2 ___ YES, WHEN I WAS IN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL (7-8TH GRADE)
- 3 ___ YES, SINCE I HAVE BEEN IN HIGH SCHOOL

NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU AND YOUR FAMILY:

66. Are both of your parents now living?

- 0 ___ NO
- 1 ___ YES

67. Who lives in your household? (CHECK ANY AND ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1. MOTHER
- 2. FATHER
- 3. STEPMOTHER
- 4. STEPFATHER
- 5. BROTHERS AND/OR SISTERS
- 6. STEP BROTHERS AND/OR SISTERS
- 7. GRANDPARENTS
- 8. OTHER RELATIVES
- 9. NON-RELATIVES

68. What is the highest level of schooling your father completed?

- 1. GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS
- 2. SOME HIGH SCHOOL
- 3. GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL
- 4. VOCATIONAL OR TRADE SCHOOL
- 5. SOME COLLEGE
- 6. GRADUATED FROM COLLEGE
- 7. GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL
- 8. DOES NOT APPLY
- 9. DON'T KNOW

69. What is the highest level of schooling your mother completed?

- 1. GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS
- 2. SOME HIGH SCHOOL
- 3. GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL
- 4. VOCATIONAL OR TRADE SCHOOL
- 5. SOME COLLEGE
- 6. GRADUATED FROM COLLEGE
- 7. GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL
- 8. DOES NOT APPLY
- 9. DON'T KNOW

70. What is your father's occupation (if he is retired, or not working now, what did he do)?

0. DOES NOT APPLY

71. What is your mother's occupation (if she is retired, or not working now, what did she do)?

0. DOES NOT APPLY

72. How many years have you lived in this city (town or rural area)?

- 1. 1 YEAR OR LESS
- 2. 2 YEARS
- 3. 3 YEARS
- 4. 4-10 YEARS
- 5. 11-15 YEARS
- 6. 16 OR MORE YEARS, BUT NOT ALL MY LIFE
- 7. ALL OF MY LIFE
- 8.
- 9.

NOW HERE IS SOMETHING A LITTLE DIFFERENT:

73. What are your plans for next year? (Mark all that apply)

- 1. I WILL STILL BE IN HIGH SCHOOL
- 2. I WILL BE EMPLOYED
- 3. I WILL BE IN THE MILITARY
- 4. I AM GOING TO A TRADE OR BUSINESS SCHOOL
- 5. I AM GOING TO A JUNIOR COLLEGE
- 6. I AM GOING TO A COMMUNITY COLLEGE
- 7. I AM GOING TO A PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL OR UNIVERSITY
- 8. I AM PLANNING TO BE ABSENT
- 9. I WILL NOT BE LIVING AROUND HERE
- 10. NONE OF THESE APPLY TO ME, I WILL BE:

74. What occupation do you hope to pursue after you complete your education? (BE AS SPECIFIC AS YOU CAN)

75. What is the name of your school?

76. What is the name of the city and state where your school is located?

77. In what year were you born? _____

78. What is your race?

- 6 WHITE
- 5 BLACK
- 4 HISPANIC
- 3 ASIAN
- 2 NATIVE AMERICAN
- 1 OTHER
- DO NOT CARE TO SAY

79. What is your sex?

- 2 FEMALE
- 1 MALE

80. What is your best estimate of the total income of your family (parents) last year--before taxes?

- 1 LESS THAN \$5,000
- 2 \$5,000 - \$9,999
- 3 \$10,000 - \$14,999
- 4 \$15,000 - \$19,999
- 5 \$20,000 - \$24,999
- 6 \$25,000 - \$29,999
- 7 \$30,000 - \$39,999
- 8 \$40,000 - \$49,999
- 9 \$50,000 - \$59,999
- 10 \$60,000 - \$69,999
- 11 \$70,000 - \$80,000
- 12 OVER \$80,000
- 13 DON'T KNOW
- 14 DON'T CARE TO SAY

WE HOPE TO COMPLETE THIS PROJECT IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS. IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN YOUR ADDRESS WHERE YOU WILL BE LIVING FOR THE NEXT YEAR OR AN ADDRESS WHERE YOU WILL STILL BE ABLE TO RECEIVE MAIL,

THAT'S ALL THE QUESTIONS WE HAVE FOR YOU.
THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP AND TIME IN COMPLETING THIS STUDY.
PLEASE FEEL FREE TO USE THE SPACE BELOW TO MAKE ANY COMMENTS
ABOUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE OR ABOUT ANYTHING ELSE YOU WOULD LIKE US
TO KNOW. BEST WISHES FOR YOUR FUTURE.

COMMENTS:



APPENDIX B

A nonpartisan, nonprofit educational foundation for citizen involvement in government

CloseUp@ Foundation

January 5, 1989

To Whom It May Concern:

Ms. Lynne Ford is conducting a study entitled: "The Effectiveness of Experiential Learning in the Case of Citizenship Education." The study will examine whether experiential learning is "a more appropriate model for learning about politics and citizenship" than classroom instruction alone. The focus of the study will be the experiential civic education program conducted by the Close Up Foundation for high school students in Washington, D.C.

After reviewing Ms. Ford's research proposal the Close Up Foundation has granted her full and complete permission to conduct this study of our high school program. Close Up will offer whatever support and assistance she requires to conduct effectively this study. The Foundation believes that her work will contribute valuable research to the field of civic education and will serve as a useful evaluation of our program.

If you have any questions concerning Ms. Ford and her study, please do not hesitate to call me.

Steven R. Schlesinger
Director,
Curriculum and Instruction

1235 Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, Virginia 22202 (703) 892-5400



THE CLOSE UP FOUNDATION INTERIM PROGRAM IS OFFICIALLY RECORDED BY
THE COMMISSION ON THE BICENTENNIAL OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

APPENDIX C

INITIAL TEACHER LETTER

^F3^

September 11, 1989

Dear ^F4^,

Your school has been selected to participate in a nationwide study designed to evaluate two very different instructional methods used in citizenship education. The Close Up Foundation exposes students to the political process through contact with political decision-makers and activities designed to simulate the governing process. By examining the learning that takes place as a result of this program and that which takes place in the traditional civics or government class, we hope to gain insights into the learning processes which take place in both educational settings. The Citizenship Education Project is being conducted through the University of Maryland and with the full support of the Close Up Foundation (see enclosed letter of support).

Using a short written questionnaire, students will be asked about their political interest, knowledge, perceptions about politics, and about their current and future plans to participate in politics. Students from your school who travel to Washington for the Close Up week and a group of students similar in all ways except for the Close Up trip will be surveyed at two points in time. Both groups of students will be given the questionnaire before the Close Up experience and then again about a month after the Close Up students return. All student responses on the questionnaire are of course strictly confidential and will only be used for the purposes of this study.

Since you are the coordinating teacher for the Close Up program and are familiar with both the program and your students, your help will be invaluable in making this project a success. Once your school has agreed to participate in the study, you will be mailed the questionnaire packet containing the appropriate number of surveys, an instruction sheet, and an addressed, stamped return mailing envelope. We would appreciate it if you could identify a group of students who are similar to those participating in the Close Up program. It would be best if this group of students were in the same grade, included an equal

number of males and females, a similar racial mix, and if possible (based on your evaluation), similar school performances. The questionnaire should be given to an equal number of Close Up participants and non-participants about a week before the Washington trip. About a month after you return from Washington, we will mail you a follow-up packet and again ask you to administer these questionnaires to the same students.

Because of the unique characteristics of your school, we would very much like to include your students in this project. We have mailed your principal information about the study under separate cover. After your school has made the decision to participate, we would like you to respond as quickly as possible. I have enclosed an addressed, stamped postcard for your convenience. Since you are arriving in Washington, DC near the end of October, it is important that you mail back the card as soon as possible. This will allow us to mail your questionnaire packet immediately and give you ample time to administer the questionnaire at your convenience before students leave for Washington.

We hope that both you and your students will find the questionnaire and project interesting. While the individual student responses are strictly confidential, we can provide you with the final results for your school as a whole in comparison with other schools nationwide and of course we will be happy to provide you with the final results of the study when they are available.

As the sponsoring teacher, you are the crucial link in making this project a success. If you have any questions about the study or your role, please feel free to call me at (301) 454-6715. We thank you in advance for your help and look forward to working with you and your students.

Sincerely,

Lynne E. Ford
Project Director

Contents: Close Up letter of support
response postcard

APPENDIX D

INITIAL PRINCIPAL LETTER

^F1^

September, 11, 1989

Dear ^F2^,

Your school has been identified as an active participant in the Close Up Foundation Washington Program. Since 1971, Close Up has been exposing high school students to the political process through contact with political decision-makers and the opportunity to participate in activities directly related to governing. To date, no study has measured the outcomes of this program in comparison to the learning that takes place in a more traditional classroom setting.

You and your school have made the decision to participate in a more active approach to civics instruction by participating in the Close Up program. We would like to include your school and a small sample of students in this study evaluating the effects of different instructional methods. The study is being conducted through the University of Maryland with the full support of the Close Up Foundation (see enclosed letter).

Students from select schools nationwide who plan to participate in the Close Up program during the months of October and November, 1989, will be given a short written questionnaire prior to traveling to Washington. An equal number of students, similar in all ways except for the Close Up trip, will be given the same questionnaire. The questionnaire consists of several political interest, knowledge, perception and participation questions. These questions are standard or similar to those used in other studies involving adolescent respondents. About one month after the Close Up students have returned from Washington, all previously surveyed students will be given a follow-up questionnaire.

Additionally, we would like to include a school in your geographic area which does not participate in the Close Up program in any way. Since you are most familiar with your area, we would appreciate it if you could provide us with the name of a nearby school, the address, and name of the principal so that we can contact him/her as soon as possible. For your convenience, we have enclosed a stamped, addressed postcard so that you can return this information as quickly as possible.

In order for this project to be successful, we need the help of the Close Up sponsoring teacher. The teacher will need to identify students who are similar to the Close Up participants and administer the questionnaire to both groups of students at the same time. The questionnaire should take approximately 25-30 minutes for the students to complete. We have mailed the sponsoring teacher a letter under separate cover outlining the study and detailing the procedures for administering the questionnaire. We would appreciate it if you could discuss your participation in this research and make the decision to participate as soon as possible so that the appropriate materials can be mailed right away.

Your school's participation in this study will be invaluable in assessing the relative contributions of two very different instructional methods in the area of citizenship education. We will of course be happy to provide you with the final results of the study as soon as they are available. Further, while individual student responses are confidential, we can provide you with results for your school as a whole compared with other schools nationwide. We look forward to hearing from your school as soon as possible in the form of the stamped, addressed postcard included in the letter to the sponsoring teacher. If you have any questions regarding the study or your school's participation, please do not hesitate to call me at (301) 454-6715.

Sincerely,

Lynne E. Ford
Project Director

Enclosures: Close Up support letter
response postcard

APPENDIX E

_____ My school will participate in the Civic Education Study.
Size of student body ____ Urban ____ Rural ____ Suburban ____
Name of Close Up sponsoring teacher _____

_____ My school will not be able to participate in the
Civic Education Study for the following reasons:

If you have any questions, please call me at (301) 454-6715.
Thank you,

Lynne E. Ford
Project Director

_____ My school will participate in the Civic Education Study.
Size of student body ____ Urban ____ Rural ____ Suburban ____
Name of Close Up sponsoring teacher _____

_____ My school will not be able to participate in the
Civic Education Study for the following reasons:

If you have any questions, please call me at (301) 454-6715.
Thank you,

Lynne E. Ford
Project Director

APPENDIX F

The following five hypothetical problems were presented to students in the order in which they appear. They will be referred to as the Apartheid, Department of Defense, XYZ Chemical, NSF, and Farm Crisis problems respectively:

1. Imagine that you are a U.S. official in charge of relations with another country which has a large number of immigrants of a racial group different from that of the majority of the citizens. Word comes to you that this country is planning a system of laws very much like Apartheid which would apply to this racial group. Your country (U.S.) is very much against this proposal. If you were this U.S. official, what actions would you take, and who else would you include in your efforts to solve this problem?
2. Imagine now that you have been named Secretary of Defense. You are now in charge of the defense budget and the operations of the pentagon. It has come to your attention that several defense contractors have been overcharging the government, delivering damaged goods, and billing the government for projects never completed. If you were the Secretary of Defense, what actions could you take, and who else would you include in your efforts to solve this problem?
3. Imagine that you are now the mayor of a small town. You have been informed that a toxic waste dump containing XYZ Chemical Company chemicals has been found under a school in your town. There is evidence that the students attending the school have a higher than normal rate of cancer. The cost of the clean up is expected to be so high that the company will be forced to go out of business and many jobs will be lost. As the mayor of this small town, what actions could you take, and who else would you include in your efforts to solve this problem?
4. Imagine now that you are the head of the National Science Foundation and you have been informed by the President of the United States that America needs more people to enter technical careers, like engineering or the sciences. As the head of the National Science Foundation, what would you do and who would you ask to help you to solve this problem?
5. For this one I have some cards for you to look at. On the cards are five groups that might have an opinion to be brought to the attention of a presidential candidate on the American farm crisis. The five groups are: mass production farmers, small production farmers, U.S. Banks, U.S. Department of the Treasury, and U.S. Department of Agriculture. All I want you to do is sort the cards in the order of who would have the most important opinion to be heard by the presidential candidate (about the farm crisis) to the group with the least important opinion and tell me why.

APPENDIX G

The following four hypothetical political problems were presented to students at New Hope High School, New Hope, PA in fall of 1990:

#1 Imagine that you are watching the news one day and you see a report that a neighboring country is planning a system of laws very much like apartheid. You know the U.S. has diplomatic relations with this country and you know the United States is very much against this proposed policy. What can you as a citizen of the United States do to solve or influence the outcome of this problem? Who would you contact and what kinds of actions could you take?

#2 It has come to your attention that several defense contractors have been overcharging the U.S. government, delivering damaged goods, and billing the government for projects never completed. The Secretary of Defense is in charge of the defense budget and operations of the Pentagon. After learning of this problem, what could you do and who else would you contact in your efforts to solve (or influence) this problem?

#3 Imagine that a toxic waste dump containing XYZ Chemical Company chemicals has been found under the school in your home town. There is evidence that students attending this school have a higher than normal rate of cancer. The cost of the clean up is expected to be so high that the company will be forced to go out of business and many jobs will be lost. As a resident of this town, what could you do and who would you include in your efforts to solve this problem?

#4 This past year the President announced that America needs more people to enter technical careers like science, math, or engineering. Is there anything that can be done to encourage more people to go into such careers? Who could do something about this and what kind of things could you suggest to solve this problem?