Future Social Science Teachers: An Exploratory Study of Political Attitudes and Orientations

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FUTURE SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHERS:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF
POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND ORIENTATIONS

by

Laird Douglas Murray

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment
of the
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Laird Douglas Murray
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The capability of a political system to orient its members to systemically important political values and processes is fundamental to the persistence of that political system. Values and norms, attitudes and knowledge all comprise the structure whereby the political system can keep its members attached and enlist their support for the system. Theoretically, the inability of a political system to sustain support through the use of these orientations would lead to its demise. Easton and Dennis suggest that a political system persists when two conditions prevail: when its members are regularly able to allocate valued things, that is, make decisions; when they are able to get these allocations accepted as authoritative by most members most of the time.

The United States is an example of how political systems have and can persist through change. When the regime was first organized, the model of a political system fostered by the Founders was a government of decentralized power organized in a federal structure with limited participation by the citizenry. Individual political participation was restricted in several ways: voting qualifications

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based on property ownership, offices which could not be voted on by the electorate (Vice-Presidency), and the institution of the electoral college. Through the years change has worked the political system into a highly centralized and powerful federal government with less power residing in the state governments. In persistence theory, there is no uni-directional developmental stage, which would theoretically allow a reversal in federal-state relationships. Furthermore, innovation and change are evident in the expansion of the voting franchise to universal suffrage. Individual political participation has been expanded to the direct election of the Vice-President, along with other changes. An amendment permitting direct election of the President and Vice-President is currently being considered by the Congress. This study is concerned with the attitudes and orientations of members in the political system of the United States which tend to further its persistence.

A political system is a conversion mechanism in which the demands of the members of the political community are transformed into output decisions, and the system persists when these essential variables are present. Easton and Dennis refer to these variables as outputs, demand inputs, and support inputs.

Outputs are the decisions and actions that political authorities produce. Political socialization of individuals is important to the political decision-makers, in that it can produce compliance with

\[1^{\text{ibid.}}\]
\[2^{\text{loc. cit., 54-64.}}\]
their outputs. As with political systems in general, there is no uni-directional socialization of compliance, and in fact, there can be socialization to resist the decisions of the political authorities.

Demands are directly linked to the authoritative allocation of values by political authorities, because they are wants and needs of the members of the political community which are turned into outputs. The limitation in the amount of values, such as natural resources, wealth, freedom, security, and others make it necessary to restrain the members making demands. Political socialization can contribute to functional or dysfunctional restraint orientations in individuals. Functionally, political socialization is the political system's attempt to state that the individual's demands can be met, but the political system culturally attempts to restrain these demands by developing in the political community a sense of what can be considered a political demand. Dysfunctionally, a political system which socializes individuals to believe everything as political demands can readily lead to excessive demands on the system.

There are several techniques which political systems use to curtail these demands, but primary among them is support input.

Support may be defined as "feelings of trust, confidence, or affection, and their opposites, that persons may direct to some object." These objects are the regime, the political authorities,

\[1\text{loc. cit., 54.}\]

\[2\text{loc. cit., 55.}\]

\[3\text{loc. cit., 57.}\]
and the political community.¹ For our purposes here, the objects are not as important as the way in which support, specific and diffuse, associates the individual with the objects. Specific support refers to the actual responses, favorable or unfavorable, of individuals to the outputs of the system.² When they see these outputs favorably, the authorities are praised and amounts of trust and affection are stored away. If the response to outputs is unfavorable, the political authorities may be replaced, and if other authorities fail to redress those injured, the dissatisfaction may become directed toward the regime and even toward the political community.³

The saving up of trust, confidence and affection are characteristic of diffuse support. Diffuse support is significant, because members of the political system value the objects of the system, i.e., the regime, the political authorities and the political community, as ends in themselves.⁴ This support is voluntarily given by those members of the political community who are satisfied with the allocation of values; in turn, they pass these sentiments on to their children. Negative diffuse support can also reside in segments of the political community. This will be demonstrated in the

¹ loc. cit., 58-61.
² loc. cit., 61.
³ loc. cit., 62.
⁴ loc. cit., 63.
review of literature.

Education, and specifically, the school environment, has traditionally been looked upon as the developer of support for the political system. Schools are felt to achieve this through the positive internalization of political attitudes, values, and behavior in students. Schools, through formal and informal instruction, provide students with minimal political socialization. Teachers, of course, are the instruments through which parts of the relevant cultural environment are transmitted to students. Because government recognizes this role of the teacher as a formulator of political attitudes and behavior, it requires, at least in Michigan, the signing of an oath of loyalty to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

Social science teachers are directly involved in the process of political socialization in the schools. Little research has been done to ascertain the political values and attitudes held by these teachers. The actual political beliefs held by future teachers would seem to be an important step in determining if they are more, less, or equally supportive of the goals and norms of the society and the political sector than other groups. To obtain an accurate description of our sample of future social science teachers, their attitudes and orientations toward the variables of political interest, political participation, political efficacy, political cynicism, 'rules of the game' and political, social, and economic equality, free speech and procedural rights, and the Bill of Rights will be studied.
The rest of Chapter I will be a review of the literature which surveys the accomplishments in the study of political socialization in the areas of the family, schools, and teachers to date. Special attention will be given to schools and teachers, as this thesis is primarily concerned with them.

Review of the Literature

Agents of political socialization

In the literature of political socialization, the discussion of the question which asks how political attitudes, values and orientations are developed and passed on to other generations centers around certain institutional structures of the society. These are referred to as agencies by some authors, and as agents of political socialization by others. These agencies (this writer prefers this term) are the personality shapers in the developmental process. It is from these various agencies that individuals acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior.

Primary and secondary institutional structures can be divided by the type of interaction they have with the individual. An agency is said to be primary and have primary relationships when the inter-

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3loc. cit., 203-205.
actions of people are highly personalized and are loosely structured, for example, the family and peer groups. An agency is said to be secondary and have secondary relationships when the interactions in which the individual engages are more formal, more highly structured, and more impersonal, e.g., schools, churches, and political parties. The various agencies of political socialization, both primary and secondary, initiate the basic political orientations of the individual and make up most of his total socializing environment. They are the units from which political cues are drawn, and the units to which the individual learns to voice his views.

Of these, the family and the school are usually identified as the two most important agencies acting upon the individual in the area of political socialization. While peer groups, the mass media, churches, labor unions, and political parties all participate in the socialization process at various stages of the individual's life, their role in comparison to the family and the schools may only be described as auxiliary.

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1loc. cit., 100.

2ibid.

The family

The first book written specifically about political socialization is Hyman's *Political Socialization*. In it, Hyman reviews and organizes articles written by sociologists, psychologists, and political scientists which have to do with the socialization of political attitudes and behavior. He notes that the literature of the 1950's and earlier stresses the role of the family in political socialization, and Hyman himself asserts, "foremost among the agencies of socialization into politics is the family."

There is some logic to this assertion, as the family reigns supreme as the most important socializer in many areas of behavior. The individual is brought into the society, introduced into the society, and brought up in the society by the family. The individual's recognition of himself as a person, the manner in which he relates to others, the affection which he receives from others, and the meeting of his needs by others are all a product, in most cases, of his experiences as a member of a family.3

Still, the idea that the family might be the main political socializing agent comes as a surprise, as one does not normally think about the family as a political institution. Political clubs, 1

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2loc. cit., 51.

political parties, civic or political education courses in schools are so much more obviously political. However, family members discuss politics, pay taxes, serve in the army, vote, or even participate in election campaigns, thus making political concerns into family matters. While it is true that the family's role in the American political context probably should not be viewed as directly concerned with expressed inculcation of the political attitudes and values in the individual, it is clear that they cannot be viewed as totally nonpolitical either. What then, are the identifiable contributions of the family in the process of political socialization?

Hess and Torney\(^1\) point out that the family's major achievements in socializing the child politically are the development of a political party affiliation, of positive or negative attitudes toward the political system, and of reverent or irreverent feelings about the symbols generally used to represent the country, e.g., the flag. Among some social scientists\(^2\) there is a feeling that families also transmit some opinions on policy or other political matters to their children. However, the evidence to date is far from conclusive.

Probably, the most replicated finding in the research about family socialization has to do with the transfer of party affiliation

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from parent to children. Hyman; Maccoby, et. al.; and Campbell, et.
al.,¹ have all reported findings demonstrating the ability of the
family to attach their children to their political party preference.

Data in the studies reviewed by Hyman² show moderate (.5) cor-
relations between parents and children on most politically relevant
items. However, in the study of party preference, which Hyman³ re-
ports, the correlations were very high (between .8 and .9). Maccoby,
et. al.,⁴ found a high agreement between children and parents on par-
ty, but noted that when there was disagreement between parents, the
mother's political party preference was slightly favored. Other
variables, such as family control, peer groups, and social mobility
also contributed to slight changes in the party preferences of the
young.⁵ Campbell, et. al.,⁶ report that in families where both
parents identify with the same political party, and where the parents
are interested and participate in politics, the transfer of party
preference is achieved with greatest efficiency.

¹Hyman, op. cit., 53-56. Maccoby, Eleanor E.; Matthews, Richard
E.; and Morton, Anton S., "Youth and Political Change," Public
Opinion Quarterly, XVIII (Spring, 1954), 27-35. Campbell, Angus;
Converse, Philip E.; Miller, Warren E.; and Stokes, Donald E., The

²loc. cit., 56.

³loc. cit., 53, citing H. H. Hemmers and N. Weltman, "Attitude
Interrelationships of Youth, Their Parents and Teachers." J. Soc.
Psychol., 26, 1947, pp. 61-68.

⁴op. cit., 27.

⁵Maccoby, Matthews, and Morton, loc. cit., 28-35.

⁶op. cit., 86-87.
In addition to political party identification, families can foster in their children both trust and distrust in the political system. Greenstein's study of New Haven elementary school children reveals that children see political leaders as benevolent, sympathize with them, and do not display the political cynicism of adults. This sympathy and view of benevolence, Greenstein feels, is generated by the family, since the New Haven schools did not have any course called civics until the sixth grade.

Families have also been found to be dysfunctional from the point of view of the political system by transmitting negative political values to children. In a French study, Converse and Dupeux found in data collected from an adult sample that several factors contributed to the cynical French adult. They found that the French family was the major factor in fostering distrust. French families by and large isolate themselves from their communities. Even inside the family discussions about controversial topics, such as politics, are infrequent. Among the families reporting political discussion, more expressed negative rather than positive attitudes toward the French political system.


2loc. cit., 940.

In the American political context, the study of families in Appalachia by Jaros, et. al., revealed that families in depressed areas also transmit their political values. Furthermore, in this area where cultural attitudes have traditionally been anti-government, the loss of the father from the family actually improved the attitudes of the children. The researchers felt that the father's absence meant there was less negative opinion in their immediate environment. When the father was present in Appalachian families, higher rates of political cynicism were observed. Langton and Jennings report a slightly different situation in their Caribbean study. In comparing nuclear (father-present) families to maternal (father-absent) families, they found children in the maternal families to be more authoritarian, less interested in politics, and less efficacious politically.

Symbolic attachment to the nation, and the early development of loyalty are facets of early family socialization, according to Hess and Torney. The Flag, the Statue of Liberty, Uncle Sam, and the Capitol building are all visual and verbal images associated with the United States, but all of them lack cognitive meaning for the child.

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2 ibid.
3 op. cit., 66.
4 op. cit., 95.
5 loc. cit., 26-31.
Such statements as, "The American Flag is the best flag in the world," received nearly ninety-five per cent agreement. This finding led Hess and Torney\(^1\) to comment, "One of the most remarkable features of the child's initial orientation to America is his positive feelings about his country, and its symbols." Data gathered from the same respondents reveal the lasting effect of many of these symbols throughout the early years. Uncle Sam was seen by fifteen per cent of the second grade respondents and by sixteen per cent of the eighth graders as a symbol of government; The Statue of Liberty similarly was viewed by twelve per cent of the second graders and nineteen per cent of the eighth graders as a symbol of government. Only the pictures of President Kennedy and George Washington were selected more often than Uncle Sam or the Statue of Liberty by the second graders.\(^2\)

There is considerable ambivalence concerning the family's role in politically socializing youth in specific opinion areas. Hess and Torney\(^3\) state outright that the family's effectiveness in transmitting attitudes has been overestimated. They feel that the family is more effective as a socializing agent in supporting other agencies in teaching political information and orientations. Recently, Jennings and Niemi\(^4\) while demonstrating once again that the family does so-

\(^1\)loc. cit., 26.


\(^3\)op. cit., 96-97.

\(^4\)op. cit., 174-178.
cialize the child in party identification, found very low to low correlations (.05 to .34) between parents and their high school children on other current and visible political topics, such as school integration and prayer in the schools. They found similarly low correlations on attitudes toward labor unions and selected religious groups, as well as on political cynicism. Langton and Jennings, in analyzing their data, have recovered some of the ground lost by the family. They point out that along with party identification and national loyalty, the family plays a prominent role in the development of a much wider political orientation, that of political efficacy. They recognize in their data some evidence that the attitudes of political efficacy are enhanced by the mediation of other intermediary agencies in the society.

What seems important is the problem of inter-agency differences in the process of political socialization. On the one hand, families socialize haphazardly and sometimes in conflict with the regime; on the other, the regime through the public school system tries systematically to foster positive attitudes toward the system and its symbols.

Education and schools

Education and schools are not synonymous by any means. Education is the broader of the two terms, and takes in the schooling

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1 op. cit., 159-160.
2 loc. cit., 166.

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process, as well as education carried on by the family, churches, and other agencies. Schooling is not the whole of the individual's education, but it probably is its most important part. The function of schools is the teaching of practical knowledge. Our society sets aside a major portion of its children's lives for the learning of this information. A part of this knowledge is those skills which help orient the individual in social interaction with others.

A major responsibility of the schools in teaching social interaction is the "teaching of specific political information and skills, such as knowledge about government structures and functions, and ability to participate in group activities."¹ Schools do take up much of the early years of the individual, and although the family remains dominant, schools do affect the political awareness and the outlook of students. The major elements, whether positive or negative, in the political socialization of students are the curriculum, the ritual life, and the teacher.²

Curriculum influence

With the fear of stating the trivial, it should be pointed out that many studies of political socialization feel curriculum content is at the heart of politically relevant learning.³ There are two

²loc. cit., 27.
³Coleman, op. cit., 226.
identifiable types of political learning involved in the course content: first, the learning of the duties of a citizen in the political system, which can be labeled civic education, and second, the historical-allegiant content which is called political indoctrination. A word about political indoctrination is needed. This phrase usually connotes negative feelings, but in each political system its meaning will vary. Some systems ask only that civic education courses teach the virtues of the country along with teaching its organization; others specify a full blown glorification of the state. In the American context, the former meaning is being used. For a discussion of the content and use of these types of political learning see Litt's article, "Education and Political Enlightenment in America."

Civic education

Obviously, the instruction of citizens in a democracy is of importance because the central activity is participation in the political process. The civics course is supposedly designed to make students aware, knowledgeable about political institutions and processes, and provide an understanding of his rights and the rights of others. There is little good said of the textbooks being used in civics clas-

3Langton, op. cit., 85.
ses. From an overzealous emphasis on ethical-legal norms of political behavior, to rote memorization of facts about political institutions, civics education puts little emphasis on how people participate, and more importantly, why people participate politically.¹

Indications of failure in the teaching of participatory behavior can readily be found in voting statistics. Campbell, et. al.,² in their study of the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections indicate that only two to three percent of the population belong to a political organization; only four percent in 1952 and ten percent in 1956 contributed money to a political party or candidate; and only three percent in both years reported working for a political party or candidate. In one of his 1968 surveys of adults in the United States, Gallup³ reported that twenty-six percent of the younger adults in the sample replied that they would be interested in joining a political organization.⁴ According to election data for the election years of 1960, 1964, and 1968,⁵ only sixty to sixty-four percent of the adult population voted. This is possibly saying two things: one, the

¹ Patrick, op. cit., 28.
² loc. cit., 51.
⁴ loc. cit., 22.
⁵ Congressional Quarterly, Weekly Report No. 50, XXVI (December 13, 1968), 3278.
curriculum is not structured so as to provide the impetus for participation cannot be effectively taught in the classroom. Litt⁷ has found evidence that civic education in the United States does not affect the participatory attitudes of students, "apparently attitudes toward political activity are so strongly channeled through other agencies in each community that the civics education program's efforts have little independent affect."

Political indoctrination

The glossing over of problems and conflict in the American past, as well as the present, is not peculiar to this country alone, but is the response of the regime to build and maintain a basic support in the population. This is not to say that the regime is actively ensuring the right kind of material (favorable) in textbooks, but it does spend funds to perpetuate support. It is reasonable to assume that particular groups in the society would come to believe the present political structure is the best and that it provides the most workable formula for political activity. This is a support response in itself. Those who hold such support, in turn, try to influence others and to create new groups which view the political system as they do. In this way, they perpetuate support and promote the conditions which permit the political system to persist. Where support

is not widespread and where support diminishes in times of crises, the government directly and through the schools must increase its efforts at political indoctrination. Coleman in his book, provides several examples of these phenomena.

The content of textbooks in American government, civics, and problems of American Government reflect a society that is aware of its values but has difficulty in implementing them. The following statement is taken from a textbook in American Government, "Americans readily recognize the right of all men to freedom from discrimination, freedom to live where they wish, freedom from persecution, the right to rest and leisure, the right to education, and the right to have an adequate standard of living." This statement is closely followed in the text by, "Americans recognize that ideas such as freedom, justice, and respect for the individual are matters with which there is no compromise." Clearly, these two quotes are not compatible with current societal facts, nor, for that matter, with one another. That there is no compromise over discrimination, persecution, education, and standard of living in American society would seem to be a naive statement, as well as untrue. Gunnar Myrdal, in his book, An American Dilemma, made an important observation about

\footnotesize
\begin{align*}
&\text{\textsuperscript{1}op. cit., 35-50 and 225-332.} \\
&\text{\textsuperscript{2}Paquin, Laurence G. and Irish, Marian D., The People Govern. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958, 22.} \\
\end{align*}

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American society: that the actual behavior of Americans often conflicts with the general values they admire and claim as their own. He made his observation at a time when it was not yet fashionable to question American values and the decision-making process.

Content analysis studies of government textbooks reveal considerable congruence between the content of the texts and related norms held by political influentials in the political community.\(^1\) Hess and Torney\(^2\) assessed the importance of political course content compared to other subject matter described by teachers. They found that institutions, ideology, participation, and personages make up twenty to thirty-five per cent of the time devoted to these political subjects in second grade course work and eighty to ninety per cent of the time devoted to these in seventh and eighth grade course work. Political parties never do better than seventy-five per cent.\(^3\)

More and more the evidence indicates that civics courses do not and, perhaps cannot, accomplish their stated goals. Langton and Jennings\(^4\) found little difference between white students who took one or more courses in American government and those who never took such courses. They note, however, that these courses have an impact on

\(^1\) Litt, Edgar, *The Political Imagination*, op. cit., 489.
\(^2\) op. cit., 109.
\(^3\) ibid.
\(^4\) op. cit., 115-119.
Negro students. The courses were redundant and often boring for the white students. Black students, on the other hand, found much of the material new. Other studies show that courses in civics are seldom effective in stimulating personal political participation even when they were designed specifically for this purpose, but that such courses may be effective in reducing the impact of political chauvinism and developing democratic attitudes.

The basic suggestions from this literature are: first, if civics and government courses are to have any effect on students, they should be offered earlier than high school, because basic political orientations are already grounded in the student by then; second, that the realities of the political system and the stated goals of the society must be dealt with more honestly and openly; and third, that a need exists for guidelines to be developed according to which political beliefs can be evaluated.

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1Somit, Albert; Tanenhaus, Joseph; Wilke, Walter J.; and Cooley, Rita W., "The Effect of the Introductory Political Science Course on Student Attitudes Toward Political Participation." *American Political Science Review*, LII (December, 1958), 1131-1132.


3Easton and Dennis, *Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy*, op. cit., 82-84.

Ritual life in the classroom

A direct extension of the allegiant-legitimacy process in the classroom outside of the curriculum is the ritual life. Involved in this exercise are saluting the flag, singing of the national anthem or other related songs, and symbolic pictures of national leaders and observing their birthdays. The use of these symbols produces in children a sense of awe about government, an attitude of submission and respect, and the identification of the individual with the political community.¹ The importance of these exercises in the classroom surrounds two aspects of support. The first, a reverence and dependence on the regime, and second, the collective nature of belonging to the political community.

Hess and Torney² indicate three incidences of ritual in the classroom flag display, pledge of allegiance, and patriotic songs in heavy use from the second grade through the eighth grade, with only song-singing being reduced substantially by the latter grade. Piaget and Weil³ found that the sense of national community is fully comprehended by the ages of eight to ten years and the comparison of one national group to another by the ages of twelve to fourteen years. Both of these functions in the classroom are methods of engendering support for the regime and linking the young to the political system.

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., 106.
²loc. cit., 108.
The teacher

Thus far the effects of the curriculum and the symbolic classroom life have been reviewed, but neither of these two aspects of schooling has any political import without the direction and relating capacity of the teacher. Teachers are authority figures and the first such figures outside the home to have the child's undivided attention. Teachers are also the filter through which the cultural environment, including political opinions and values, are fed into the receptive mind of the child. As such, they are the linkage between the student and his society, including for our purposes, the political system.

The teacher as authority

In the classroom, teachers replace parents as authority figures. The uses to which this authority is put vary among teachers, but there is evidence that teachers and school administrators are preoccupied with maintaining control, often at the expenses of student expression. Respect for authority and good behavior are highly prized and the student is evaluated on this basis. Henry found in his research that teachers appeared to encourage conformity, docility, dependence, and unquestioning obedience. He concluded that "children

1Patrick, op. cit., 29.


3loc. cit., 203-204.
get an intensive eight-year-long training in hunting for the right signals in giving the teacher the response wanted."

Politically, Hess and Torney point out that teachers emphasize how a good citizen complies while underemphasizing the rights of citizens in a democracy, and conclude that "much of what is called citizenship training in public schools does not teach the child about the city, state, or national government, but is an attempt to teach regard for the rules and standards of conduct of the school."

**Teachers as attitude and value formers**

Supposedly, what is learned in the classroom about authority, participation, government, and the political ideology of democracy has some relevance for the student. The values of the society are written big—freedom, equality, and individuality—but the classroom response is compliance, competition, and humiliation. Teachers often hold opinions contrary to democratic principles and reject even basic freedoms of the first ten amendments. Easton and Dennis report data which indicates that teacher and student attitudes achieve

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4 Easton and Dennis, *Children in the Political System*, op. cit., 111-126.
close proximity when the questions deal with basic information about
the personnel and procedures of government. Consensus between tea-
cher's views and a student's attitudes are found, it has been ob-
served, when there is societal consensus on the issue in the society,
and divergence when there is a lack of consensus.¹

Social Science teachers

One group of teachers which have had little or no study are
those teachers directly responsible for the teaching of political val-
ues and attitudes in students. Since the study of schools and teach-
ers has become increasingly important in the investigation of politi-
cal socialization, it would not seem unreasonable to study a particu-
lar segment of the teacher population--future social science teachers.
In the classroom, these teachers should exhibit the more flexible
teaching role which their curriculum demands. They should both in
their behavior in the classroom and by the attitudes they express
stress the participatory nature of politics. They should also foster
a sense of identification with the nation and a concern for the pro-
blems of a democratic society.

A teaching model

Hess and Torney² outline four basic models which they feel are
useful in describing the process by which political attitudes and

¹Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in

²loc. cit., 19-22.
behavior are transmitted from one generation to the next. They are relevant to the teacher-student relationship. The models are named (1) the accumulation model, (2) the interpersonal transfer model, (3) the cognitive-developmental model, and (4) the identification model.

In the accumulation model the child receives (political) units of knowledge, attitudes, and activities, and he absorbs them. Even if these units are vague and complex, he will still retain this information without distortion provided the material is simple enough for his age level. The interpersonal transfer model assumes the child has some experiences with authority relationships (parents and teachers) on which he can pattern his approaches to more distant authorities, or stated a little differently, he will transfer the familiar relationship to the more distant entity. According to the cognitive-developmental model, the child will adjust his view of the political world as he learns more about its true nature. Incorporated into this model is the developmental approach which emphasizes learning as a stage process. The child is assumed to progress from the learning of simple ideas to increasingly more complex views. According to this assumption, a concept can only be taught when the child has reached a certain plateau of development. The fourth model, the identification model, describes socialization as a process by which

1 loc. cit., 19-20.
3 loc. cit., 21.

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the child learns by imitating the behavior and accepting uncritically the attitudes of adults for whom he has affect. This model is the most relevant for this thesis, so it will be explored in greater detail.

Freud first derived and used the term identification. Since that time psychologists and sociologists have disagreed as to its meaning.\(^1\) In this thesis, the definition and process of identification suggested by Kagan\(^2\) will be employed. Kagan\(^3\) identifies four uses of the term. Of these, the imitative and vicarious are central to this paper. Imitation is the initiation and practice of certain responses, of which attitudes and acts are examples. When the model parent or other figure imitated by the child is found to be more successful, the child is affected in such a way as to increase his imitation; when he is found to be a failure, he will lessen his identification.\(^4\) In this manner, the child vicariously revels in the success of those persons he imitates, but he withdraws his identification from those he perceives to have failed.

In both of these ways, the subject desires to command a feeling of power and mastery over the environment, and to receive love and

\(^{1}\) Sanford, Nevitt, "The Dynamics of Identification." *The Psychological Review*, LXII (March, 1955), 106.


\(^{3}\) loc. cit., 296.

\(^{4}\) loc. cit., 297.
affection from the environment. The child sees his parents as powerful and able to gratify their needs. He imitates them in behavior, opinions, and attitudes, so that he too can gain these goal states. As the child grows older, the strength of identification grows less because he is better able to master his own environment.

The identification model stresses that the learning of behavior and attitudes is an imitative process between teacher and student. The transmission of political orientations is inadvertent, and persuasion to conform to the political attitudes of the teacher is not sought. Hess and Tomey feel that the acquisition of political party preference from parent to child is one instance of the imitative model as it operates within the family. Likewise, they see the teacher in a similar position, "the teacher is obliged to refrain from expressing opinions to students in the classroom. The beliefs of the teacher in other attitude areas may be more readily apparent to the children in her class from direct expression of opinions and from indirect and subtle indications of feelings." The authors also report a striking similarity between teachers' attitudes and opinions and those of their students as evidence for their statement. They do qualify this observation in regard to long term socialization

1 loc. cit., 296-297.
2 op. cit., 21.
3 loc. cit., 111.
4 loc. cit., 111-112.
consequences by stating, "Even in those areas of opinion which show the greatest similarity between teacher and pupil, there is no assurance that subsequent changes will not be made by these young people before they reach voting age."

What this model and the evidence presented suggest is the potential importance of high school social science teachers in the continuing process of political socialization and the possible impact which they can make on students in the years following the eighth grade. As already noted, the ability of students to take abstract ideas and relate them into conceptual systems develops in the adolescent years.¹ The elementary school years provide the basic political building blocks, but the schooling after this period formulates these basics into a system of belief.

Individuals are socialized politically. The important question of degree of socialization will be discussed later. The problem which needs to be explored next is the areas in which people are politically socialized. The literature mentioned above has already indicated some of the areas, but for clarification these and others will be discussed at this time. The following section will develop the meaning of variables which describe the politically socialized attitudes and orientations of individuals. These variables are political involvement, political participation, political efficacy, political cynicism, 'rules of the game' and political, social, and economic equality, and political tolerance.

¹Piaget and Weil, op. cit., 568-571.
Politically Socialized Attitudes and Orientations

Political involvement

The development of a politically socialized individual demands that he relate experience, absorb knowledge, and be interested in politics.¹ It is through this process of understanding that ideas are linked to one another into a belief system and where individual capacities fail to relate ideas his belief system is fragmentized and he is politically socialized less. "For the truly involved citizen, the development of political sophistication means the absorption of contextual information that makes clear to him the connections of the policy area of his initial interest with policy differences in other areas and that these broader configurations of policy positions are describable quite economically in the basic abstractions of ideology."² Political interest then relies on the capacity to take observations about politics and orient them into belief systems and with this capacity the interest becomes the tool to fuller political awareness and activity.³


²loc. cit., 246-247.

Political participation

Milbrath's primary categorization of the variable political participation is dichotomous. He feels that fundamentally the individual must decide to act or not to act politically. Leading up to this decision are psychological dispositions produced by stimuli arising out of the individual's basic needs and from stimuli in the individual's environment. In every person, the predispositions toward action or passivity are often mixed. Milbrath identifies several types of active-passive political predispositions—overt-covert, autonomous-compliant; expressive-instrumental; social-non-social; and others. Milbrath then goes on to say that when these dispositions group together, there is greater likelihood for political activity, or inactivity.

Political participation is cumulative and hierarchic; therefore, there are differing active and passive groups in the political system which can be separated into the apathetic, the spectator, and the gladiator. The passing of a person from one group to another rests on a threshold, a gap which can only be crossed if the predispositions are sufficient and environmental stimuli strong enough.

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1 loc. cit., 163.
2 loc. cit., 166-168.
3 loc. cit., 170-171.
4 loc. cit., 171-172.
5 loc. cit., 173.
Participation has very basic meanings in political socialization. It allows the individual to make demands on the system for personal satisfaction. It allows the individual to vent pent up hostilities against political authorities. And probably most importantly, it offers the possibility of changing the present political formula.

Political efficacy

Although political efficacy has had wide use in the empirical study of politics, the meaning of this variable has not been dealt with satisfactorily. Failure to distinguish the implications of the term has left "considerable ambiguity about its theoretical status and utility." To start with, political efficacy deals with the individual's feeling of power. Easton and Dennis identify three elements in the variable of political efficacy; as a democratic norm (a norm being the expectation about the way people do or will behave); as a psychological disposition (the disposition contains a sense of competency, and competency which is not easily eroded away; and the


actual conduct of the person. Almond and Verba's category of the individual as a subjective competent comes very close to this description. The questions from which they build their index involve both local and national politics. Specifically, the questions ask whether the individual feels he could do something about an unjust law at either or both levels of government.

Democratic theory has relied heavily on the fact that political authorities are responsive to the demands of the electorate, and that members of the electorate have the right and are duty bound to participate actively in the seeking of political office or to engage in political activity at a lower level of involvement. The norm provides boundaries for individual feelings and attitudes; minimally, a citizen can vote and feel his vote will influence decisions and decision-makers, or he can run for office to produce a desired result. The predisposition 'efficacy' is not a measure of whether the individual is actually able to influence the political authorities and their decisions; rather, it is an assessment of whether he feels he can make such an impact. Almond and Verba point out that in politics just the ability to see oneself influencing authorities is enough, as the authorities will, in fact, heed individuals who have

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3op. cit., 138-139.
such predispositions. The authorities view such people as potential opponents who could be activated.

**Political cynicism**

Political cynicism is an outgrowth of the work done in psychology and sociology on alienation. Seeman has identified five elements of alienation—powerlessness; meaninglessness; normlessness; isolation; and self-estrangement. This sense of aimlessness is a key component which leads man to view others in the society, politicians, and the political process with distrust.

It is especially important to see how cynicism, both personal and political, affects societal relationships. Almond and Verba indicate that the individual in order to make his voice heard and to effect change must join with others organizationally to provide the needed political weight. If he does not have feelings of trust toward other people and toward the relevant political institutions, the individual can never take this step. Zonis writing about political elites in Iran, is concerned with much the same problem. In regard to the Iranian system, however, he has observed that those in the elite who are highly efficacious, politically and personally

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2 op. cit., 208-243.

trusting, and generally supportive of the regime are also supportive of strong man rule and restrictions on political debate. The regime is supposedly a parliamentary democracy with a monarch. Those who are efficacious, in this instance, are not supportive of regime norms and values, but operate politically in the real world which differs from the needs of a parliamentary democracy. This, in turn, confirms the suspicions of those who are politically cynical.

Agger, Goldstein, and Pearl, in their study of political cynicism, found distrust to be tempered by education and political participation.¹ Seemingly more important are the questions they raise concerning the possibility that cynicism can lead to the feeling in individuals that only drastic solutions can change the political system.²

'Rules of the game' and belief in equality

The items designed to measure the variables of 'rules of the game', and belief in equality are purposely at a simple level of understanding. As indicated before, abstract and broad principles of democracy have been generally supported by the electorate. Protho and Gregg³ reported an agreement on these principles ranging from

²loc. cit., 501.

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ninety-four to ninety-eight per cent. It is at the specific level where the individual must come to grips with questions of application that consensus breaks down. The boundary lines, drawn very broadly, within which legitimate political activity can be carried on are prescribed by the regime norms.

Converse\textsuperscript{2} illustrates the difference between general principles and specific applications with an example that in addition reveals that the political elites are more sensitive to the application of general principles than are the electorate in general. "If Congress were to vote to give federal aid to public schools, do you think this should be given to schools which are segregated?" The electorate supported this statement much more than the elites, because as Converse sees it, the mass saw a group to be benefitted—school children—while the elite could also see the benefit, but could not condone federally supported segregation in the schools.\textsuperscript{3} The value is clear, but the inequity, lack of fairness, and injury sustained by others due to such an educational system are lost at the level of the masses, while being very real to the elites.

In the political socialization context, these variables are trying to measure how political change based on democratic norms is achieved. If it is solely on the basis of group advantage, as seen

\textsuperscript{1}loc. cit., 286-287.

\textsuperscript{2}Converse, op. cit., 235.

\textsuperscript{3}ibid.
from the mass response, there are going to be other groups which will be activated to insure their rights, even to the point of anti-democratic methods. The measured and careful weighing of demands so as to achieve equality and fair play for all would seem to be the political role of education.

Political tolerance

Probably the most central theme in democratic theory, and consequently of major interest to the study of political socialization, is that of libertarian democracy. There is truly a voluminous body of literature in political science pertaining to the principles of equality, protection of the individual and minority rights, and freedom of dissent and criticism.\(^1\) Political tolerance applies to so many objects and so many areas of behavior that it is difficult to give it precise meaning. The major portion of current empirical research is devoted to how and in what ways Americans are tolerant of one another, and what are the basic reasons in contemporary American politics for holding civics in high regard, in effect, the society exhibits intolerance towards all kinds of non-conforming minorities, be they racial, ethnic, or policy groups.

\(^1\)Dennis, Jack; Lindberg, Leon; McCrone, Donald; and Steifbold, Rodney, "Political Socialization to Democratic Orientations in Four Western Systems." *Comparative Political Studies*, I (April, 1968), 73.
Democratic theories in the normative tradition place great stress on the requirements of citizens in a democracy as Berelson points out. Part of these requirements are to accept the majority decision as binding, to respect other parts of the political community, and to seek political compromise with a certain degree of readiness. Lane seems to assume this definition of democracy when he describes the responses of his sample in the Eastport study, "the term 'democracy' (to them) is nothing that is quite like any of these. It is, in fact, neither majority rule not minority rights, but something of a hybrid--majority rights." Lane asserts that his Eastport residents see democracy as the freedom of the non-deviant person to do as the majority deems right.

The non-conformists, individualists, and others in the political community who do not follow blindly, provide valuable services for the political system. It is quite often from these sources that problems in the community are identified and become recognized so that they can be acted upon by the elites and ultimately taken as the majority viewpoint by the masses. Political tolerance permits ideas to be voiced openly and prevents pressures which otherwise might be building in the

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loc. cit., 110.


loc. cit., 83.
society from being released suddenly and dramatically in politically violent episodes.

Since the use of coercion in a democracy has traditionally been retained only for those who cannot remain within the norm boundaries, political socialization must prepare the individual to accept political tolerance. Democracy does not demand regime obedience, nor reject non-conformists, but must be prepared to demand political tolerance.

Hypotheses

Future social science teachers will show more interest in politics than will a sample of young voters.

Future social science teachers will be more politically participat- pant than a sample of young voters and the electorate in general.

Future social science teachers will exhibit higher political efficacy and lower political cynicism than the general electorate.

Future social science teachers will support: 1) the 'rules of the game' and 2) will favor political, social, and economic equality more than a sample of the general electorate.

Future social science teachers will demonstrate more political support for free speech and procedural rights than the general electorate.

Future social science teachers will show agreement with a sample of prospective secondary teachers on the political values of the Bill of Rights.
In the review of literature, the agencies which carry on political socialization have been investigated. A greater share of this review has concentrated on schools and teachers, and the ways in which they socialize students politically. The variables to which individuals are politically socialized are introduced in this chapter after the review of literature and are followed by the hypotheses. The central interest of this thesis is the possible effect of future social science teachers' political attitudes and orientations on students. As such, it is a descriptive study. It also is an exploratory study, in which it is hoped, possible future political socialization research may be directed.

In Chapter II, the Methods, a description of our sample is given, replication of questions asked of the respondents, the statistics used, and a description of the other samples to which the future social science teachers will be compared also are given. Chapter III presents an analysis of the data obtained from our sample and a comparison of these findings with known distribution of these same questions for samples of political influential, the general electorate, and other teachers. The conclusion is presented in Chapter IV, and the questionnaire is found in the Appendix.
CHAPTER II
METHODS

Description of the Sample

The data for this study were obtained by the administration of questionnaires to a group of 134 prospective social science teachers at Western Michigan University, i.e., all the students enrolled in the courses entitled "Teaching of Social Science" during winter semester, 1970. Due to absent students and incomplete questionnaires, the number of cases considered in this study is 102. Of the 102 respondents answering the questionnaires, one per cent were sophomores, fifty-one per cent were juniors, forty-five per cent were seniors, and three per cent were graduate students.

To assess the career interests of these students, the questionnaire asked the students to indicate their major and minor fields of study (see table below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respective field of study</th>
<th>Major</th>
<th>Minor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Science Block</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology, Anthropology, Social Work</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentages in this table indicate a high relationship between their study areas and their proposed field of teaching social science.
This relationship validates the researcher's selection of students in the social science methods course as an approximate population for his research. History and sociology areas lead the study concentration. As this particular survey is interested primarily in the political attitudes of these teachers and their possible classroom consequences, it is interesting to note how few have concentrated their studies in political science.

For the most part, these students are near completion of their college careers. Some will be teaching next year; the remainder probably will begin teaching the following year. In selecting this particular population, the researcher realized that the findings of the study of these students would have limited applicability. Certainly, it would say something about the attitudes of this particular population, but it would not necessarily imply anything about prospective social science teachers in other universities. For this reason, this writer recommends that the study be regarded as primarily exploratory in nature, at best suggesting the direction of future research in this area.

The informational questions and attitude items used in the questionnaire were taken from other studies. This procedure was followed so that the future social science teachers in the sample could be compared to other known populations. Specifically, the data collection consists of the respondent's family background and political orientations, and his own political attitudes and orientations. Central to the study of these social science teacher's
attitudes are the questions dealing with the variables of political participation, political interest, political efficacy, political cynicism, and political tolerance.

The Questionnaire

Political interest

The ability of a teacher to present a valid picture of the society, especially of the political system, to the students in his classroom is dependent on that teacher's own interest in politics and political events. Reading newspapers and watching news broadcasts on television are pipelines of information needed to understand and evaluate complex political systems. More important, the lack of interest in politics, and the relationships between politics and democracy is directly relayed to the student in the classroom via the teacher. The teacher is in an ideal position to emphasize the dos and don'ts of politics in a democracy; if he has little or no interest in the political system, he will impart little or no political import to his students.

For the variable of political interest, the respondents were asked: ¹

(1) Some people seem to think about what's going on in government and public affairs, most of the time whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs; most of the time, some of the time, only now and then?

¹Langton, op. cit., 95.
(2) How often do you read about public affairs and politics in newspapers and magazines; often, sometimes, hardly ever?

(3) How often do you watch any programs about public affairs, politics, and the news on television; often, sometimes, hardly ever?

Political participation

Participation in a democracy is a basic right and duty of any citizen; the social science teacher is called upon to indicate the process (both reasons and necessities) of political participation. It would seem reasonable to assume that teaching about political activity requires some familiarity with the content and process of minimal political participation—at least voting, if not active work in the interests of a political party or candidate. In this sample of prospective social science teachers, quite a few are not of age to vote, and voluntarily indicated this information in response to the political participation questions.

For political participation, the respondents were asked:

(1) In talking to people about the election, we find that a lot of people weren't able to vote because they weren't registered or they were sick or they just didn't have time. How about you, did you vote this time?

(2) Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?

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1Campbell, Angus; Gurin, Gerald; and Miller, Warren E., The Voter Decides. Evanston, Ill.: Row Peterson, 1954, 28-29.
(3) Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?

Political efficacy

Political efficacy is the belief that an individual can influence the decisions and outputs of government. Consequently, politically efficacious teachers would feel they are politically competent and supposedly instill this feeling in their students. Furthermore, they would feel the political system operates to their advantage and would be more willing to act to perpetuate socialization which supports the system.

To measure the variable of political efficacy, those surveyed were asked to agree or to disagree with the following statements:

(1) I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.

(2) Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

(3) People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

(4) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

Political cynicism

Distrust of the political process and of politicians, coupled with the feeling of ineffectiveness, defines political cynicism.

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Measurement of mistrust toward authority and impotency is particularly difficult in the American political system because of the longstanding observation that Americans have always felt wary of the method used in making public policies.\textsuperscript{1} How the teacher views his own position in relation to the political process probably would affect how favorably or unfavorably he would teach about this process in the classroom.

On political cynicism, the respondents are asked to indicate their feelings generally for or against these statements:\textsuperscript{2}

(1) Both major parties in this country are controlled by the wealthy and are run for their benefit.

(2) Many politicians are bought off by some private interest.

(3) I avoid dealing with public officials as much as I can.

(4) Most politicians can be trusted to do what they think is best for the country.

(5) Most politicians don't seem to me to really mean what they say.

(6) All politics is controlled by political bosses.

\textbf{Rules of the game}

Justice, equality, and free speech are basic to democracy. Even though these concepts have had wide approval, often the more

\textsuperscript{1}McClosky, op. cit., 371.

\textsuperscript{2}loc. cit., 370.
practical day to day applications of these statements—fair play, legal due process, and consideration for the rights of others—are less acceptable in American society. Formulation of the relationship between highly general democratic terminology, and the particular response in daily events of the individual remain foremost among the classroom and teacher assignments.

To obtain the attitudes of prospective social science teachers on the 'rules of the game', and their belief in equality, the respondents are asked to agree or to disagree with these statements:¹

'Rules of the game'

(1) The majority has the right to abolish minorities if it wants to.

(2) We might as well make up our mind that in order to make the world better a lot of innocent people will have to suffer.

(3) If congressional committees stuck strictly to the rules and gave every witness his rights, they would never succeed in exposing the many subversives they have turned up.

(4) People ought not to be allowed to vote, if they can't do so intelligently.

(5) Very few politicians have clean records, so why get excited about the mudslinging that sometimes goes on.

Belief in equality

(1) Few people really know what is in their own best interest in their own long run.

¹loc. cit., 365 and 369.
(2) Most people don't have enough sense to pick their own leaders wisely.

(3) Regardless of what some people say, there are certain races in the world that just won't mix with Americans.

(4) Labor does not get its fair share of what it produces.

(5) I think the government should give a person work if he can't find another job.

Political (civic) tolerance

Statements on political tolerance attempt to measure whether the political ideals of American democracy are relevant to the members of the political system. Teachers are the arbitrators of how much of this system—freedom of speech, right of dissent, voting rights, etc.,—are infused into the classroom setting. Since students do spend a great deal of time in the classroom, it would seem important that these norms be understood and used by the teacher.

To the statements below, prospective teachers are asked to agree or to disagree:

Bill of Rights

(1) Newspapers and magazines should be allowed to print anything they want except military secrets.

(2) The government should prohibit some people from making public speeches.

(3) Police and other groups have sometimes banned or censored certain books and movies in their cities. Do you agree or disagree they should have this power?

1Weiser and Hayes, op. cit., 477 and 478.
(4) The police or F. B. I. may sometimes be right in giving a man the third degree to make him talk.

Free speech and procedural rights

(1) Freedom does not give anyone the right to teach foreign ideas in our schools.

(2) A man ought not to be allowed to speak if he doesn't know what he's talking about.

(3) A book that contains wrong political values cannot be a good book and does not deserve to be published.

(4) Any person who hides behind the laws when he is questioned about his activities doesn't deserve much consideration.

(5) In dealing with dangerous enemies like the Communists, we can't afford to depend on the courts, the laws, and their slow and unreliable methods.

Guttman Scale

To compare the prospective social science teacher sample with a national voting sample on political efficacy, the responses of these future teachers were scaled according to Guttman criteria. The items were scaled using the "disagree" responses. The item order of difficulty from the hardest (i.e., the smallest proportion of the sample disagree with this item) to the easiest (i.e., the largest proportion disagree with this item in response are as follows:

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(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 the government does.

The scale on political efficacy is zero for low efficacy (i.e., the respondent disagrees with none of the items) to a four showing high efficacy (i.e., the respondent disagrees with all of the items). These four items formed a political efficacy scale that achieved a CR of .927.

Statistic Used

The statistic used is the mean of the percentage differences for each set of items listed above.

Statistical use

Since the differences of the percentages can be treated as interval data, it is possible to compute a mean difference between the sample of prospective teachers and the other samples to which they are being compared. The comparison of means will give a good idea of how alike or different the sample of prospective social science teachers are to other sample groups.
Statistical description

(1) Take the percentage responses for $S_1$ (i.e., sample of future social science teachers) and for $S_2$ or $S_3$ (i.e., other samples) on each field of index, and subtract $S_2$ or $S_3$ from $S_1$.

(2) Sum the percentages.

(3) Divide by the number of item responses to find the mean.

(4) Compare the two means for $S_2$ and $S_3$ and see which is closer to $S_1$.

Statistics and analysis

In the tables in Chapter III, the wording of items has been modified selectively, usually by inserting the word 'not', to bring all items measuring a certain variable directionally in line. That is, they have been reworded so that the reader can easily recognize that a 'disagree' response would be consistent with the naming and meaning of the variable. Where the word 'not' is inserted in an item therefore, it should be understood that the percentage response reported as 'percent in disagreement' actually means for that item 'percent in agreement'.

For example, in Table V all of the statements are negative with the exception of one. "Most politicians can be trusted to do what they think is best for the country," has been changed to a negative statement. These changes occur in Tables V, VII, and IX, for the variables of political cynicism; political, social, and economic equality; and the Bill of Rights.
TABLE V. Political Cynicism, partial reproduction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Political Influentials</th>
<th>Future Social Science Teachers</th>
<th>General Electorate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I avoid dealing with public officials as much as I can.</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.2)</td>
<td>(31.3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most politicians can (not) be trusted to do what they think is best for the country.</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(9.4)</td>
<td>(08.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum of the differences Divided by (2)</td>
<td>= (9.6)</td>
<td>= (40.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean difference</td>
<td>= 4.8</td>
<td>= 20.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The method used to find the mean is also shown in the example. The differences, between political influentials and future social science teachers are (0.2) and (9.4), these are summed which totals (9.6). This figure is then divided by the number of items in the table. Mean differences are also computed for our teachers and the general electorate. This is the only way a mean difference score can legitimately be computed.
Description of Comparison Samples

The Gallup Opinion Index

The Gallup Opinion Index\(^1\) was used to obtain a national sample of youth to make comparisons on the variables of political interest and political participation. This particular report is concerned with young voters. Young voters are compared to older voting age groups on selected political questions. The breakdown by age groups are 21-29, 30-49, and 50 and over.

Sampling procedures, the report states, "are designed to produce samples representative of the United States' civilian adult population."\(^2\) The survey was drawn from interviews with 1,500 adults. In some cases, the sample was inflated to gain finer differentiations between demographic groups. The interview questionnaire covered four areas, i.e., political affiliation, political interest and activity, ratings of political parties, and views of young people on candidates and issues. Only the section on political interest and activity is used for comparison purposes in this paper. Sampling errors for this study of 1,500 are between three to four percentage points, ninety-five per cent of the time.\(^3\)

\(^1\)op. cit.
\(^2\)loc. cit., ii.
\(^3\)ibid.

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The American Voter

Data were taken from The American Voter\(^1\) to compare future social science teachers with a national sample on other modes of participation and on political efficacy. Data for this study were compiled from three national election studies from 1948, 1952, and 1956.\(^2\) Data about modes of participation and political efficacy came primarily from the 1956 presidential election.

The data for this research were gathered from a national random probability sample (N=1796, 1956) of the adult population. The age breakdown for this sample is not as refined as the Gallup Poll data--34 or less, 35-54, 55 or over, and the comparison data on these variables are aggregate (N)'s of the total sample.\(^3\) Other factors sex, education, and regional turnout are also included in the data.

The questionnaire for this Survey Research Center study includes background information, historical data about voting, as well as attitude questions measuring the degree of political interest, participation, and efficacy. Collection of the data was by interview. The data are generally reported by percentages.

\(^1\)Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, op. cit.


\(^3\)Ibid.
"Consensus and Ideology in American Politics"

McClosky\(^1\) in his article, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," presents data on the variables of political cynicism, 'rules of the game' and equality, and free speech and procedural rights.

Samples for his article were drawn in 1957-1958 from a national study of political influentials and the adult electorate. The political activists sample of 3000 was drawn from party conventions in 1956. Because of the special features of this sample, the separation between the electorate and this sub-sample of the electorate are particularly sharp. The political activity of this group clearly separates the political leadership from the political followers.

The random sample of 1500 adults drawn from the general population was selected by the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll) and the description for this sample is the same as the one given above on the Gallup Opinion Index.\(^2\)

Both samples received the same questionnaire which contained background information, attitudes, opinions, economic outlook, and party affiliation. There were 390 items in the questionnaire which when sorted and scaled were refined to forty-seven scales for measuring personal attitudes, and values of each of the respondents.\(^3\)

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\(^1\)op. cit., 372.

\(^2\)See page 55 in this paper for description.

\(^3\)McClosky, Herbert; Hoffman, Paul J.; and O'Hare, Rosemary, "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers." The American Political Science Review, LIV (June, 1960), 408.
McClosky\textsuperscript{1} states, "while each of these items can stand along, and be regarded in its own right as an indicator of a person's opinion and attitudes, each of them is simultaneously an integral element of one of forty-seven scales..." For comparison of data, twenty-one items which showed the greatest differences between activists and the general adult population were selected for our survey. The differences reported in the McClosky\textsuperscript{2} data are significant at or beyond the ( .01) level.

"Democratic Attitudes of Teachers and Prospective Teachers."

One other article, "Democratic Attitudes of Teachers and Prospective Teachers,"\textsuperscript{3} deals with teacher attitudes toward the Bill of Rights. This sample was drawn from a population of prospective and experienced teachers at Central Michigan University. After separation based on prospective and experienced teaching, the whole population sample was again divided into elementary and secondary teaching.

There were 138 prospective secondary teachers and ninety-three prospective elementary teachers in the sample. Of the experienced teachers sampled at the same time, fifty-eight were teaching at the secondary level and fifty-three at the elementary level. The average age for the experienced secondary teachers was thirty-two, with a work

\textsuperscript{1}McClosky, op. cit., 364.

\textsuperscript{2}McClosky, Hoffmann, and O'Hare, op. cit., 409.

\textsuperscript{3}Weiser and Hayes, op. cit., 480-481.
experience from three to thirty-six years. Experienced elementary teachers averaged thirty-eight years of age and had a work experience covering a range from three to thirty years.

The questionnaire was taken from an earlier instrument used in the Purdue Opinion Polls.¹ There were fifty-seven response items included in the questionnaire of which five are used in this paper for comparison. Statistically, Chi Square was used and reported differences significant at the five per cent level were found.

¹loc. cit., 476.
CHAPTER III
ANALYSIS

In the analysis of data, the sample of future social science teachers will be compared to samples of the general electorate, political influentials, and other teacher samples. As indicated in the methods chapter, the data presented in the tables below have been simplified for easier comprehension. The order of the variables analyzed will be as follows: political interest, political participation, political efficacy, political cynicism, 'rules of the game' and equality, and political tolerance.

Political Interest

Hypothesis

Future social science teachers will show more interest in politics than will a sample of young voters.

The questionnaire given to the future social science teachers is similar but not identical to the question asked of young voters in the Gallup Opinion Index. Future social science teachers were asked, "Some people seem to think about what's going on in public affairs, most of the time whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government, most of the time, some of the time, only now and then?"

1See page 51 in the methods chapter.
TABLE II  Political Interest, responses of future social science teachers and the responses of a national youth sample taken by Gallup Opinion Index, in percentages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gallup Opinion Index</th>
<th>A great deal</th>
<th>A fair amount</th>
<th>Only a little or no interest</th>
<th>Total (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How much interest would you say you have in politics?</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>100% 1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entire national sample</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>100% 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ages 21-29 only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future Social Science Teachers</th>
<th>Much of the time</th>
<th>Some of the time</th>
<th>Only now and then</th>
<th>Total (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ages 19-31</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100% 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you say you follow what's going on in government most of the time, some of the time, only now and then?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often do you read about public affairs and politics in newspapers and magazines?</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100% 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often do you watch programs about public affairs, politics, and the news on television?</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100% 102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 op. cit., 14.
While the national sample of young voters were asked, "How much interest would you say you have in politics: a great deal, a fair amount, only a little or no interest?" While the two questions are not identical, the results would seem to indicate that future social science teachers do demonstrate higher political interest than the national sample of younger voters. Two other questions were asked of our sample which do not have comparable data from the Gallup study. These questions are also reported in Table II.

In Table II, eighteen per cent of the national sample report having a high interest in politics, while sixty-three per cent of the sample of future social science teachers responded that they took a deep interest in public affairs. Correspondingly, only six per cent of these future teachers expressed little or no political interest compared to thirty-four per cent of the national sample of youth.

Political involvement continues at a high level when our sample responded to the question about newspaper reading. There is a noticeable drop in interest (television news broadcasts, only fifty-seven per cent gave high responses) which might seem unlikely considering the role of television in American society. A probable explanation is that college students living in the dormitories and student housing do not have ready access to television. Also, of the six to seven per cent loss in the high response category over the other two questions, six per cent reappear under the sometimes category. This is logical, as these students visit friends or public places where there are television sets.
This does say something about the state of interest and awareness with which these students and future teachers will enter the classroom. In this instance, our hypothesis which stated that future social science teachers will show more interest in politics than a general sample of young voters is generally supported.

Political Participation

Hypothesis

Future social science teachers will be more politically participant than a sample of young voters and the electorate in general.

The sample of future social science teachers is again compared with data taken from the national youth sample of the Gallup Opinion Index. The question dealing with voting is similar, but not identical, for both studies. A second question attempts to find out the actual participation in political campaigning and party work of these teachers. It is not completely comparable to the question asked by Gallup. Gallup asked whether the young people in his sample would be willing to work for a candidate or a political party; our question asked whether they had actually done so.

Table III shows a moderately high rate of participant activity based on voting for the teacher sample. It does not come up to the national average for all adults, reportedly sixty-four per cent in the 1968 presidential election. Part of the reason for this lower

\[\text{Cited}, \text{Congressional Quarterly, op. cit., 3278.}\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gallup Opinion Index</th>
<th>Always or Nearly Always</th>
<th>Part of the time, seldom or never</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How often would you say you vote?</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100% 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you be willing to work as a volunteer for your political party during the coming campaign? ages 21-29 only</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100% 300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future Social Science Teachers</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ages 21-31</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100% 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In talking to people about the election, we find that a lot of people weren't able to vote because they weren't registered, or they just didn't have the time. Did you vote? ages 19-31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1op. cit., 18 and 20.
voting rate is probably due to vague wording of the question. The question did not ask about a specific election. Since the City of Kalamazoo had just completed a city commission election, it is possible that many of the respondents felt the questionnaire referred to that election, and thus, could not answer in the affirmative. The restricted qualifications for registering and voting in the city election kept many otherwise eligible students from voting. Nonetheless, the future teacher sample does surpass the Gallup sample of young voters in voting performance. If one compares the wording of the two questions, the question asked of future social science teachers was harder to attain a high voting score than the one asked of the sample of young voters.

When future social science teachers were asked whether they had worked for a candidate or a political party, twenty-seven per cent reported that they had. While this percentage is smaller than the forty-seven per cent of the young adult sample who reported they would be willing to work, it is considerably higher than the national average of adults. Campbell\(^1\) reports that only three per cent of their adult sample responded that they worked for a political party or candidate.

It was hypothesized that our sample of future teachers would show higher participation than a sample of young voters and the general electorate. From the data presented, this hypothesis has substantial support. Beyond voting as a measure of participation,

\(^1\)Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, *The American Voter*, op. cit., 51.
these future teachers show higher political activity than the national sample of the general electorate. More than forty per cent of our respondents also report they attend political rallies and meetings.

Political Efficacy and Cynicism

**Hypothesis**

Future social science teachers will exhibit higher political efficacy and lower political cynicism than the general electorate.

Political efficacy has been identified in the literature as an early political orientation of individuals. The family begins the process, and schools continue its development. It has been found to be related to high participation. The data in Table IV are generally in agreement with these findings.

**TABLE IV** Political Efficacy, responses of future social science teachers and the responses of a national sample of voters, in percentages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low 0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future social</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>science teachers</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National voter</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>(263)</td>
<td>(1764)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sample</td>
<td>(263)</td>
<td>(343)</td>
<td>(461)</td>
<td>(501)</td>
<td>(196)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 loc. cit., 58.
Compared to the national sample of voters, our teachers are very efficacious. Fully eighty-five per cent of the future teachers fall in the middle to high range on political efficacy (scale scores two to four) while only sixty-five per cent of the national sample are found in the same range. The high participation, already noted, and the high political efficacy of our sample seem to support the relationship of these variables in the literature.

As previously indicated, when political efficacy is high, political cynicism is low. Political cynicism cannot always be traced to the family or to the school years, which means, in many cases, adult socialization toward political cynicism is important. In this respect, our sample is entering those years when cynicism becomes more prominent in the individual's attitudes.

The samples, to which our future teachers will be compared, are composed of two groups of political actors from McClosky's study. A sample of the general electorate exhibit more political cynicism than the other comparison sample of political influential. As seen in Table V every statement but one indicate a closer agreement between our sample and the political influential. When the test for difference of means is applied to the three groups, the future teachers and the political influential vary only an average of 10.9 per cent from each other; while future teachers and the general means vary on the average of 23.6 per cent from one another. The latter difference is more than twice as large as the former.

\(^1\) loc. cit., 361-363.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Political Influentials (N=3020)</th>
<th>Future Social Science Teachers (N=21) % Disagreement</th>
<th>General Electorate (N=1485)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both major parties in this country are controlled by the wealthy and are run for their benefit.</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>67.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many politicians are bought off by some private interest.</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I avoid dealing with public officials as much as I can.</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>60.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most politicians can (not)(^a) be trusted to do what they think is best for the country.</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most politicians don't seem to me to really mean what they say.</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All politics is controlled by political bosses.</td>
<td>84.4</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)McClosky, op. cit., 370.

\(^a\)In McClosky's article, most of the statements are negative, and per cent responses are listed as agreement. To simplify understanding, all statements have been negated and the percentages are all disagreements.
Going back to Table V and studying the data and items individually, one statement clearly breaks the generally non-cynical pattern of the future teachers. Political parties and who they are run for is the only item in which this sample varies from the political influencers. Furthermore, they even outdo the general electorate in their cynical regard for the structure and function of political parties.

In support or rejection of the hypothesis, which predicted more efficacy and less cynicism of our sample, than the general electorate, the data does uphold the hypothesis.

'Rules of the Game' and Political, Social, and Economic Equality

Hypothesis

Future social science teachers will support: 1) the 'rules of the game' and 2) will favor political, social, and economic equality more than a sample of the general electorate.

McClosky\(^1\) has indicated that political influencers are better prepared than the general electorate to achieve consensus and endorsement of norms, and strive for equality. In Tables VI and VII, our sample, political influencers, and the general electorate are compared on the items operationalizing the 'rules of the game' and equality variables.

\(^1\)ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Political Influentials (N=3020)</th>
<th>Future Social Science Teachers (N=96)</th>
<th>General Electorate (N=1485)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The majority has the right to abolish minorities if it wants to.</td>
<td>93.2</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>71.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We might as well make up our mind that in order to make the world better a lot of innocent people will have to suffer.</td>
<td>72.8</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>58.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If congressional committees stuck to the rules and gave every witness his rights, they would never succeed in exposing the many dangerous subversives they have turned up.</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People ought not be allowed to vote if they can't do so intelligently.</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very few politicians have clean records so why get excited about the mudslinging that sometimes goes on.</td>
<td>85.2</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

McClosky, loc. cit., 365.
The mean differences in Table VI between the sample of future teachers and McClosky's sample of political influentials is 8.3 per cent, and between the sample of future teachers and the general electorate is 24.1 per cent. Future teachers have more consensus and endorsement of democratic norms than either of the two other samples. Without a doubt, these teachers know the political rules, and normlessness is not characteristic of their political attitudes or orientations. They support the political system, but in their support they expect fair play and legal due process.

The only 'rules of the game' item to which our sample does not disagree in greater proportions than McClosky's sample of political influentials is concerned with politicians and their records. The question asked is "Very few politicians have clean records, so why get excited about the mudslinging that sometimes goes on." Political influentials disagree with this statement 85.2 per cent, while future teachers disagree with this statement 80.0 per cent. This seems to be consistent with findings reported earlier. When political cynicism was discussed, the area in which future social science teachers indicated cynical views had to do with political parties and the political process. Consistent objection to the way political parties and politicians do things remains central to the political attitudes of our sample.

The same consistency and sense of fair play are found in Table VII on political, social, and economic equality. The mean differences between the sample of future teachers and McClosky's sample of
TABLE VII  Political, Social, and Economic Equality, responses of future social science teachers and the responses of political influential and the general electorate, in percentages.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Political Influentials (N=3020)</th>
<th>Future Social Science Teachers (N=93)</th>
<th>General Electorate (N=1485)</th>
<th>% Disagreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Few people really know what is in their own best interest in the long run.</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people don't have enough sense to pick their own leaders wisely.</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regardless of what some people say, there are certain races in the world that just won't mix with Americans.</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor does not get its fair share of what it produces.</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think the government should (not)(^a) give a person work if he can't find another job.</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)McClosky, loc. cit., 369.

\(^a\)This item reversed to conform to the other statements.
political influentials is 16.0 per cent; between future teachers and the general electorate 22.9 per cent. Future teachers again disagree more with the negative statements on equality than do the political influentials. Our sample disagrees in smaller proportions with one item than do political influentials. This item is concerned with labor and its fair share of what it produces. The item is ambiguous. A perfectly valid argument about economic equality can be made for both types of responses to the item, agree or disagree. For these teachers to be consistent in their equality responses, their answers should be more in favor of sharing the wealth which labor produces, which is how they answered.

On these two variables, the hypothesis has been validated. Not only do future social science teachers hold a stronger system of norms and favor equality more than the general electorate, but they also hold stronger attitudes on these variables than the political influentials.

Political Tolerance

Hypothesis

Future social science teachers will demonstrate more political support for free speech and procedural rights than the general electorate.

Free speech and procedural rights are variables which reflect specific forms of general democratic principles. McClosky\(^1\) has

\(^1\)loc. cit., 370-371.
TABLE VIII Free speech and procedural rights, responses of future social science teachers and the responses of political influential and the general electorate, in percentages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Political Influentials (N=3020)</th>
<th>Future Social Science Teachers (N=94)</th>
<th>General Electorate (N=1485)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freedom does not give anyone the right to teach foreign ideas in our schools.</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>92.5</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man oughtn't to be allowed to speak if he doesn't know what he's talking about.</td>
<td>82.7</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>63.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any person who hides behind the laws when he is questioned about his activities doesn't deserve much consideration.</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A book that contains wrong political views cannot be a good book and does not deserve to be published.</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In dealing with dangerous enemies like the Communists, we can't afford to depend on the courts, the laws and their slow and unreliable methods.</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td>74.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[1\] McClosky, loc. cit., 367.
found that political influentials give strong support to these specific statements about democratic principles. In Table VIII, the responses of future social science teachers, political influentials, and the general electorate, far and away, are the most supportive of specific instances of democratic principles applied to everyday situations. Not once on the five items did their disagreements with negative statements drop below ninety per cent.

Since the responses of the future teacher sample are so favorable in support of the free speech items, the differences of means should also reflect this support. The difference of means shows both the political influentials and the general electorate differing away from the teachers, for the former by 22.3 per cent, and for the latter by 44.3 per cent. On every item, these teachers held consensus, and on only one statement did the political influentials favor an item more than our teacher sample and this by only four-tenths of a per cent. Our hypothesis is definitely supportable from the evidence presented.

Hypothesis

Future social science teachers will show agreement with a sample of prospective secondary teachers on the political values of the Bill of Rights.

Statements in Table IX operationalizing the Bill of Rights are similar to those items in Table VIII and high disagree responses should be evident here to be consistent. The data supports the first part of the hypothesis, our future social science teachers do
TABLE IX  Bill of Rights, responses of future social science teachers and the responses of prospective and experienced teachers,\(^1\) in percentages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers and magazines should (not)(^a) be allowed to print anything they want.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government should prohibit some people from making public speeches.</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police and other groups have sometimes banned or censored certain books and movies in their cities. Should they have the power to do this?</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police or F. B. I. may sometimes be right in giving a man the 'third degree' to make him talk.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Weiser and Hayes, op. cit., 477-478.

\(^a\)This item reversed to conform to the other statements.
show more agreement with the statements in this variable. If our teachers are acting consistently for their age and education, they should come closer to the response of prospective secondary teachers. The evidence in Table IX reveals this to be the case. On almost every statement our future teachers and the prospective secondary teacher sample come closest in disagreement responses.

TABLE X Differences of means for future social science teachers, and other teacher samples, in percentages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future social science teachers</th>
<th>Secondary School Teachers</th>
<th>Elementary School Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Differences of means</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table X, the mean differences of our sample and the prospective and experienced teacher samples of the Wieser and Hayes study are given. When the difference of means is applied to other teaching samples, future social science teachers and prospective secondary teachers have the closest scores, differing only by 14 percent. This is not the whole story, however, our sample is more supportive of these basic human rights than any of the teacher samples to which it was compared. The hypothesis is confirmed.
CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSION

In this thesis, a group of future social science teachers has been studied. The purpose of the study was to determine the attitudes and orientations of these future teachers using the concept of support. Easton, in his theory of persistence, views specific and diffuse support as necessary inputs for the continuance of political systems. The various agencies in a society which are responsible for the creation and persistence of support are many; schools and teachers are among the more important. It is assumed that if teachers have attitudes which are supportive of the political system, they can contribute to the fostering of similarly supportive attitudes in their students. As noted earlier, support can be either positive or negative, but by and large in the American context, the development of support has been positive. To operationalize the concept of support, these variables were used—political interest; political participation; political efficacy and cynicism; 'rules of the game' and procedural rights; and political tolerance.

It was hoped to be found that future social science teachers were more politically aware and active, and more cognizant of the problems with which the American political system is confronted than other samples of the adult population to which they are compared. Therefore, it was hypothesized that our sample of teachers would be politically involved and participatory. In essence, if political interest and awareness were found among our respondents, they would
also be more likely to be politically participant. It was expected that they would both vote and engage in other political activities. It has been found that political participation and political efficacy are related. The third hypothesis stated that future social science teachers would be efficacious. Consequently, it was expected that they would show little political cynicism in their attitudes and behavior. Part of the responsibilities of social science teachers is the teaching of norms and values of democracy. The fourth and fifth hypotheses follow from this concern. In the variables of the 'rules of the game' and procedural rights, it was hypothesized that our sample would be highly supportive of these norms and values. Holding favorable attitudes would mean that the problems of American society, as well as the abstract quality of its ideology would be more applicable to everyday living. If our teachers hold these norms and values in high regard, the chances of their students also obtaining similar behavior and attitudes would be better. Our final hypothesis had to do with the Bill of Rights. It is similar to the previous hypotheses, but the sample comparisons are other teachers. It was felt that if our teachers were acting consistent with their age and education, they would be closer in attitudes and orientations to the sample of prospective secondary teachers.

A questionnaire was administered to all the winter semester, 1970, classes in the teaching of social science at Western Michigan University. The questionnaire is made up primarily of agree-disagree statements taken from previous research studies in political
socialization. These questionnaire items were aimed at obtaining the political attitudes and orientations of our sample of future social science teachers and comparing them with samples from the research studies mentioned above.

There are definite limitations in this study. The most important limitation is that the sample studied and the samples to which ours are compared are different from one another in many ways: education, residence, occupation, and age being only a few of the ways. As a result, it is almost impossible to determine whether the differences observed among the samples are truly differences in political attitudes or in the background variables themselves. Other possible research designs had been contemplated, but the difficulties involved made them unworkable at the time the data were collected. One possibility for a design was to survey all the social, biological, and physical science teaching methods classes. The object of this study would have been to survey the political attitudes and orientations of all future science teachers to see if future social science teachers held stronger political attitudes and orientations than those not in the social sciences. The other possibility was to survey a random sample of all juniors and seniors in Western Michigan University in addition to the sample of future social science teachers to find out if the latter were significantly different from the population from which it should be expected to have come. This study was rejected because it was too expensive for this writer.
As an exploratory and descriptive study of future social science teachers, this thesis has concentrated on the political attitudes and orientations of these teachers during their last years in college. Suggestively, this study notes areas of disagreement between our sample and other sample groups in the society, mainly the general electorate. When wide disagreement is present, the objects of the political system are undergoing developmental change. Support for those objects is always varying in the political system, but large differences of attitude and orientation can be more widespread and sharper if teachers are support formulators in the manner in which they have been conceptualized in this thesis, than if they hold negative or cynical attitudes toward the objects of the political system.

By measuring the responses of our sample and comparing these responses to other sample groups, the study has demonstrated that our sample of teachers do differ from the general electorate in their political attitudes and orientations. It has demonstrated that on many attitude measures these future teachers are more like the political influentials of McClosky's research than his sample of the electorate. Our sample was also found to be similar in its attitudes to a sample of prospective secondary school teachers. Our sample has been shown to be more interested and participatory, more efficacious, more supportive of fair play and equality, more tolerant and less politically cynical than a sample of the general electorate, and often, of the sample of political influentials, as well.
It was noted in the review of literature, and again in the chapter on methods, that interest and awareness were minimal necessities with which social science teachers approach the classroom. If support is to be created in the political system, and especially in an open political system, the good and the bad aspects of the political process must be apparent. The shock of recognition that all is not well in the system cannot be met by purely positive support attitudes and orientations. Among students today, this shock has caused increased activity not necessarily politically legitimate (as the political system prescribes) in political systems throughout the world. Older generations of Americans look askance at the actions of youth, they seem to have forgotten the lessons they learned during the depression. They taught (in the schools and in the home) the good and the virtuous, but they left the bad unresolved. Political interest and awareness are the first step toward coping with the real problems of a political system. A problem must be recognized widely before it can be dealt with.

Political participation has its utility in the political process, as do the feelings associated with the closely related concept of political efficacy. If the individual feels that what he does has some effect on the political process, the orientation of political efficacy, he probably also will hold feelings that he should at least vote and that he can carry on other political activity, i.e., campaigning, attending rallies or joining political party organizations. Among our teachers, both of these orientations are strongly held.
The political activity of our teachers is an outgrowth of the efficacy orientation coupled with the awareness that all is not right in the system. This is one possible meaning of political activation for students, and its current counterpart the activation of the non-voter.

The major negative response found among future social science teachers is in the political cynicism and 'rules of the game' items. As a whole variable set, our sample is not cynical and not anomic. But on two items treating the response to the political process, political parties, and politicians, our teachers reveal consistent disenchantment. They are skeptical as to how efficient, just, and responsive the political process is to their demands. As indicated in the review of literature, political parties and process are one of the weakest areas being studied in civics classes. It would not be stretching the point to say they are skeptical of the ability of the political process to meet the demands of the whole political community.

Verification for this conclusion rests on our sample's responses to the political, social, and economic equality items. They are consistently more inclined to seek equality for all groups. Internalization of the norms and goals of the political system is very strong among these future teachers. If any element is important in the classroom, it is the sensitivity to problems which are real in the society. They show understanding of these specific problems, whether this knowledge will be passed on to their students is not.
known. Political socialization of students should be directed toward
the identification of injustice and inequality. Coupled with the
participatory activity and high efficacy of their teachers, this
socialization could produce students who can dissent, but stage their
dissent in politically legitimate actions.

In the literature of political socialization, the role of the
teacher in the classroom has been characterized as one of discipline
and obedience. It cannot be concluded from the data that future so­
cial science teachers will be less authoritarian and more democratic
in their teaching. Certainly, the evidence from other teacher sample,
i.e., from studies of experienced elementary and secondary teachers,
does not lead to such a conclusion. The mean differences between our
sample and those samples of experienced teachers clearly show the
experienced teachers to be less inclined to favor support statements
on the Bill of Rights. Yet, the impressive response of future social
science teachers favoring free speech and procedural rights is a
predisposition which might lead to such classroom practices.

As this thesis is an exploratory study, there are many questions
advisedly left unanswered. Why and when political socialization
takes place are explanatory generalizations which cannot be satis­
factorily answered in this study. The preconditions, attitudes and
orientations of our sample can be described, but their behavior in
the future cannot be predicted. A follow-up study several years from
now, when these future social science teachers have been teaching for
a while, would be most interesting. Once in the classroom, their
sense of justice may become tempered by the problem of dealing with some twenty to thirty free spirits.
APPENDIX

Questionnaire for Future Social Science Teachers

Background

1. Name ________________________________________________________________
   (last) (first) (middle initial)

2. Sex           Female           Male

3. Date of birth________________________________________________________

4. What class year are you?______________________________________________

5. What are your major(s)?______________________________________________
   minor(s)?__________________________________________________________

Political interest

6. Some people seem to think about what's going on in government most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government:
   ___ Most of the time
   ___ Some of the time
   ___ Only now and then

7. How often do you read about public affairs and politics in newspapers and magazines:
   ___ Often
   ___ Sometimes
   ___ Hardly ever

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3. How often do you watch any programs about public affairs, politics, and the news on television:

____ Often
____ Sometimes
____ Hardly ever

Political participation

Please answer yes or no to the following statements:

Yes  No

9. ___ ___ In talking to people about the election, we find that a lot of people weren't able to vote because they weren't registered or they were sick or they just didn't have time. How about you, did you vote this time?

10. ___ ___ Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?

11. ___ ___ Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?

Political efficacy

Please answer agree or disagree to the following statements:

Agree  Disagree

12. ___ ___ I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.

13. ___ ___ Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

14. ___ ___ People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

15. ___ ___ Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.
## Political Cynicism

Please answer agree or disagree to the following statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 'Rules of the Game'

Please answer agree or disagree to the following statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Political, social, and economic equality

Please answer agree or disagree to the following statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Few people really know what is in their own best interest in their own long run.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Most people don't have enough sense to pick their own leaders wisely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Regardless of what some people say, there are certain races in the world that just won't mix with Americans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>I think the government should give a person work if he can't find another job.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Free speech and procedural rights

Please answer agree or disagree to the following statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Freedom does not give anyone the right to teach foreign ideas in our schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>A man oughtn't to be allowed to speak if he doesn't know what he's talking about.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>A book that contains wrong political views cannot be a good book and does not deserve to be published.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Any person who hides behind the laws when he is questioned about his activities doesn't deserve much consideration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>In dealing with dangerous enemies like the Communists, we can't afford to depend on the courts, the laws and their slow and unreliable methods.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To the statements below do you agree or disagree:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very much</td>
<td>Some-what</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36. "Newspapers and magazines should be allowed to print anything they want except military secrets."

37. "In peacetime, members of the Communist Party in this country should be allowed to speak."

38. "The government should prohibit some people from making public speeches."

39. "Police and other groups have sometimes banned or censored certain books and movies in their cities. Do you agree or disagree that they should have this power."

40. "The police or F. B. I. may sometimes be right in giving a man the 'third degree' to make him talk."
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