ABSTRACT
        This study empirically tests the extent to which four
experimental units in government influence the acquisition of
political knowledge and the development of feelings of political
efficacy and cynicism among Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American
twelfth graders. Two classes regularly taught at two high schools
were compared with two experimental units, emphasizing: 1) each
student's introspective analysis of his own political socialization;
2) an exploration of elitism, political linkage, and institutional
racism; 3) an examination of case studies of political change; and,
4) individual student fieldwork (community involvement). Data was
gathered from pre- and post-tests, indepth student interviews, and
analysis of classroom interaction. The conclusions supported the
hypothesis that schools can become a potent agent of political
socialization among students. Those from the experimental classes
revealed a higher incidence of understanding, involvement, and
response ability. Future research includes a survey of student
activity prior to the November 1972 election. Implications for social
studies teachers' influence on student attitudes (ethnocentricism,
racial prejudice, tolerance for dissent, and attitudes about social
change) are apparent. (JMB)

FINAL REPORT

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The Development of Experimental Curriculum
to Effect the Political Socialization
of Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American
Adolescents

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXPERIMENTAL CURRICULUM

TO EFFECT THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

OF ANGLO, BLACK, AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN

ADOLESCENTS

Christine Bennett Button

The University of Texas at Austin

Austin, Texas

May, 1972

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2

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TO EFFECT THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

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by

Christine Bennett Button, M.A.

DISSERTATION

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ADOLESCENTS

Publication No. _____

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This study empirically tests the extent to which four experimental units in government influence the acquisition of political knowledge and the development of feelings of political efficacy and cynicism among Anglo, Black and Mexican-American twelfth-graders. The study population was comprised of 252 twelfth-graders from two high schools in Austin, Texas; the three ethnic groups were approximately equally represented in the experimental and contrast groups, although not in the individual classes. Four government classes and two teachers were selected at both target high schools by school district officials; two classes were designated as experimental and two as contrast. Students were assigned to classes according to the school district's regular computerized scheduling procedures; students were

not ability grouped. The experimental units developed for use in this study emphasize the following: 1) each student's introspective analysis of his own political socialization; 2) an exploration of elitism, political linkages and institutional racism; 3) an examination of past and present case studies of political change; and 4) individual student field-work designed to involve students in the political structure of their city.

A political attitude and political knowledge question-naire was administered immediately prior to and following the four month long experimental treatment. Throughout most of this period student-initiated classroom interaction was coded during two complete class periods every week in each of the study's eight classrooms using the SICI, an inter-action analysis schedule designed for this study. Sixty in-depth taped interviews were conducted with a random strati-fied sample of students, approximately two months after the experimental treatment had ended.

The experimental units appeared to be salient means of increasing feelings of political efficacy, political knowledge, and interest in politics among the study's Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American students. Some effects of the curriculum differed according to sex and ethnic group.

At one school increases in the amount of student-initiated classroom interaction during the experimental period was greater in the experimental group than in the

contrast group; the range of different students initiating also increased to a greater degree in the experimental group. Further, ethnic differences were significant in the experimental group, with Blacks initiating more frequently than Anglos.

Increases in mean frequences of student initiations did not differ significantly by treatment or ethnic group in the second school. However, increases in the range of different students initiating were greater in the experimental group.

At both schools, results from the student interviews amplified the statistical findings of the analyses of variance and covariance and supplied further evidence of the salience of the experimental curriculum on students' feelings of political efficacy, political interest and political behaviors. The interview technique, especially through the use of semi-projective items, appeared to have been a more valuable means of tapping various additional dimensions of political attitudes than the pencil-paper questionnaire.

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CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The social and political unrest connected with civil
rights and the war in Vietnam during the past decade has im-
printed much of America's youth with deep questions about
the integrity and worth of the American political system
(Greenberg, 1970). As part of this ferment, riots and pro-
test prevalent during these years appear to have given birth
to a deeper political consciousness among Black, Anglo and
Chicano youth--an awareness vividly expressed in the Black
Power, Brown Power, and various "student movements" (Sears
and Tomlinson, 1970; Gutierrez, Hirsch, and Garza, 1971;
Keniston, 1968). Political alienation, as defined below,
is often a large portion of this consciousness (Billings,
1970; Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967).

This new political awareness, with its questions
probing into the core of the American political system it-
self (e.g., Greenberg, 1970), is not limited to college-
aged youth. Evidence of this political sophistication has
been exhibited among junior high schoolers and even among
some sixth-graders (Fox, 1970; J. W. Button, 1971).

Recent research into the political socialization of
American youth indicates that very young Black and Mexican-

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American children are highly supportive of the American political system--sometimes more so than their Anglo middle-class counterparts (Sigel, 1965; Garcia, 1972; Greenberg, 1969). Yet by the time they reach adolescence, many Black and Mexican-American youths have developed much more negative and nonconsensual political orientations than have Anglo[1] youths.

In his study of Philadelphia youth, in grades three through nine, Greenberg (1969) reported the development of progressively greater feelings of political cynicism and inefficacy among Black students. These conclusions are supported by data from studies of Black and Anglo adolescents in New York City (Kenyon, 1969) and in Toledo (Lyons, 1970), where being Black was found to be a much stronger predictor of a low sense of political efficacy and feelings of political cynicism than was milieu. Other research indicates that similar orientations have developed among Chicano youth (Cornbleth, 1971; Gutierrez and others, 1971; Gutierrez and Hirsch, 1972; Hirsch and Gutierrez, 1972). Lower-class Anglo students also form one of the most politically alienated groups in this society (Hirsch, 1971).

In response to the growing evidence of increasing alienation among American youth, political education in American high schools has become the target of vigorous

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[1] In this study the term Anglo is used in the context of Southwestern U.S. culture. It refers to people who are "whites" and not of Mexican-American heritage.

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criticism. Most criticism has focused upon the unrealistic, ethnocentric and stagnant interpretations of government which prevail in social studies curriculum (PS, 1971; Hess and Newman, 1968). The attack concentrates on the prevalent emphasis upon government structure and institutions, while political behavior, processes, and conflict largely are ignored (e.g., PS, 1971; Davis, 1972). Langton and Jennings' research (1967) is often cited as evidence of the lack of impact political education has on secondary school students. The alternative curricula which are prescribed depend upon the individual critic's primary goals, but the suggested alternatives tend to cluster around teaching "reality," "involvement," and conflict as an acceptable means of change within a democratic system (e.g., Kirst, 1971; Hess and New-man, 1968).

Recent research has indicated that the secondary school does have impact as an agent of political socialization. Yet, the dimensions and extent of its influence are not clear. Using a national survey sample of 1,669 high school seniors, Langton and Jennings (1967), for example, compared students who had taken courses in civics and government with those students who had not taken such courses. These researchers found no significant difference between the two groups of students in terms of a sense of political efficacy, political interest, or desire to participate in politics. They did discover, however, that the civics

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curriculum had a significant effect on the political orientations of Black students in the sample and suggested as a possible explanation that the civics curriculum was less redundant for Blacks. Studies by Fisher (1968) and Seasholes (1965) further indicate the saliency of the school among Black youth. Ehman's analysis (1970) of the political socialization of high school students suggests that increased treatment of controversial issues in social studies classes is related to increased cynicism among Black students, decreased cynicism among Anglo students, and to increased feelings of efficacy among both groups. Litt (1963) concluded from his study that " . . . students in the civics education classes were more likely to endorse aspects of the democratic creed and less likely to hold chauvinistic political sentiments than students not exposed to the program." But he also found no changes in predispositions toward political participation, and noted that " . . . attitudes toward political activity are so strongly channeled through other agencies in each community that the civics education program's efforts have little independent effect" (p. 73)

Few curriculum programs emphasizing political socialization, political conflict, and the strategies behind effecting political change have been subjected to intensive research. The comprehensive Indiana Curriculum Project in Government represents an outstanding effort in this regard. Drawing upon current emphasis in political science and on

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political socialization research and offering a "realistic" view of the American political scene, the program was found to be successful in enhancing high school students' knowledge of selected concepts and in promoting students' inquiry skills. Yet, the program did not appear to have had an effect on the political attitudes of interest to the researchers (Patrick, 1971). Other, more narrowly focused research suggests that "teaching a more sophisticated view of conflict can produce both more accepting attitudes toward conflict and greater tolerance for civil liberties" (Zellman and Sears, 1971), and that "participation-oriented" government courses might enhance students' actual participation in political affairs (Somit and others, 1970). Obviously, with so few intervention studies having been completed, additional research is seen as a compelling need.

Political Alienation Defined

Taking the social-psychological point of view, Seeman (1959) identifies five alternative meanings of the general concept alienation: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. The first, powerlessness, refers to the "expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks" (p. 784). Second, an individual may be alienated in the

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sense of experiencing meaninglessness, when he no longer
can make sense of life's events and is unclear as to what he
ought to believe. Third, alienation in the form of normless-
ness implies a condition of "anomie," or the "situation in
which the social norms regulating individual conduct have
broken down or are no longer effective as rules for behavior"
(p. 787). According to Merton (1949), the anomic situation
develops when an individual accepts the success goal empha-
sized in American culture, but perceives himself to be cut
off from the socially accepted means of achieving these
goals and must therefore resort to unapproved behaviors in
striving toward them. In the fourth type of alienation,
isolation, the individual feels apart from his society. He
is isolated in the sense that his most highly valued goals
or beliefs differ from those valued in the given society
(Seeman, 1959). "Isolation" is also a type of adaptation to
the anomie which results from a mismatch of an individual's
goals and means, one by which the individual rejects
society's major goals and rebells, often seeking to change
the very social structure itself (Merton, 1949). The final
variant of alienation, self-estrangement, is described as
"the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon antici-
pated future rewards . . . rewards that lie outside the
activity itself . . . . (It) refers essentially to the in-
ability of the individual to find self-rewarding . . .
activities that engage him" (Seeman, p. 790).

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Political alienation readily fits into Seeman's more
general conception of alienation, when it is defined accord-
ing to Lane's syndrome of three attitudes (1962, p. 162):

1. I am the object, not the subject of political
life--I have no influence and do not partici-
pate. Politically, I speak in the passive voice.

2. The government is not run in my interest; they
do not care about me; in this sense it is not my
government.

3. I do not approve the way decisions are made; the
rules of the game are unfair, loaded, illegiti-
mate; the Constitution is, in some sense, fraudu-
lent.

Political cynicism and feelings of political efficacy
are orientations central to this more general definition of
political alienation. Political efficacy may be interpreted
as a conviction that the polity is democratic and government
officials are responsive to the people (Lane, 1959); politi-
cal trust is the feeling that leaders are honest and compe-
tent, and involves a belief that they will usually act in
the interests of the people (Abramson, 1971). Thus defined,
feelings of political efficacy and political trust (in this
case feelings of _low_ efficacy and political cynicism, the
reverse of political trust) are clearly part of Seeman's
conceptualization of alienation in general. A low sense of
efficacy is closely linked with feelings of "powerlessness,"
while political cynicism seems to be part of "isolation,"
as Seeman defines it. Furthermore, both orientations
eventually may lead to conditions of personal anomie as well
as the adaptations to it, as described by Merton. For

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example, an individual (or group of individuals) may accept
the democratic notion that all citizens have the right
peacefully to participate in their government and that
government must be responsive to these citizens. In reality,
however, he perceives himself to be cut off from the channels
of government participation and the government to be unre-
sponsive to his needs (low sense of political efficacy). He
may "adapt" to this situation by detaching or isolating him-
self from the values of peaceful participation and responsive
government by becoming apathetic or by becoming rebellious,
and attempt to change the political structure itself. Both
reactions reflect high feelings of political cynicism, but
represent two different manifestations of it.

It should be clear from this example that increased
feelings of political efficacy are not necessarily correlated
with decreased political cynicism. As Hirsch (1971) ably
demonstrates in his study of Appalachian youth, one could be
highly cynical and still be highly efficacious. While re-
search into the political attitudes of Anglo middle-class
children and youth describes them as feeling both effica-
cious and trusting (Easton and Dennis, 1967), political
cynicism tends to increase during adolescence without an
accompanying decrease in sense of efficacy (Dennis, 1969).
Finding this pattern to be even more pronounced among Blacks
in his sample, Dennis writes, "that the greater cynicism but
higher political efficacy of Blacks might suggest an

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orientation toward reforming the system." The same pattern

of high levels of political cynicism combined with high

levels of efficacy appears to be true among Chicano youth,

at least in Crystal City, Texas (Gutierrez and Hirsch, 1972).

Already established is that youth among this

society's oppressed minorities are often more politically

alienated than are their Anglo middle-class counterparts.

Additionally, research suggests that the secondary school

social studies does at times have impact as an agent of

political socialization--and that it is especially salient

among non-Anglos. Therefore, social studies courses might

possibly mediate the development of alienation more than is

presently manifest. Frequently, educators dismiss the

possibilities of their own intervention, believing that

there is nothing they can do to modify society's patterns of

oppression and institutional racism. Others fear that as

this reality becomes clearer to the student he will become

even more alienated. The following comments by Abramson

are useful in this context.

> If our goal is to teach blacks to be more ef-
> fective political actors we must increase their feel-
> ings of political effectiveness and political trust.
> No program of indoctrinating blacks to feel effica-
> cious and trustful is likely to succeed. Feelings
> of political competence and trust among blacks must
> be based on an understanding of the strategies
> through which blacks are likely to maximize their
> political resources. (p. 44)

While Abramson's focus is upon Blacks, his philosophy seems

applicable to American youth as a whole. But, this position

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assumes that the school can be an effective agent of politi-
cal attitudes, an assumption yet to be substantiated. A
basic assumption found in traditional political socializa-
tion literature is that political orientations learned early
in childhood have the strongest impact on adult attitudes.
The frequent implication is that political education in high
schools can have little, if any, significant impact on the
political orientations of adolescents (Hess and Torney, 1967).
Since the present study focuses on government curriculum in
grade twelve, the task of modifying political orientations
is formidable.

Influencing Attitudes and Changing Behavior

According to Milton Rokeach (1969),

There is as yet little consensus about what we mean
when we speak of a belief, an attitude, a value, a
value system--and exactly what the differences are
among these concepts . . . . We have few conceptual
guidelines for assessing the extent to which a given
belief or attitude is important or unimportant. We
are still a long way from understanding the theoreti-
cal relationship between attitudes and behavior, be-
tween attitude change and behavior change, and we
have not yet learned how to predict accurately one
from the other. (p. x)

Given this confusion surrounding the nature of atti-
tudes, values and behavior, and the non-existence of a widely
accepted theory of political socialization (Hirsch, 1971), to
articulate an adequate conceptual framework in the area of
political learning is impossible. Nevertheless, several
definitions and assumptions must be spelled out, and the

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attempt here is to move toward such a framework.

An attitude is here defined as "a relatively endur-
ing organization of beliefs around an object or situation
predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner"
(Rokeach, 1969, p. 109). In contrast, a value is defined
as "a disposition of a person just like an attitude, but
more basic than an attitude, often underlying it" (Rokeach,
1969, p. 132). The "organization of beliefs" which consti-
tute a certain attitude may be based upon basic immutable
"zero-order," or "primitive," beliefs or upon "higher-order"
beliefs. The latter are relatively more changeable but are
internally consistent with the person's "primitive beliefs"
(Bem, 1970). The present study focuses upon political
orientations of alienation, political cynicism and feelings
of political inefficacy which are considered to be "higher-
order" political attitudes or orientations because they are
learned after the individual has developed his most basic,
and usually positive, orientations toward his nation's
government.

If political socialization is "the process by which
the person learns the political attitudes and behaviors of
his culture," then it is a learning process which operates
in much the same way as does socialization in general.
Political attitudes may therefore be viewed as "response
patterns" acquired by key agents of political socialization
(i.e., family, school, church, peers, social class,

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ethnicity, geographic region, and mass media) (Hirsch, 1971).

By the time the person reaches adolescense, his primary, or "zero-order," political orientations are well formulated (Bem, 1970). But higher order orientations, such as political cynicism and feelings of political efficacy, may still be modifiable. However, if such modifications are to be "positive" (i.e., enhanced feelings of political efficacy), the "zero-order," or most basic, political orientations must themselves be positive.

The nature of these most basic political orientations among Black and Chicano youth is unknown, though there exist provocative indications that at the very least shades of difference do exist between these groups and their Anglo counterparts. This is not to suggest that a "positive-negative" dicotomy exists between Anglo youth on the one hand and Black and Chicano youth on the other. Rather, Blacks and Chicanos seem more likely to accept the idea of a "guided democracy" and are less likely to value individual participation than are their Anglo counterparts (Garcia, 1972; Langton and Jennings, 1967; Greenberg, 1969; Kenyon, 1969). Such orientations may make it much more difficult to promote feelings of enhanced political efficacy among these groups than among Anglos, even though their most basic orientations toward the American political system may be positive.

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Given that secondary or higher order orientations are the target of this research study, the Social Learning Approach (Zimbardo, 1970) comes closest to describing the principles upon which the experimental curriculum was based. However, it is impossible to identify the underlying theory of attitude development. Indeed, to do so would smack of indoctrination. The intent of the experimental curriculum was not to change political attitudes in one direction or another. While the investigator obviously hoped that the experimental curriculum would work to enhance student feelings of political efficacy, it was not known in advance what curricular ingredients might accomplish this. Hence, this research effort was exploratory--following the arguments of those critics of the "traditional" approach to political education who have advocated emphasis upon political behavior, processes and conflict, rather than the usual emphasis upon government structure and institutions.

Furthermore, since the study took place in the classroom rather than in the laboratory, it was impossible to isolate those stimuli which may have produced dissonance and impossible to measure these effects. One must note, however, that Bem's (1970) ideas on attitude change pervaded the development of the experimental curriculum. Bem has effectively illustrated that changing behavior is an important, and perhaps necessary, means of changing attitudes. Considerable research indicates that attitudes alone

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seem to have only a small affect upon behavior; however, the
reverse relationship reveals a higher correlation--that is,
that behavior influences attitudes. Hence, as is described
below, a strong attempt was made in the experimental cur-
riculum to affect student behaviors.

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CHAPTER II

PROCEDURES

Research Population

The study population originally consisted of 252
Anglo, Black and Mexican-American twelfth-graders in two
high schools located in a major central Texas city. Attri-
tion due to student transfers, dropping out of school, and
early graduation reduced the final study size to 235 (141
at School A and 121 at School B). With the advice and
decision of school district administration and the consent
of teachers, four twelfth-grade government classes were
selected at each school; two were designated experimental
and two as contrast groups. Classes were selected by school
district officials in order that the desired tri-ethnic
sample (1/3 Anglo, 1/3 Black, and 1/3 Mexican-American)
could be obtained. The purpose behind obtaining a tri-
ethnic population was to compare the effects of the experi-
mental curriculum on each of the ethnic groups predominant
in the school district. Since the ethnic composition of
individual classes did not approach the desired ratio, an
ethnic balance was achieved by choosing four classes from
School A where Anglos and Blacks predominated, and four

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classes from School B where Blacks and Mexican-Americans
predominated. Table 1 displays the study population
according to the components of treatment and ethnicity.

Table 1

Number of Study Subjects in Each School
by Ethnic and Treatment Groups

		Experimental Group	Contrast Group
School A:			
	Blacks	10	8
	Anglos	46	57
School B:			
	Blacks	29	21
	Mexican-Americans	42	39

In both schools, students were assigned to their
government classes according to the computerized scheduling
procedures regularly used by the school district. Students
were not ability grouped. These procedures did not yield
truly random groups. Yet, students enrolled in the selected
classes may be assumed to be representative of twelfth-
graders as a whole in their respective schools.

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Experimental Treatment

Four experimental curriculum units in government
were developed for use in this study. The units drew upon
current research in political socialization and political
science, emphasizing the following: 1) each student's
introspective analysis of his own political socialization;
2) an exploration of elitism, political linkages between
rulers and ruled, and institutional racism in the American
political system; 3) analysis of historical and current case
studies of political influence and change--focusing largely
on how racial and political minorities have worked to pro-
mote their goals; and 4) individual fieldwork designed to
involve students in the political structure of their city
(C. Button, 1971). Students in the contrast group were
taught according to the school district's government cur-
riculum guide (A.I.S.D., 1966). The experimental period
lasted four months during the Fall semester, 1971.

Four teachers were involved in the study. Teacher 1,
the principal investigator, and a female, taught both experi-
mental classes at School A and Teacher 2, a male, taught
both contrast classes at School A; at School B, Teacher 3,
a male, taught both experimental classes and Teacher 4, a
female, taught both contrast classes. All teachers had a
minimum of four years of experience in teaching high school
social studies.

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Hypotheses

The purpose of the present study was to determine
the extent to which selected experimental curriculum units
emphasizing avenues of political involvement, creative con-
flict, and change might influence the acquisition of politi-
cal knowledge and development of feelings of political effi-
cacy and cynicism among the Anglo, Black and Mexican-
American twelfth-graders. Principal hypotheses tested in
the study are the following (stated in the null form):

1. There is no significant difference between the
   adjusted means of the experimental and contrast
   groups on the political efficacy tests.

2. There is no significant difference between the
   adjusted means of the experimental and contrast
   groups on the political cynicism tests.

3. There is no significant difference between the
   adjusted means of the experimental and contrast
   groups on the political knowledge tests.

4. There is no significant difference between the
   adjusted means of the ethnic groups on the
   political efficacy tests.

5. There is no significant difference between the
   adjusted means of the ethnic groups on the polit-
   ical cynicism tests.

6. There is no significant difference between the

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adjusted means of the ethnic groups on the
political knowledge tests.

7. There is no significant treatment x ethnicity
interaction on the political efficacy tests
when posttest scores are adjusted for pretest
scores.

8. There is no significant difference between the
experimental and contrast groups in terms of
increased student-initiated classroom inter-
action.

9. There is no significant difference between the
ethnic groups in terms of increased student-
initiated classroom interaction.

A multiple indicators approach was used to test the
hypotheses in this study. Data were gathered through the
use of pencil-paper questionnaires, coding of student ini-
tiated classroom interaction, and taped in-depth student
interviews. Each technique has its own strengths and draw
backs, but the use of all three protects against using one
or two which have similar weaknesses. The process of data
collection may be visualized in the following diagram.

Oct. 11, 1971   Jan. 7, 1972   March, 1972

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        1 2 3 4 5   6 7              8
        * * * * *   * *              *
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◄Units 1-3-►   Unit 4◄►

◄───── Fieldwork ─────►   Interviews--
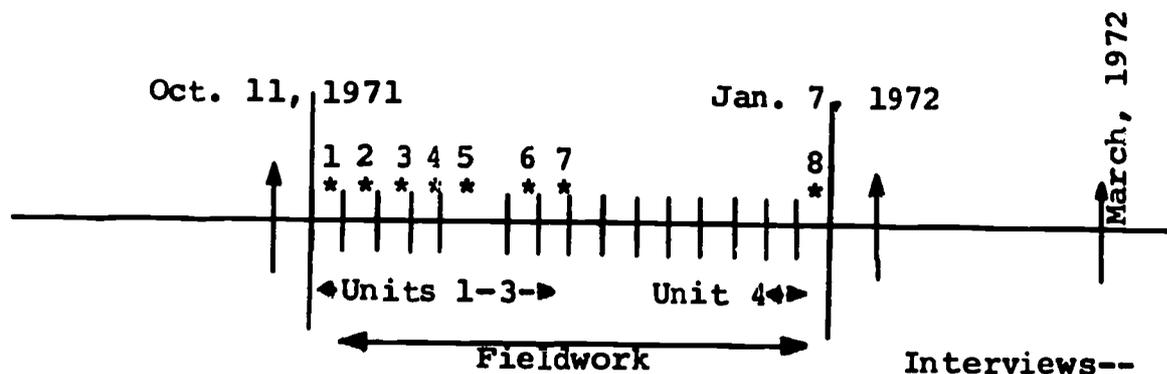
<u>Pretest</u> (Political Attitude   <u>Posttest</u> (Political Attitude
& Political Knowledge   & Political Knowledge
Questionnaire)   Questionnaire)

<u>Interaction Analysis</u>

(Asterisks indicate the 7 trials, or
2 class periods each week during which
interaction was coded. Trial 8 was
not included in this study because
data were not gathered in the contrast
group at School B.)

Criterion Measures

A political attitude and political knowledge ques-
tionnaire was administered to all Ss immediately prior to
and following the experimental treatment. Imbedded in the
questionnaire were items constituting the criterion measures
of political cynicism, political efficacy, and political
knowledge.

<u>Political cynicism</u> has been defined as distrust re-
lating to a basic and general evaluative posture towards
government. It is roughly the converse of political trust,
or the belief that government leaders will usually be honest,
competent, and will usually act in the interest of the
people (e.g., Jaros and Hirsch, 1967; Lyons, 1970). The

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concept has been operationalized by employing the following

five items, identical with minor modifications to scales

used in research by Jennings and Niemi (1968) and Agger and

others (1961). These items constituted the criterion

measure of political cynicism (CYN).

> Do you think that most of the people running the government are honest, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are?

> Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money paid in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

> How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right--just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

> Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?

> Would you say that the government is run for the benefit of all the people or that it is usually run by a few big officials looking out for themselves?

CYN scores could range from 5-15. Test-retest reliability

of this scale was computed to be $r = .522.$[2]

> A sense of political efficacy has been defined as

> . . . a sense of the direct political potency of the individual; a belief in the responsiveness of the government to the desires of the individuals; the idea of the comprehensibility of government; the availability of adequate means of influence; and a general resistance to fatalism about the tractability of government to anyone, ruler or ruled. (Easton and Dennis, 1967)

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[2]A Pearson's test-retest reliability was computed on each attitudinal scale. One additional government class in each of the target high schools was selected for testing; identical forms of the questionnaire were administered twice in each class. The tests were administered two weeks apart.

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The concept has been operationalized by using both an eight-item scale (EFF8) and a five-item scale (EFF5), of which the latter is a portion of the former (Easton and Dennis, 1967). Asteriks indicate those items comprising the five item scale; all eight items are listed below. Responses to each item were in the form of selection of one out of five choices on a Likert scale--strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, and don't know or no opinion.

> Voting is the only way that people like my mother and father can help run things.
>
> Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in government.
>
> *What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about it.
>
> *There are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about us ordinary people.
>
> *My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.
>
> *I don't think people in the government care much what people like my family think.
>
> *Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.
>
> How much does the average person help decide which laws are made for our country?

Scores on EFF8 ranged from 8-32 and on EFF5 from 5-20.

Student scores on the CYN and EFF were calculated as follows. For the subjects who answered "Don't know" or did not answer questions in a scale, the mean of those questions he did answer in the scale was assigned to the

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questions he did not answer or answered "Don't know."[3]
If the student answered "Don't know" and/or did not answer
the question on all items of one or both scales he was
dropped from the study (N = 1).

The highest possible score on CYN was 15, with
each of the five items contributing a maximum of 3 points
each. In CYN, the two-answer questions were assigned 1 for
low cynicism and 3 for high cynicism to indicate the
extreme positions and to make those questions compatible
with the items containing three-answer responses. Thirty-
two was the highest possible score on EFF8 with each of the
eight individual items contributing a maximum of four points
to that score.

A third scale to assess a sense of political effi-
cacy (EFF2) was developed by the investigator. Responses
to the two item clusters revealed Ss' perceptions of their

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[3]The decision to score blanks and "Don't know's" by
inserting the student's mean score for that scale was based
on the fact that a score of 3 points (if this were done the
range of points would be 1-5 on each efficacy item) would
artificially inflate the total scale score of students low
in sense of efficacy on the items answered; in like manner,
the total score of students scoring high on most items
would be deflated. In addition, it is argued that a blank
or "Don't know" indicates feelings of lower efficacy than
does a response scored 3 or 4, but higher efficacy than
those scored a 2 or 1. Hence a score of zero would be in-
appropriate since it would be "lower" than scores of re-
sponses indicative of the lowest feelings of efficacy.
The decision was made to keep students who did not
answer or checked "Don't know" on the majority of items on
one of the scales (N = 3) because this was an intervention
study, and changes in the number of blanks and/or "Don't
know's" was valuable information.

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abilities to deal with local and national problems they
considered most pressing. The EFF2 scale was comprised of:

(What do you think are _____'s two biggest
problems?)

Do you feel that you personally can do anything to
help solve these problems?
_____Yes
_____No
_____Don't know
If so, what? _____
If no, why? _____

(What do you think are America's two biggest
problems?)

Do you feel that you personally can do anything to
help solve these problems?
_____Yes
_____No
_____Don't know
If so, what? _____
If no, why? _____

Scoring of the EFF2 scale was as follows: four points were
awarded if an S checked "yes" and gave an example of action
he could take; 3 points if he checked "yes" only; 2 points
if he checked "no" only; and 1 point if he checked "no" and
gave an example. The highest possible score on the scale
of EFF2 was 8, with each of the item clusters contributing
a maximum of 4 points each.

Test-retest reliabilities for the three measures of
political efficacy were computed. Obtained coefficients
were as follows: EFF8, $r = .845$; EFF5, $r = .779$; and EFF2,
$r = .640$.

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Political knowledge (KNOW) was measured by a 28-item objective test. Items related to objectives of the experimental units and general civic knowledge. The total number of correctly answered questions was used as the Ss score for KNOW.

Administration of Instruments

The same personnel and procedures were used during both data collection sessions. Questionnaires were administered in the intact government classes by one of three graduate students from the University of Texas. Identical introductions were given, except that the phrase "questionnaire similar to the one you took before" was added to the introduction of the post-test. (See Appendix A for text of introduction and questionnaire.) The purpose of the questionnaire was explained as an effort by a group of educators to find out what high school students think about our government; the group, of which the test administrator was a member, was described as being interested in improving high school government courses. Students were invited to "help" by giving their frank opinions. Only one student declined. Students were assured of the confidential nature of the questionnaire, and identification numbers rather than names were used. Instructions were read by one of the three test conductors; the students then filled out the questionnaire. The approximate time for completion was 35 minutes.

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No serious problems developed during these periods of data collection, though it should be noted that students absent on the testing date were given the questionnaire by one of the three test conductors in private several days later. The average number of students absent on the test date was two per class.

Classroom Interaction Analysis

Student-initiated interaction is defined as a question initiated by the student and directed at the teacher or another student, or as an unelicited statement made by the student. Classroom interaction was coded according to the Student-Initiated Interaction schedule developed for this investigation (see Appendix B).

The Student-Initiated Interaction Schedule (SICI) was designed by the principal investigator to code discussion in secondary level social studies classes. It represents a greatly modified version of Brophy and Good's Teacher-Child Dyandic Interaction Schedule (1969). Most recent studies of classroom interaction have been directed at understanding teacher initiated and dominated discourse (Amidon and Hough, 1967). Only recently have inquiries begun to examine in detail dimensions and settings in which student initiated verbal interactions (e.g., comments, questions, statements) have been studied. The work of Brophy and Good, the model used here, is pioneering in this field.

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The <u>Student-Initiated Interaction Schedule</u> highlights
the following dimensions of classroom interaction:

    a. Amount of student-initiated interaction

    b. Amount of teacher-initiated interaction

    c. The verbal nature of the interaction--within
        selected categories

    d. The non-verbal nature of the interaction--within
        selected categories

    e. Proportion of open versus private student-
        initiated talk

Only the first dimension was used to test the study's two
hypotheses on student-initiated interaction.

    These data were believed to be important in study-
ing the impact of the experimental curriculum, because it
measured student behavior change (in the form of initiated
verbal interaction) and allowed comparison of student be-
havior in the experimental and contrast classrooms. Using
the participation theory of learning (Jaros and Canon,
1969), the assumption here was that when students are en-
couraged to initiate statements and questions, and if they
do in fact do so, then their sense of personal efficacy will
rise. Since participation focused on politically relevant
content, this increase in personal efficacy is believed to
enhance the individual's specific feelings of efficacy vis à
vis the political sphere beyond himself. The SICI schedule

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was used, then, to measure increases and/or decreases in
student initiations, in both the contrast and experimental
groups, throughout the experimental period.

Three graduate students from the University of
Texas were trained to observe and code classroom interaction
using the SICI. Each of the eight classes involved in the
study was coded for two full class periods every week during
eight weeks of the experimental period, for a total of six-
teen class periods in each of the eight classrooms. Days of
observation were chosen at random, with the exception that
if films or tests were scheduled on that date the next avail-
able date was selected for coding.

Each observer coded in the same two classrooms for
all thirty-two observations (one observer coded in four
classrooms for a total of sixty-four observations). In using
the system each observer was aided by a seating chart and
placed himself so that all students could be observed. A
randomly chosen half of the coded sessions were audio-tape
recorded.

Practice sessions using videotaped lessons were used
to train observers to use the system. Inter-coder reliabil-
ity was determined by computing the percentage of agreement
among the three observers while coding two different thirty
minute videotaped social studies lessons. The reliability
coefficient was assessed at .75.

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In-Depth Interviews

Sixty students were selected at random from the
study population stratified according to treatment, sex,
and ethnicity, to be interviewed in private approximately
two months after administration of the posttests. Using
a table of random numbers, student identification numbers
were selected so that students from the different groups,
treatments, and sexes were approximately equally represented.
The purpose of the interview was to probe in depth the
student's sense of political efficacy and political cynicism,
and any effect his government course may have had on these
orientations. Beyond this the student's perceptions of his
government teacher's interest, enthusiasm, knowledge and
preparation in the subject matter were probed, as well as
the extent to which students felt free to express their
opinions and did in fact participate. Uniform questions
were asked each interviewee according to the schedule
developed by the principal investigator (see Appendix C),
but probing was at times necessarily individualized.

Two graduate students from the University of Texas
were hired to assist the principal investigator in conduct-
ing the student interviews (one of these graduate students
also coded interaction in the experimental classes at
School B). (The principal investigator conducted all inter-
views from the contrast group in School A and ten of the

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twenty interviews from the experimental group at School B.)

Interviews were conducted in an empty classroom at School A

and in a small private office at School B. During the

introduction of the interview, the student was offered a

coke. The purpose of the interview was described as

follows:

> "I'm working with a group of high school govern-
> ment teachers at UT on a project which we hope will
> make high school government classes more meaningful
> and interesting to students. We feel that the best
> way to do this is to talk with the students them-
> selves--especially those who have just finished tak-
> ing government. And so, we hope you will agree to
> help us by answering some of our questions, and also
> by asking me any you might have."

The student was advised that he had been selected according

to random procedures and that the interview was confidential.

He was then invited to "help out." None of the students se-

lected declined to be interviewed.

Results of the student interviews were quantified by

categorizing student responses on each item, and tabulating

the response frequencies. Details of the categories and

coding process are described in Chapter III.

Development of the Experimental Units

Procedures

Lessons and materials comprising the four experi-

mental units were developed by the principal investigator

during the six months preceding the experimental period.

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The units were reviewed and critiqued by the School District's secondary level Social Studies Supervisor and by a Professor of Government at the University of Texas.[4] The units were then revised by the principal investigator.

Introduction of the experimental units coincided with the beginning of the School District's second six week period so that changes in class enrollment after the experimental period had begun would be minimized. Since large scale busing of Black students began at the beginning of the school year the scheduling of students' classes was more difficult than usual.

During the month prior to implementation of the experimental units, Teacher 3 (teacher of the experimental group at School B) studied the experimental curriculum and discussed the units in depth with the principal investigator (teacher of the experimental group at School A). These two teachers met weekly throughout the experimental period to coordinate their teaching and insure that the experimental treatment would be the same in both schools. However, some of the materials in the experimental units were unfamiliar to Teacher 3, and he did not have the time to become fully acquainted with these units prior to teaching them. Any deviations were noted in the teacher logs.

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[4]The reviewers were Herbert Hirsch, Associate Professor of Government, The University of Texas at Austin, and Dr. Frances Nesmith, Supervisor of Social Studies in the Austin Independent School District.

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At School B, Teacher 3 simply began teaching the experimental curriculum in his own two government classes at the beginning of the Fall semester's second six weeks period. Hence, students were generally unaware of the nature of the experiment. At School A, Teacher 1 was introduced by the regular government teacher as a "team teacher" and observed the two experimental classes daily for three weeks prior to taking over. During this time Teacher 1 learned the students' names, worked with students in small groups, and generally assisted the regular government teacher; hence the transition of teachers was smooth and the nature of the experiment was not evident to the students.

Possibly, at least some of the students felt they were receiving special treatment. When the new curriculum was introduced, students received spiral notebooks to use as journals, the government text was replaced by a booklet of "selected readings," a paperback library was established in the room, and it was obvious that the topics were different from those discussed in other government classes in the school. However, at School A the changes seemed to be viewed by the students as a "change in the way the teachers believed in teaching," and at School B by the fact that "our teacher could see we were bored with the text and answering the questions, so he decided to try something better." (These are representative quotations selected from student interviews.)

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While the existence of a Hawthorne Effect cannot be dismissed, especially in view of the results obtained, the initial shock of the change in curriculum apparently soon wore off and students became accustomed to the new approach.

Content and Rationale

The overall emphasis of the curriculum was to "teach for political efficacy" (C. Button, 1971). No conscious ef-fort was made to encourage students to become more or less cynical about politics and government. Rather, the attempt was to introduce students to the "true nature" of the American political system on the assumption that individuals can be effective in this system only if they understand the realities of it. (Appendix D contains unit outlines.)

The first unit emphasized the student's introspec-tive analysis of his own political socialization--particular-ly the key agents which have shaped his present political attitudes. Since political attitudes and behaviors are so strongly interdependent, the individual must understand how the formation processes operate within himself if he is to understand himself politically. Such self-knowledge is assumed to be basic to conscious behavioral or attitudinal changes in political efficacy, for greater self-awareness enhances self-control. For those who are apathetic, politically angry, or racist, the discovery of how these

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orientations develop and change, how they influence and are influenced by behavior and experience, can be liberating. But perhaps the best justification of this introduction is the belief that the most meaningful place for the student to begin such an exploration of the political system is within himself.

Students inductively arrived at a definition of political socialization by observing the process among small children, Appalachian Americans, and non-Anglo minorities. They analyzed the "vicious cycle of political alienation" and how it might be broken. The unit culminated in each student's self-analysis of his political socialization.

The second unit introduced students to elitist theories of the American political system. While the idea of competing elites was central to this, the strictly pluralist interpretation was de-emphasized since students already had a thorough grounding in this.

There are, of course, no agreed-upon definitions of the nature of the American political system, but before an individual can actively participate in the political system, seemingly he must begin to understand the nature of this system. Key questions for the student to ask and explore included: How is political power used and distributed in the contemporary United States? What are the necessary conditions and usual processes for change in either the

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distribution, nature or usage of that power? (Dye and
Zeigler, 1970) Who rules? What political linkages exist
between power-holders and the relatively powerless? How
does institutional racism operate in the political sphere?
(Dahl, 1967; Kolko, 1962; Domhoff, 1967; Dolbeare, 1969;
Knowles and Prewitt, 1969)

Students worked in small groups to resolve realistic
political problems, given the power structure of both a
single ruling elite and competing plural elites. The assump-
tion underlying this unit was related to participation
theory (e.g., Bem, 1970). Working in groups of five or six,
nearly all students became involved in attempting to solve
hypothetical political problems. Assumed here was that stu-
dents would pick up ideas for solving actual political or
social problems confronting them outside the classroom, that
the sense of efficacy gained in the classroom would spill
over into the actual political sphere.

Unit III posed the question: "How have some dis-
satisfied groups attempted to change America?" Patterns of
political influence and change were analyzed. The lessons
in this unit sprung from the philosophy expressed by
Seasholes (1966) writing about public schools and the
political socialization of Blacks.

> . . . While there is much other than what happens to
> Negroes' in school that puts them at a political dis-
> advantage, this fact should not deter us from trying
> to maximize the impact the school experience can

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have on their later political effectiveness. I have
called Negro political immobility "bad strategy."
Perhaps the greatest contribution we as educators
could make to the schoolage Negroes who will be
tomorrow's adult citizens is to re-orient their
thinking about the development and use of political
strategy. This means spelling out with approval the
various techniques of bargaining, forced demands,
concession, and occasional retreat that are used by
politically successful subgroups in our society. (p. 67)

Though particularly applicable to non-Anglo students,

Seasholes' ideas seem to apply to the teaching of all politi-

cal minorities, meaning all students since each will at some

time probably find himself in a political minority position.

Using historical examples and current case studies,

students examined techniques which have been used continu-

ously (i.e., parties, coalitions, elections, and interest

groups), and techniques which have tended to play upon the

emotions of the times (i.e., sit-ins, boycotts, freedom

rides). To counterbalance two prevalent myths about

American History, namely, that progress has been mainly

peaceful, with little violent protest and that community

violence is a phenomenon unique to Black Americans

(Skolnick, 1969), "mainstream" protest and political

violence throughout American history were surveyed using an

evolution-to-revolution continuum. Patterns of political

protest and influence employed by other ethnic groups were

then examined in perspective.

Students were asked to explore the role of political

violence in America, its goals and effectiveness. An

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in-depth analysis of the Watts riot (Summer, 1965) was used

to probe the extent to which the "riff-raff" theory of who

riots is valid (Sears and Tomlinson, 1970) and as a spring

board for examining the causes and meaning of riots in

general. The goals, techniques and effectiveness of non-

violent civil disobedience were also examined. Speeches and

letters of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Cesar Chavez

were used as expressions of the basic philosophy; examples

such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the California

grape-picker strikes were examined as instances of the

philosophy in action. The historic development and current

meanings of both the Brown Power and the Black Power move-

ments were also analyzed.

Unit IV was in many ways the most difficult to

implement. Early in the experimental period the student

selected a community problem of interest to himself, and

worked on it individually or in a small group over a 3-4

month period. By encouraging the student to identify an

actual political, social or economic problem in his own

community; by encouraging him to explore its causes, find

out how it was being dealt with, and take concrete action on

the problem himself, an attempt was made to get the student

to apply the concepts and skills gained in the classroom by

extending the learning environment into the political

structure itself.

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This approach was a direct outgrowth of the philosophy that changing behavior is often an effective and necessary means of changing attitudes (Bem, 1970). While problem solving and class discussion were emphasized in the classroom, the student fieldwork represented the most concerted effort at affecting student behavior in a politically salient setting--one which encouraged the student to exercise himself politically in a reality situation.

However important, the student fieldwork was difficult to carry out. The major difficulty was that at School B nearly every student had a job which began during or immediately after school, and at School A this was true of at least half of the students. Hence the extensive physical involvement hoped for was impossible for all students, though the majority (at least at School A) did become personally involved.

Treatment of Data

Criterion data were treated by analysis of variance and covariance procedures. These analyses were conducted using the computer program COVARY (Veldman, 1967) for the CDC 6600 computer, The University of Texas at Austin. Interview data were categorized and analyzed as described in Chapter III.

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Since this study was exploratory, the probability levels of all obtained F-ratios are reported. For the purpose of rejecting null nypotheses, probabilities of .10 and below are accepted as significant.

Some Possible Limitations of the Study

Three limitations of this study are noted. They are 1) lack of power to generalize beyond the limits of the study population; 2) the possibility that teacher and treatment variables were confounded; and 3) the possible existence of a Hawthorne affect among students in the experimental groups.

Generalizations beyond the study population would be risky and must be limited to a hypothetical super-population whose characteristics are not significantly different from the sample used in this study. The experimental units must be tested in other settings before inferences can be made regarding their effectiveness among other groups of students.

That the principal investigator taught the experimental group at School A and the existence of a nested design are real limitations. Yet, to have prevented "contamination" from the experimental curriculum in the contrast groups by using only one teacher teaching a class in both experimental and contrast groups would have been impossible.

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The alternative of employing large numbers of teachers for the experimental group on the one hand, and for the contrast group on the other, was beyond the resources of this investigation. An attempt was made in the taped student interviewed to inquire about the possible effects of this limitation; results of this inquiry are reported in Chapter III.

The possibility of a Hawthorne effect must be included in a discussion of the study's limitations. Students in the experimental group may have changed as a result of feeling they were receiving special treatment. Still, one would wonder why this change has not happened more frequently in other intervention studies attempting to promote attitude change on similar dependent variables.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This Chapter presents results from the three data
collection processes used in the study: 1) pre- and post-
testing of students on CYN, EFF8, EFF5, EFF2, and KNOW;
2) analysis of classroom interaction using the SICI schedule;
and 3) taped student interviews.

Analysis of Students' Political Attitudes and
Political Knowledge

Students' Political Attitudes Prior to Experimental Treatment

A political attitude and political knowledge ques-
tionnaire was administered to all Ss immediately prior to
and following the experimental treatment. Imbedded in the
questionnaire were items constituting the criterion measures
of political cynicism, political efficacy, and political
knowledge. Table 2 summarizes pretest criterion data.

Analyses of variance of the pretest scores revealed
no significant differences on any of the criterion measures
between the experimental classes at either school, and no
significant differences on these measures between the

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Table 2

Summary of Pretest Results by Scale and Group for Schools A and B

Scale/Group	Blacks			Anglos			Combined	
	N	X̄	SD	N	X̄	SD	N	X̄
CYN								
Experimental	10	10.20	2.66	46	9.04	2.52	56	9.62
Contrast	8	12.00	1.85	57	10.57	2.17	65	11.29
Combined	18	11.10		103	9.81			
EFF8								
Experimental	10	20.10	2.51	46	20.65	3.10	56	20.38
Contrast	8	16.88	3.40	57	20.63	3.37	65	18.75
Combined	18	18.49		103	20.64			
EFF5								
Experimental	10	13.80	1.99	46	14.28	2.33	56	14.04
Contrast	8	10.63	3.96	57	13.74	2.89	65	12.18
Combined	18	12.21		103	14.00			
EFF2								
Experimental	10	4.90	1.91	46	5.36	1.87	56	5.08
Contrast	8	3.63	1.89	57	5.11	2.07	65	4.37
Combined	18	4.26		103	5.18			

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TABLE 2 (continued)

Scale/Group	Blacks			Anglos			Combined	
	N	X̄	SD	N	X̄	SD	N	X̄
				School B				
CYN								
Experimental	29	9.86	2.56	42	9.81	2.21	71	9.84
Contrast	21	10.52	2.21	39	10.05	2.15	60	10.29
Combined	50	10.19		81	9.93			
EFF8								
Experimental	29	18.52	3.27	42	18.55	2.73	71	18.53
Contrast	21	19.05	2.71	39	18.36	3.38	60	18.70
Combined	50	18.78		81	18.45			
EFF5								
Experimental	29	12.45	2.56	42	12.33	2.43	71	12.39
Contrast	21	12.57	2.09	39	12.21	2.81	60	12.39
Combined	50	12.51		81	12.27			
EFF2								
Experimental	29	4.28	1.51	42	4.55	1.57	71	4.41
Contrast	21	4.76	1.73	39	4.26	1.82	60	4.51
Combined	50	4.52		81	4.40			

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contrast classes at either school. Therefore, the classes were collapsed into a 2 x 2 analytic design (Treatment Group x Ethnic Group) with each school analyzed separately; these results are included ir Tables 3 and 4.

At School A the results indicate that prior to the experimental treatment there was a significant difference between Anglos and Blacks in the study population on the measures of CYN, EFF8, and EFF2. Blacks appeared to feel more cynical and less efficacious than did their Anglo classmates. There was also a significant main effect for treatment on CYN and on EFF8. The pretest scores indicated that students in the contrast group scored higher on CYN and lower on EFF8 than did students in the experimental group. The difference between the treatment groups on EFF8 may be explained by the fact that Blacks in the contrast group scored significantly lower than Blacks in the experimental group; the mean score of Anglos in both treatment groups was approximately equal on EFF8. On the other hand, no significant main effects and interaction were observed in the analysis of School B pretest scores.

In view of these significant main effects for treatment and ethnicity at School A, analyses of covariance of pretest scores on posttest scores subsequently was utilized as the major statistical treatment of obtained data.

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Table 3

Source of Variance of Pretest Scores at School A: Summary Table

	MS	DF	$\underline{F}$	p
CYN				
Ethnic Status	25.14	1	4.62	.032
Treatment Group	42.10	1	7.73	.006
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	.27	1	.05	.821
Within Group	5.45	117		
EFF8				
Ethnic Status	70.25	1	6.82	.009
Treatment Group	39.86	1	3.87	.049
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	38.85	1	3.77	.052
Within Group	10.30	117		
EFF5				
Ethnic Status	48.49	1	6.65	.010
Treatment Group	52.38	1	7.13	.008
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	26.16	1	3.56	.058
Within Group	7.35	117		
EFF2				
Ethnic Status	12.83	1	3.42	.064
Treatment Group	7.74	1	2.06	.150
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	4.74	1	1.26	.262
Within Group	3.75	117		

Table 4

Source of Variance of Pretest Scores at School B: Summary Table

	MS	DF	$\underline{F}$	p
CYN				
Ethnic Status	2.10	1	.41	.532
Treatment Group	6.21	1	1.20	.274
Ethnic Status x				
Treatment Group	1.34	1	.26	.617
Within Group	5.16	127		
EFF8				
Ethnic Status	3.29	1	.35	.560
Treatment Group	.89	1	.09	.756
Ethnic Status x				
Treatment Group	3.93	1	.42	.524
Within Group	9.32	127		
EFF5				
Ethnic Status	1.76	1	.28	.607
Treatment Group	.00	1	.00	.991
Ethnic Status x				
Treatment Group	.48	1	.08	.781
Within Group	6.39	127		
EFF2				
Ethnic Status	.42	1	.15	.700
Treatment Group	.29	1	.10	.746
Ethnic Status x				
Treatment Group	4.59	1	1.66	.196
Within Group	2.75	127		

Students' Political Attitudes and Knowledge

Following Experimental Treatment

Mean political cynicism, political efficacy, and
political knowledge scores are summarized by treatment and
ethnic group in Table 5 for School A and by treatment, sex,
and ethnic group in Table 8 for School B. Analyses of the
data are reported below.

Results of the Analyses of Covariance at
School A (Anglos and Blacks)

These analyses (see Table 6) revealed a signifi-
cant main effect for treatment at School A on three
dependent variables: CYN, EFF8, and KNOW. Overall,
CYN mean scores did increase in the contrast group,
while mean scores on all three EFF measures in the
experimental group increased, and mean scores of
EFF8 and EFF5 decreased in the contrast group. The
main effect for ethnicity was significant on EFF2
and on KNOW. No significant main effects for sex
and no interactions were revealed by the analyses of
dependent variables at School A.

In probing the nature of these data from the
analyses of covariance, four planned comparisons were
performed between the adjusted means of the four
ethnicity/treatment groups (see Table 7).

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Table 5

Summary of Means, Standard Deviations, and Adjusted Means of Criterion Scores of School A Subjects by Treatment and Ethnic Groups

Treatment/Scale	Ethnic Group									
	Blacks					Anglos				
	Pretest		Posttest		Adjusted Posttest	Pretest		Posttest		Adjusted Posttest
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$
Experimental (Blacks, N = 10; Anglos, N = 43)										
CYN	10.20	2.25	10.40	2.01	9.87	8.84	2.38	8.63	2.47	8.75
EFF8	20.10	2.39	21.20	2.93	21.52	20.70	3.14	20.98	3.09	20.90
EFF5	13.80	1.89	15.00	2.41	15.31	14.28	2.37	14.16	2.40	14.09
EFF2	4.90	1.81	4.60	1.80	7.78	5.30	1.87	6.05	2.09	6.01
KNOW	14.80	5.93	16.70	5.97	16.08	13.37	4.96	19.70	3.76	19.84
Contrast (Blacks, N = 7; Anglos, N = 54)										
CYN	11.86	1.81	11.43	1.59	11.08	10.63	2.18	11.22	1.93	11.27
EFF8	16.14	2.70	17.14	4.82	19.98	20.65	3.14	20.07	3.34	19.71
EFF5	10.00	3.55	11.00	3.70	13.05	13.78	2.92	13.43	2.58	13.16
EFF2	3.57	1.18	4.14	1.12	4.95	5.11	2.04	5.31	2.04	5.21
KNOW	12.43	4.17	14.29	3.81	14.81	13.22	5.03	13.48	4.63	13.41

Table 6

Summary of Analyses of Covariance of School A Subjects'
Pretest Scores for the Five Dependent Variables

Scale	Source	DF	Adjusted SS	Adjusted MS	$\underline{F}$	p
CYN						
	Treatment	1	490.23	66.29	17.05	.000
	Ethnicity	1	429.05	5.11	1.31	.254
	Sex	1	434.24	10.31	2.65	.106
EFF8						
	Treatment	1	734.49	24.10	3.70	.057
	Ethnicity	1	713.30	2.91	.45	.510
	Sex	1	711.07	.68	.10	.750
EFF5						
	Treatment	1	401.67	7.94	2.20	.140
	Ethnicity	1	401.17	7.44	2.06	.150
	Sex	1	394.59	.86	.24	.630
EFF2						
	Treatment	1	325.49	6.68	2.29	.134
	Ethnicity	1	328.21	9.40	3.22	.076
	Sex	1	318.85	.05	.02	.902
KNOW						
	Treatment	1	1927.24	805.14	78.21	.000
	Ethnicity	1	1161.70	39.60	3.85	.052
	Sex	1	1125.49	3.39	.33	.567

N = 53 in Experimental Group
N = 61 in Contrast Group

Table 7

Summary of Means and ANCOVA results of Planned Comparisons of
Four Ethnicity/Treatment Groups at School A

Panel 1 (BE vs WE)

	Pretest BE X̄	Pretest BE SD	Pretest WE X̄	Pretest WE SD	Posttest BE X̄	Posttest BE SD	Posttest WE X̄	Posttest WE SD	Adjusted Means BE	Adjusted Means WE	F	p
CYN	10.20	2.52	8.84	2.38	10.40	2.01	8.63	2.47	9.87	8.75	2.09	.1512
EFF8	20.10	2.39	20.70	3.14	21.20	2.93	20.98	3.09	21.52	20.90	.54	.4732
EFF5	13.80	1.89	14.28	2.37	15.00	2.41	14.16	2.40	15.31	14.09	4.39	.0389
EFF2	4.90	1.81	5.30	1.87	4.60	1.80	6.05	2.09	4.78	6.01	3.66	.0584
KNOW	14.80	5.93	13.37	4.96	16.70	5.97	19.70	3.76	16.08	19.84	10.11	.0029

Panel 2 (BC vs WC)

	Pretest BC X̄	Pretest BC SD	Pretest WC X̄	Pretest WC SD	Posttest BC X̄	Posttest BC SD	Posttest WC X̄	Posttest WC SD	Adjusted Means BC	Adjusted Means WC	F	p
CYN	11.86	1.81	10.63	2.18	11.43	1.59	11.22	1.93	11.08	11.27	.06	.8000
EFF8	16.14	2.70	20.65	3.41	17.14	4.82	20.07	3.34	19.98	19.71	.06	.8102
EFF5	10.00	3.55	13.78	2.92	11.00	3.70	13.43	2.58	13.05	13.16	.20	.8960
EFF2	3.57	1.18	5.11	2.04	4.14	1.12	5.31	2.04	4.95	5.21	.15	.7015
KNOW	12.43	4.17	13.22	5.03	14.29	3.81	13.48	4.63	14.81	13.41	1.59	.2102

Panel 3 (BE vs BC)

	Pretest BE X̄	Pretest BE SD	Pretest BC X̄	Pretest BC SD	Posttest BE X̄	Posttest BE SD	Posttest BC X̄	Posttest BC SD	Adjusted Means BC	Adjusted Means WC	F	p
CYN	10.20	2.52	11.86	1.81	10.40	2.01	11.43	1.59	10.44	11.37	.75	.4058
EFF8	20.10	2.39	16.14	2.70	21.20	2.93	17.14	4.82	19.80	19.14	.09	.7636
EFF5	13.80	1.89	10.00	3.55	15.00	2.41	11.00	3.70	13.67	12.90	.36	.5653
EFF2	4.90	1.81	3.57	1.18	4.60	1.80	4.14	1.13	4.41	4.42	.00	.9864
KNOW	14.80	5.93	12.43	4.17	16.70	5.97	14.29	5.97	15.98	15.31	.12	.7302

TABLE 7 (continued)

	Pretest				Posttest				Adjusted Means		$\underline{F}$	p
	WE		WC		WE		WC		WE	WC		
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD				
CYN	8.84	2.38	10.63	2.18	8.63	2.47	11.22	1.93	9.09	10.86	17.07	.0002
EFF8	20.70	3.14	20.65	3.41	20.98	3.10	20.07	3.34	20.96	20.09	3.16	.0751
EFF5	14.28	2.37	13.78	2.92	14.16	2.40	13.43	2.58	13.99	13.57	1.20	.2746
EFF2	5.30	1.87	5.11	2.04	6.05	2.09	5.32	2.04	5.98	5.37	3.08	.0786
KNOW	13.37	4.96	13.22	5.03	19.70	3.76	13.48	4.63	19.65	13.52	102.50	.0000

BE: Blacks in Experimental Group (N = 10)
BC: Blacks in Contrast Group (N = 7)
WE: Whites in Experimental Group (N = 43)
WC: Whites in Contrast Group (N = 54)

Differences obtained between Blacks and Anglos
in the experimental group were significant on the
following dependent variables: EFF5, EFF2, and
KNOW. Blacks manifested higher EFF5 scores than
did Anglos in the experimental group, while Anglos'
scores on EFF2 and KNOW were higher than Blacks'.
No significant differences were found between the
adjusted means of Blacks and Anglos in the contrast
group on any of the dependent variables, or between
Blacks in the experimental group and Blacks in the
contrast group. However, differences between Anglos
in the two treatment groups were found to be signifi-
cant on CYN, EFF8, EFF2, and KNOW. The adjusted
means of Anglos in the contrast groups were sig-
nificantly higher on CYN, and lower on EFF8, EFF2,
and KNOW than were those of their counterparts in
the experimental group.

To further interpret the results of the analyses
of covariance, analyses of variance of pretest and
posttest scores for each ethnicity/treatment group
were performed to ascertain whether or not changes
on the post-tests were significant. The following
significant differences were obtained: 1) Anglos in
the contrast group gained on CYN ($p = .063$) and
decreased on EFF8 ($p = .100$; 2) experimental group
Anglos gained on EFF2 ($p = .017$) and KNOW ($p = .000$);

and 3) experimental group Blacks gained on EFF8 (p = .117) and on EFF5 (p = .008).

Results of the Analyses of Covariance at
School B (Blacks and Mexican-Americans)

Mean political cynicism, political efficacy, and political knowledge scores are summarized by treatment, sex, and ethnic group in Table 8. ANCOVA results are reported in Table 9. Examination of Table 9 reveals that the sex main effect was statistically significant on three criterion measures, CYN, EFF8, and EFF5. Only one significant treatment main effect, for KNOW, was obtained and neither significant main effects for ethnicity nor interactions were noted.

A series of planned comparisons between the adjusted means of males and females (within treatment/within ethnic group) were performed on all five dependent variables to explore the nature of the significant sex effect (see Table 10). A discernable pattern emerged. In every comparison, except Mexican-American males versus Mexican-American females in the contrast group, females' CYN mean scores increased whereas their EFF8 and EFF5 scores decreased. For males, the findings were

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Table 8

Summary of Means, Standard Deviations, and Adjusted Means of Criterion Scores of School B Subjects by Treatment, Ethnic Groups and Sex

	Ethnic Group									
	Black Males					Black Females				
Treatment/Scale	Pretest X	SD	Posttest X	SD	Adjusted Posttest X	Pretest X	SD	Posttest X	SD	Adjusted Posttest X
Experimental (Males, N = 8; Females, N = 21)										
CYN	10.63	2.29	9.75	3.11	9.21	9.57	2.54	10.00	2.56	10.30
EFF8	17.89	2.57	19.62	1.73	19.89	18.76	3.39	18.38	3.65	18.28
EFF5	11.50	1.87	12.75	1.39	13.11	12.81	2.63	11.95	2.68	11.82
EFF2	4.38	2.00	5.38	1.41	5.35	4.24	1.23	5.05	1.79	5.06
KNOW	9.50	5.34	14.88	5.40	15.34	10.38	3.39	15.29	4.04	15.11
Contrast (Males, N = 15; Females, N = 4)										
CYN	10.47	1.93	9.20	2.32	9.23	11.00	2.35	11.50	1.12	11.38
EFF8	19.47	2.87	19.80	2.51	19.47	17.50	1.65	16.25	2.77	17.50
EFF5	12.87	2.19	13.40	1.99	13.16	11.50	1.50	10.75	2.59	11.65
EFF2	4.47	1.02	4.73	1.98	4.85	5.75	2.28	5.00	1.23	4.56
KNOW	11.67	3.89	13.13	4.62	13.25	12.25	3.77	12.50	6.10	12.08

TABLE 8 (continued)

Ethnic Group

Treatment/Scale	Mexican-American Males					Mexican-American Females				
	Pretest $\overline{X}$	SD	Posttest $\overline{X}$	SD	Adjusted Posttest $\overline{X}$	Pretest $\overline{X}$	SD	Posttest $\overline{X}$	SD	Adjusted Posttest $\overline{X}$
Experimental (Males, N =14; Females, N = 23)										
CYN	10.21	2.40	9.43	3.09	9.26	9.78	2.00	10.17	2.41	10.28
EFF8	18.64	2.77	19.79	2.14	19.76	18.47	2.81	18.17	3.35	18.76
EFF5	12.64	2.38	13.43	2.13	13.30	12.17	2.51	12.00	2.17	12.08
EFF2	4.43	1.99	4.29	1.67	4.30	4.48	1.14	4.87	1.60	4.86
KNOW	14.07	3.43	18.57	2.13	16.73	9.04	4.18	14.74	3.96	15.86
Contrast (Males, N = 17; Females, N = 19)										
CYN	10.24	2.24	9.41	2.06	9.34	9.84	2.11	9.53	2.01	9.59
EFF8	18.77	3.67	19.24	3.35	18.83	17.68	2.99	18.26	3.73	18.62
EFF5	12.35	2.89	13.00	2.91	12.76	11.68	2.66	12.00	2.81	12.22
EFF2	4.47	2.09	4.53	1.61	4.43	4.11	1.59	4.47	1.90	4.57
KNOW	11.82	3.70	11.71	3.86	10.54	9.53	3.79	10.63	4.98	11.67

Table 9

Summary of Analyses of Covariance of School B Subjects'
Pretest Scores on Posttest Scores for the
Five Dependent Variables

Scale	Source	DF	Adjusted SS	Adjusted MS	$\underline{F}$	p
CYN						
	Treatment	1	556.47	3.35	.70	.403
	Ethnicity	1	553.44	.32	.07	.795
	Sex	1	574.70	21.59	4.53	.035
EFF8						
	Treatment	1	855.06	.58	.08	.780
	Ethnicity	1	855.10	.63	.09	.771
	Sex	1	886.30	31.82	4.32	.039
EFF5						
	Treatment	1	492.30	4.24	.03	.865
	Ethnicity	1	494.49	2.31	.55	.462
	Sex	1	521.26	29.09	6.86	.010
EFF2						
	Treatment	1	308.79	2.65	.59	.445
	Ethnicity	1	311.10	3.87	1.46	.229
	Sex	1	307.39	.16	.06	.807
KNOW						
	Treatment	1	1639.53	519.38	53.79	.000
	Ethnicity	1	1121.08	9.66	.10	.756
	Sex	1	1120.65	.50	.05	.820

N = 66 in Experimental Group
N = 55 in Contrast Group

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Table 10

Summary of Means and ANCOVA Results of Planned Comparisons of
Four Ethnicity/Treatment/Sex Groups at School B

BE Males / BE Females

Variable	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Adjusted Means BEM	Adjusted Means BEF	F	p
CYN	10.63	2.29	9.75	3.11	9.57	2.54	10.10	2.56	9.21	10.30	1.36	.2529
EFF8	17.89	2.57	19.62	1.73	18.76	3.39	18.38	3.65	19.89	18.28	1.52	.2268
EFF5	11.50	1.87	12.75	1.39	12.81	2.63	11.95	2.68	13.11	11.82	1.69	.2027
EFF2	4.38	2.00	5.38	1.41	4.24	1.23	5.05	1.79	5.35	5.06	.16	.6941
KNOW	9.50	5.34	14.88	5.40	10.38	3.39	15.29	4.04	15.34	15.11	.02	.8759

BC Males / BC Females

Variable	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Adjusted Means BCM	Adjusted Means BCF	F	p
CYN	10.47	1.93	9.20	2.32	11.00	2.35	11.50	1.12	9.23	11.38	2.91	.1040
EFF8	19.47	2.89	19.80	2.51	17.50	1.65	16.25	2.77	19.47	17.50	4.80	.0416
EFF5	12.87	2.19	13.40	1.99	11.50	1.50	10.75	2.59	13.16	11.65	3.55	.0748
EFF2	4.47	1.02	4.73	1.98	5.75	2.28	5.00	1.23	4.85	4.56	.06	.7975
KNOW	11.67	3.89	13.13	4.62	12.25	3.77	12.50	6.10	13.25	12.08	.29	.6046

ME Males / ME Females

Variable	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Adjusted Means MEM	Adjusted Means MEF	F	p
CYN	10.21	2.40	9.43	3.09	9.78	2.00	10.17	2.41	9.26	10.28	1.58	.2145
EFF8	18.64	2.77	19.79	2.14	18.57	2.81	18.17	3.35	19.76	18.76	2.86	.0966
EFF5	12.64	2.38	13.43	2.13	12.17	2.51	12.00	2.17	13.30	12.08	3.44	.0690
EFF2	4.43	1.99	4.29	1.67	4.48	1.14	4.87	1.60	4.30	4.86	1.10	.3013
KNOW	14.07	3.43	18.57	2.13	9.04	4.18	14.74	3.97	16.73	15.86	.71	.4099

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TABLE 10 (Continued)

| | MC Males | | | | MC Females | | | | Adjusted Means | | | |
	Pretest $\bar{X}$	SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	SD	Pretest $\bar{X}$	SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	SD	MCM	MCF	$\underline{F}$	$\underline{p}$
CYN	10.24	2.24	9.41	2.06	9.84	2.11	9.53	2.01	9.34	9.59	.14	.7077
EFF8	18.77	3.67	19.24	3.35	17.68	2.99	18.26	3.73	18.83	18.62	.05	.8212
EFF5	12.35	2.89	13.00	2.91	11.68	2.66	12.00	2.81	12.76	12.22	.52	.4824
EFF2	4.47	2.09	4.53	1.61	4.11	1.59	4.47	1.90	4.43	4.57	.07	.7869
KNOW	11.82	3.70	11.71	3.86	9.53	3.79	10.63	4.98	10.54	11.67	1.34	.2549

BEM: Black males in experimental group (N = 8).
BEF: Black females in experimental group (N = 21).
BCM: Black males in contrast group (N = 15).
BCF: Black females in contrast group (N = 4).
MEM: Mexican-American males in experimental group (N = 14).
MEF: Mexican-American females in experimental group (N = 23).
MCM: Mexican-American males in contrast group (N = 17).
MCF: Mexican-American females in contrast group (N = 19).

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exactly reversed. Among both the Black and Mexican-American males, CYN mean scores decreased while the EFF8 and EFF5 mean scores increased; scores of Black males also increased on EFF2, while the EFF2 scores of Mexican-American males decreased. For Mexican-Americans in the contrast group, mean scores of both males and females decreased on CYN and increased on the three scales of EFF.

While Black females in the experimental group scored higher on CYN and lower on EFF in the posttest than did Black males, none of these sex differences was statistically significant. In the contrast group, however, differences between Black males and females were found to be statistically significant on three dependent variables: CYN, EFF8, and EFF5. The reverse pattern emerged among the Mexican-Americans. Here, significant differences between the sexes were found in the experimental group rather than in the contrast group. Females' scores on the posttest measures were higher on CYN and lower on EFF8 and on EFF5. These findings indicate that the experimental units probably had a more "positive" impact on Blacks and Mexican-American males than on Mexican-American females, and that this latter group may have been "negatively" affected by the experimental curriculum. The pattern of this

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sex effect may have worked to mask a possible treatment effect at School B.

Again, in an effort to probe the results of the covariance analyses an analysis of variance of individuals' pretest and posttest scores for each sex/ethnicity/treatment group was performed. While few differences were statistically significant, a pattern emerged which may be interpreted to mean that the experimental units were more salient than the contrast units in affecting the political orientations of interest.

In the contrast group, no changes on the posttest scores were significant except among Black males where CYN decreased ($p = .097$) and EFF5 ($p = .161$) and KNOW ($p = .136$) increased. As would be expected, all sex/ethnic groups within the experimental treatment group increased their scores on KNOW ($p = .000$). Beyond this, in the experimental group, Mexican-American males increased on EFF8 ($p = .151$) and EFF5 ($p = .245$) and Mexican-American females increased on EFF2 ($p = .248$). Among Blacks in the experimental group, males increased on EFF8 ($p = .188$) and EFF5 ($p = .178$), while females increased on EFF2 ($p = .047$) and decreased on EFF5 ($p = .188$). Hence, Mexican-American students

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appeared to be less affected by both the experi-

mental and contrast units than were Black students.

Analysis of Student-Initiated Classroom Interaction

Findings at School A (Anglos and Blacks)

The mean number of initiations per student for each
of the seven trials is plotted in Figure 1; data from both
the experimental and contrast groups are depicted. (It
should be recalled that fourteen classroom observations were
made in each of the eight classrooms involved in the study.
One trial equals two 55 minute observations in a single week.)
Figure 2 reveals the number of different students in both
the experimental and contrast groups who initiated one or
more times during each of the seven trials.

Class means for a single trial were computed by
summing individual student means (the total number of initia-
tions during the two observations of that week divided by
two), dividing this sum by the total amount of time of obser-
vation during the two class periods that week, and multiply-
ing by 55 minutes. Because the resulting figure usually was
a small number, each figure was multiplied by ten.

The data indicated that, except for trials 3 and 5,
there was more student-initiated interaction in the experi-
mental group than in the contrast group. (It should be
noted that in the experimental group, the days chosen at

61

FIGURE 1

Mean Number of Student Initiations in the Experimental
and Contrast Groups at School A During
the Experimental Period

——— Experimental Group

- - - Contrast Group

62

75

FIGURE 2

Number of Different Students Initiating in the Experimental
and Contrast Groups at School A During
the Experimental Period

—— Experimental Group

--- Contrast Group

63

76
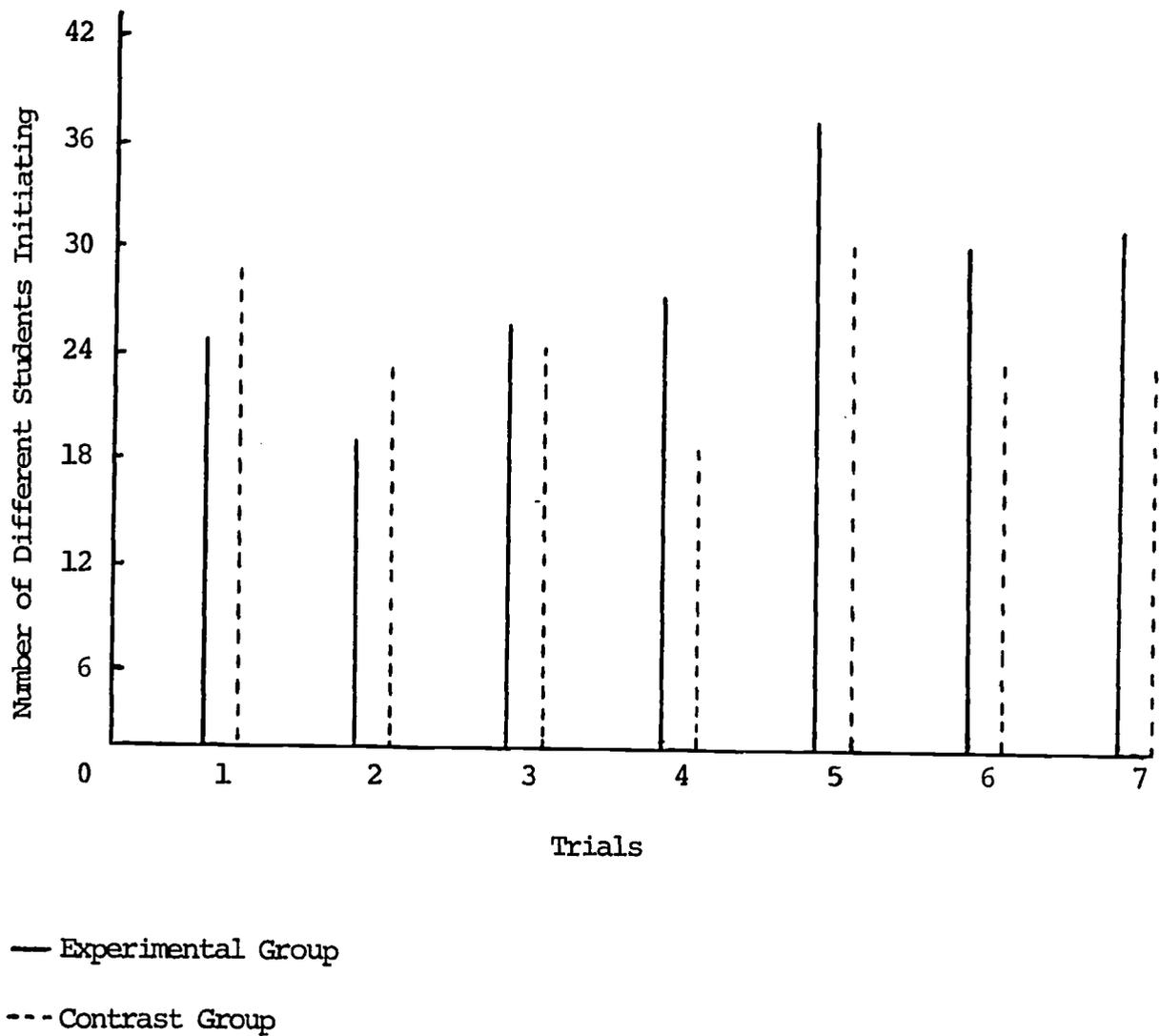
random for the observations in trials 3 and 5 were atypical in that there was less opportunity for students to initiate interactions than in the other class periods chosen for both the experimental and contrast group. The observations in trial 3 took place during teacher directed lessons whereby students deductively arrived at a distinction between institutional and individual racism. Both observations in trial 5 hit upon two of the four lecture days which were part of the experimental curriculum. While students did initiate questions and statements during trials 3 and 5, clearly there was less than the usual opportunity for them to do so. In the contrast group, on the other hand, none of the randomly chosen observations fell on a formal lecture day.) Further, a linear trend emerged which revealed that the amount of student-initiated interaction increased in both groups, but that this increase was greater in the experimental group. Beyond this, it was evident that after the second trial, a wider range of different students in the experimental group initiated than in the contrast group--even during trials 3 and 5 when the class mean number of initiations was slightly higher in the contrast group. This finding is even more important when one considers that there were ten more students in the contrast group than in the experimental group.

Table 11 summarizes findings from analyses of variance using a repeated measures design. The main effect for treatment, the only effect of interest here, is significant at the .10 level.

Table 11

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Student Initiated
Interaction in Experimental and Contrast Groups
Across Seven Trials in School A

Source of Variation	MS	DF	$\underline{F}$	p
Between Groups		118		
Groups	66.968	1	2.717	.098
Error	24.644	117		
Within Groups		714		
Trials	16.188	6	4.745	.000
Groups x Trial	6.641	6	1.946	.070
Error	3.412	702		

Apparently, at School A, the null hypothesis may be
rejected. Increases in the amount of student-initiated inter-
action during the experimental period were greater in the
experimental group than in the contrast group, particularly
when the number of different students initiating is con-
sidered.

Figure 3 compares mean number of initiations made by
Blacks in the experimental group with those made by Anglos
in the experimental group. Proportionately, the Blacks made
more initiations than did their Anglo classmates. While the
level of initiations among Blacks remained relatively high
throughout the experimental period, there was an increase at
the end, with an average of almost five initiations per class

65

FIGURE 3

Mean Number of Student Initiations Among Blacks and
Anglos in the Experimental Group
at School A
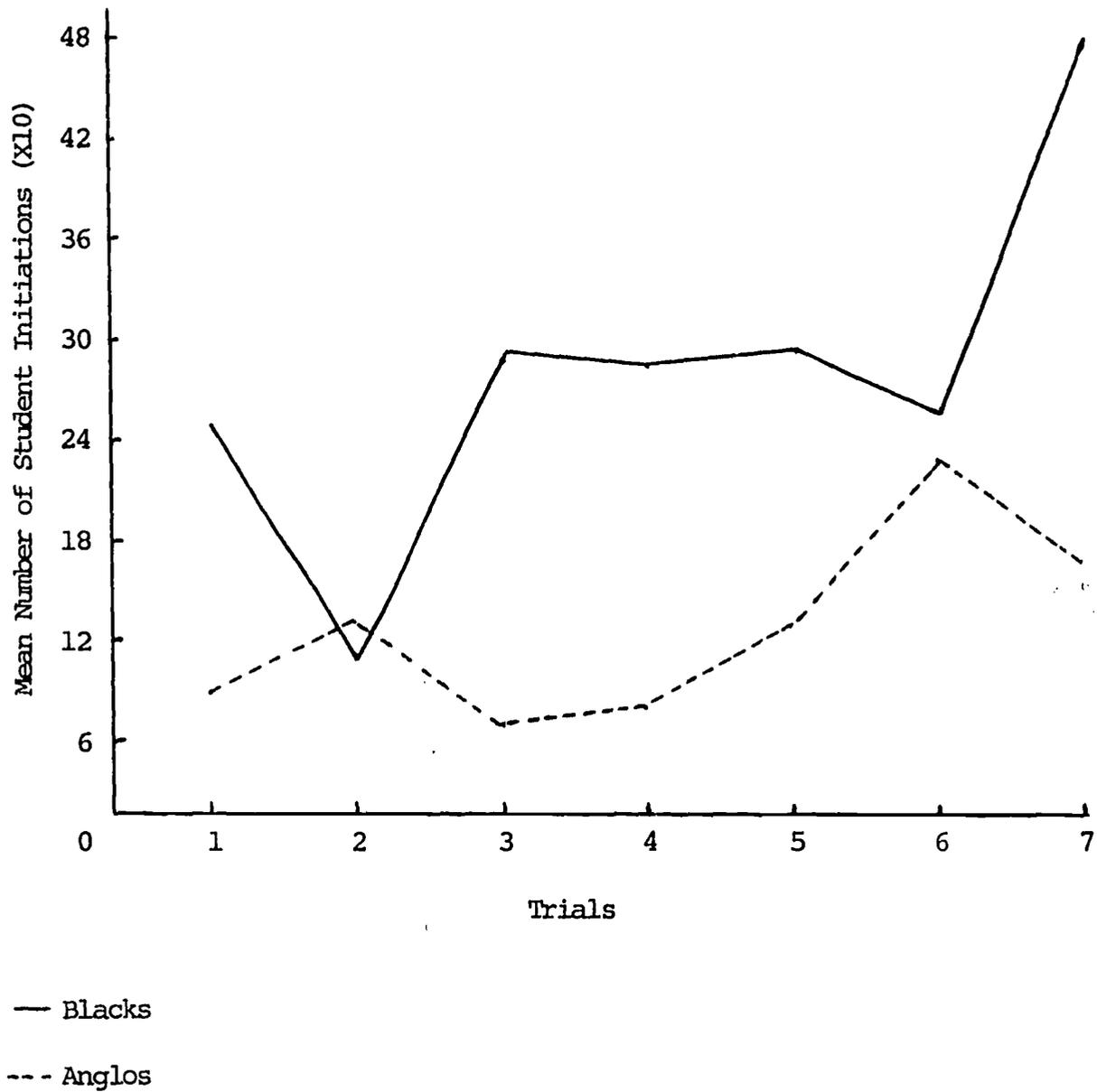
FIGURE 4

Mean Number of Student Initiations Among Blacks and
Anglos in the Contrast Group
at School A

Blacks ——
Anglos - - -
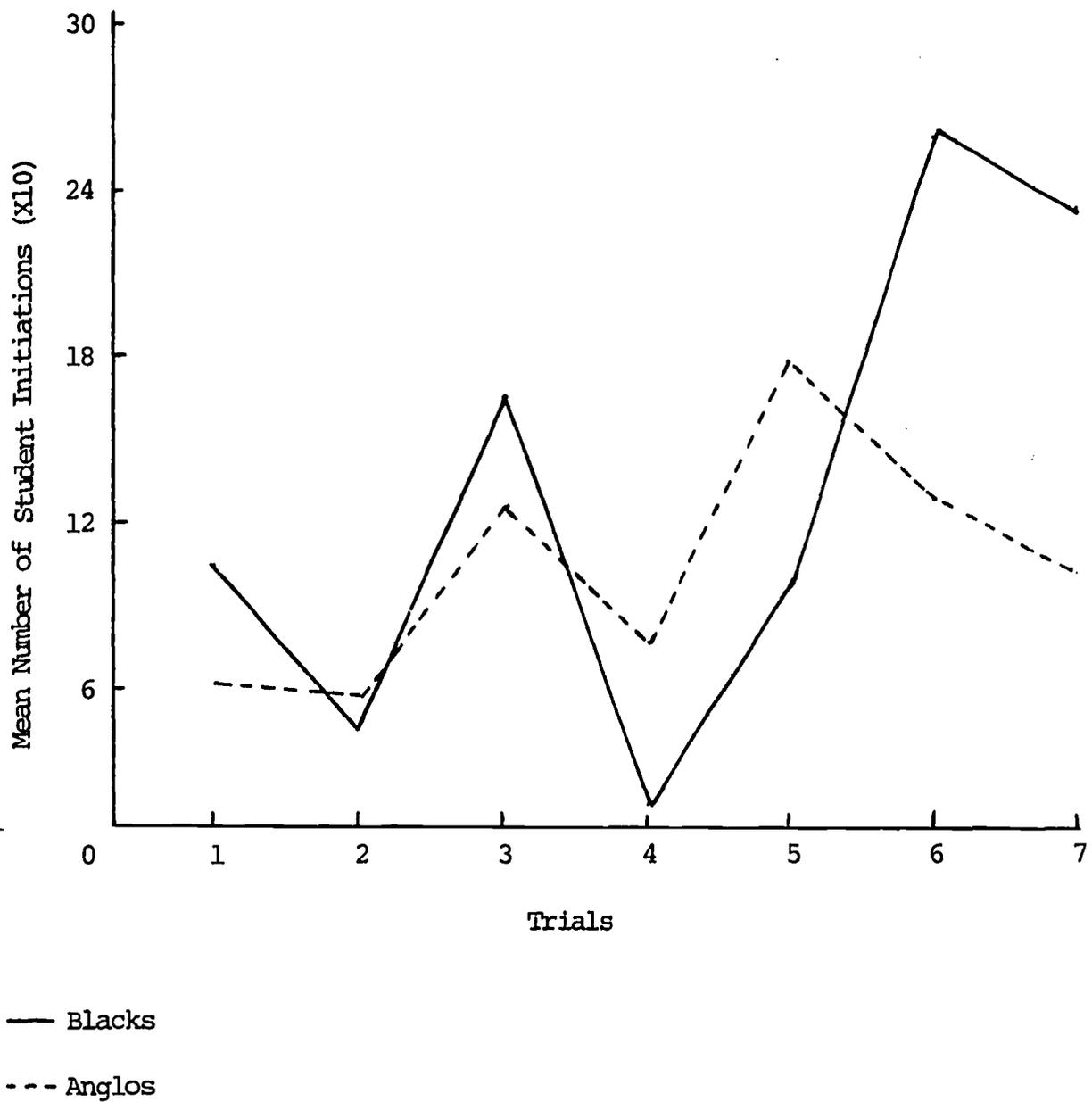
FIGURE 5

Mean Number of Student Initiations in the Experimental
and Contrast Groups at School B During
the Experimental Period

___ Experimental Group

--- Contrast Group

68
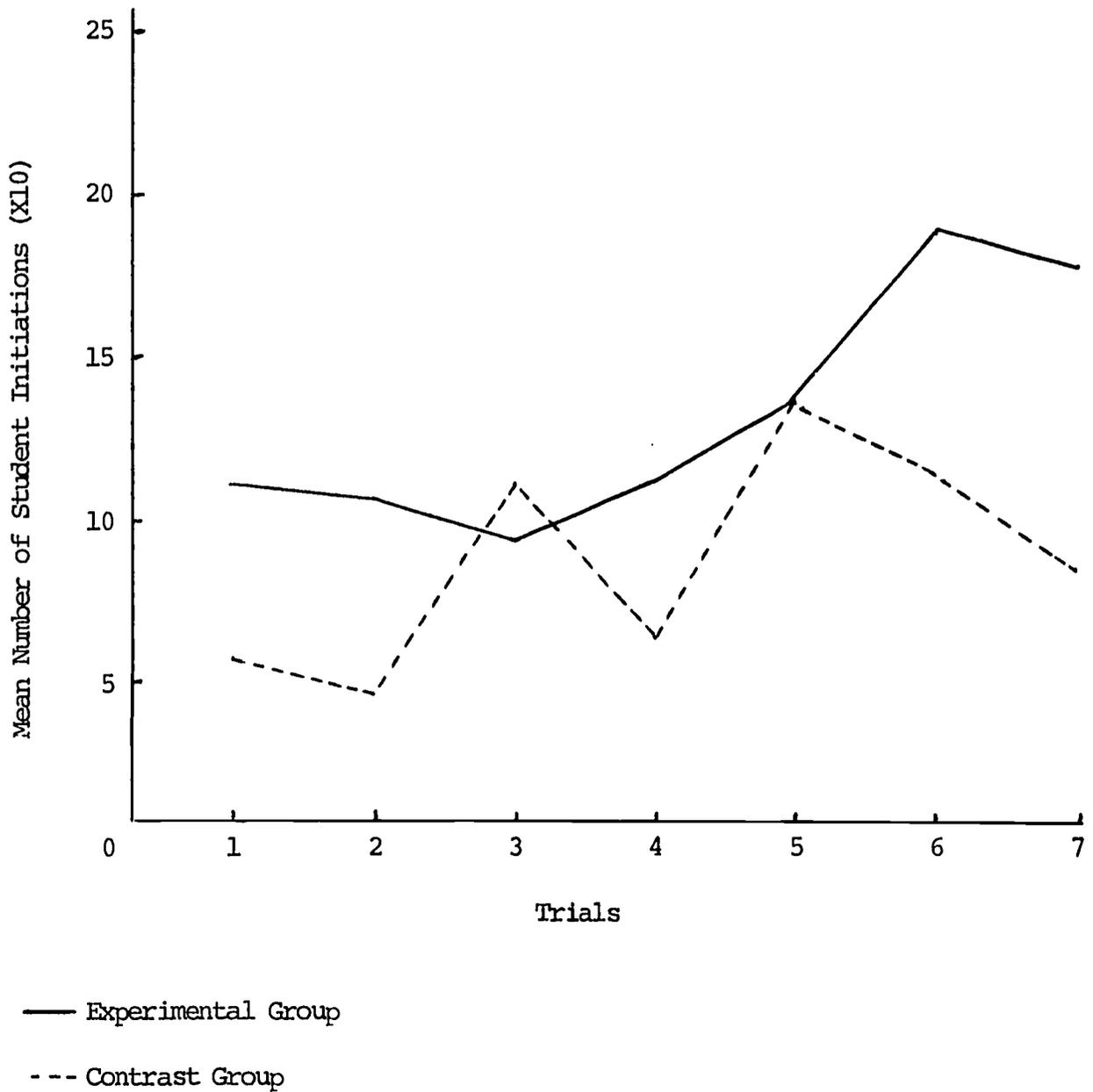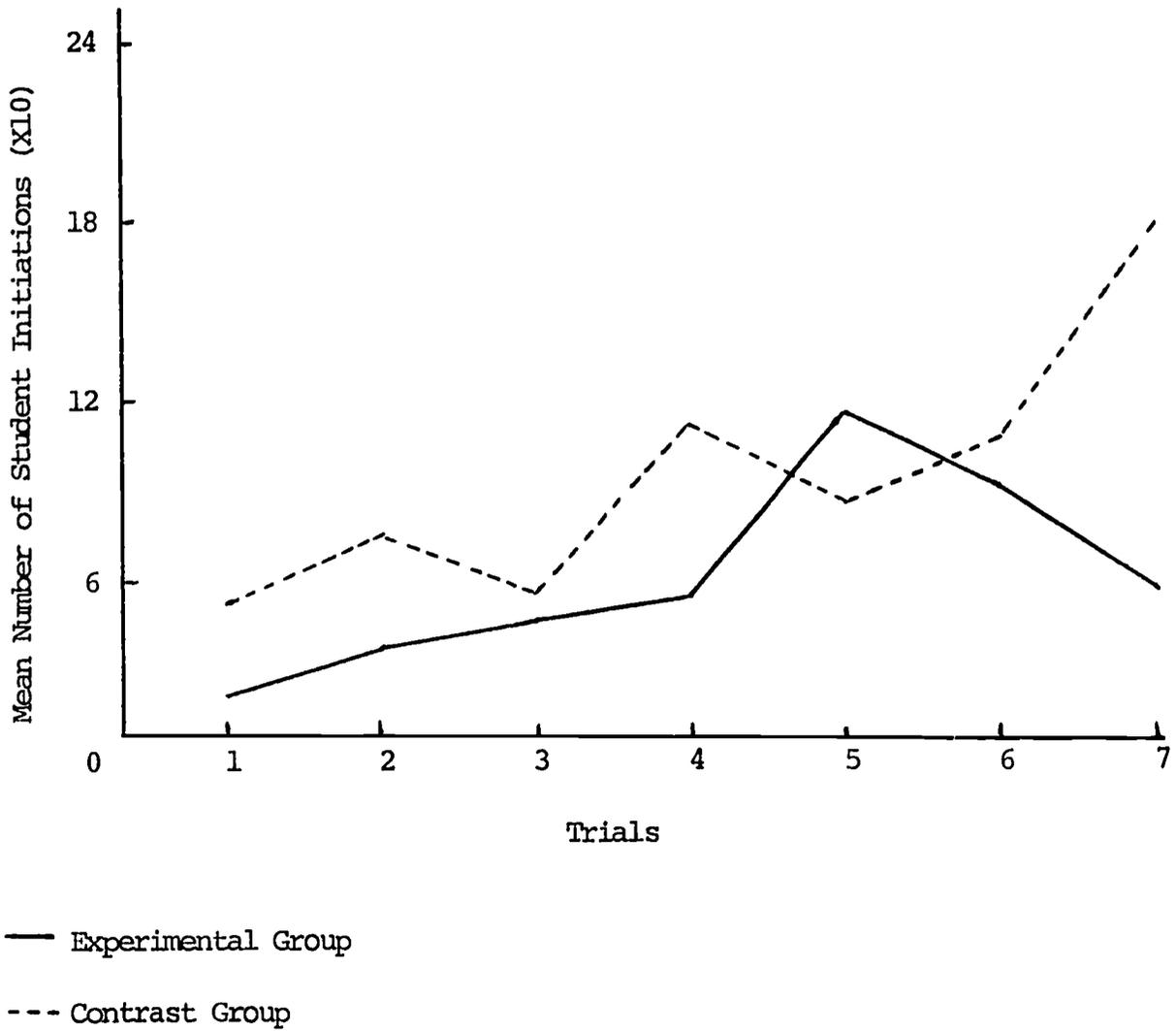
FIGURE 6

Number of Different Students Initiating in the Experimental
and Contrast Groups at School B During
the Experimental Period

Trials

—— Experimental Group

--- Contrast Group

69
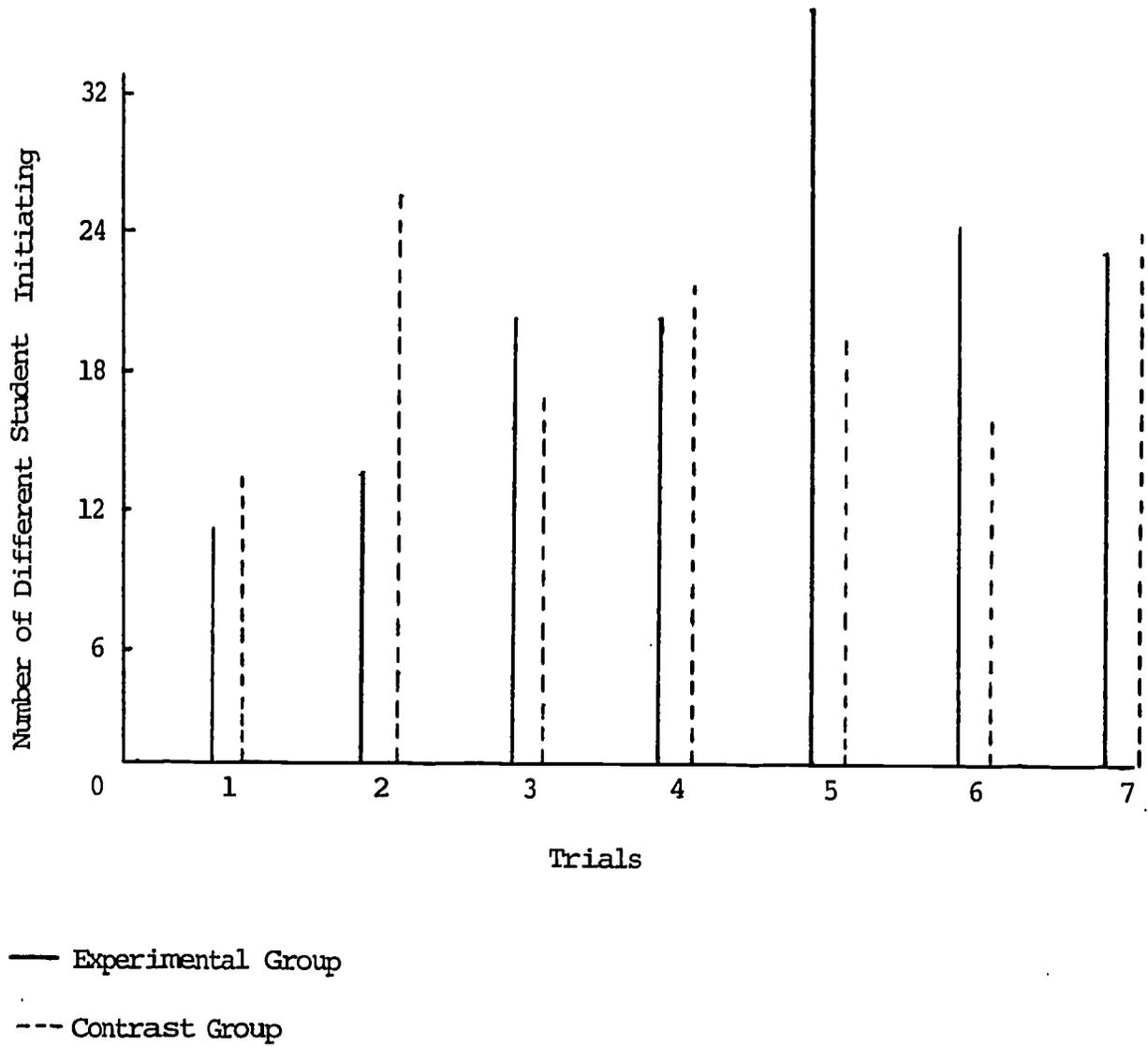
period for each Black student during the last week of observation. The analyses of variance using a repeated measures design revealed a main effect for ethnic group significant at the .031 level.

Similar differences between the patterns of interaction of Blacks and Anglos were not discovered in the contrast group. Figure 4 indicates that during approximately half of the trials Blacks initiated somewhat more interactions, while Anglos initiated more during the other trials. An analysis of variance using repeated measures revealed the probability of a main effect for ethnic group to be .707; thus, the hypothesis is accepted.

At School A, then, significant differences existed between the two ethnic groups in the experimental group in terms of the amount of student initiation. Such differences did not exist in the contrast group.

Findings at School B (Blacks and Mexican-Americans)

Mean number of initiations per student for each of the seven trials is plotted in Figure 5, with data presented from both the experimental and contrast groups. The number of different students per treatment group who initiated one or more times per trial is presented in Figure 6.

The data indicate that, overall, there was more student-initiated interaction in the contrast group than in

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the experimental group and that the trend over time shows a steadier increase of student initiation in the contrast group. However, an examination of the number of different students initiating during each observation reveals that for three of the trials more students initiated in the experimental group. While it is true that more student initiations occurred in the contrast group, it is also true that a very few students frequently dominated the discussion. For example, an examination of the raw data showed that during trial 4, one student initiated 19 times; another initiated sixteen times during trial 5; three students initiated 12, 10, and 16 times respectively during trial 6; and during the seventh trial, three students each initiated 14, 10,and 25 times respectively. In the experimental group, on the other hand, initiations were much more evenly distributed among the different students. Only one student initiated as much as five times, and this occurred only in one trial.

Table 12 presents findings from an anlysis of variance using a repeated measures design. The trial main effect and group x trial interactions are significant, but the main effect for group is not. Therefore, at School B, no significant differences in amount of student initiated interaction were discovered and the null hypothesis was not rejected.

Table 12

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Student Initiated
Interaction in Experimental and Contrast Groups
Across Seven Trials at School B

Source of Variation	MS	DF	$\underline{F}$	p
Between Groups		119		
Groups	29.877	1	2.007	.156
Error	14.884	118		
Within Groups		720		
Trials	10.565	6	5.584	.000
Group x Trial	7.852	6	4.150	.000
Error	1.892	708		

Figures 7 and 8 display the mean student initiations
by ethnic group within treatment group at School B. It
appears that overall, there were no large differences be-
tween frequency of initiation of Blacks and Mexican-
Americans in either treatment group. And indeed, the
analysis of variance indicates that no significant dif-
ferences between the ethnic groups existed in the experi-
mental group (p = .954) or in the contrast group (p = .842).
Hence, the null hypothesis that there were no differences
between Blacks and Mexican-Americans in amount of student
initiated interaction was not rejected at School B.

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FIGURE 7

Mean Number of Student Initiations Among Blacks and
Mexican-Americans in the Experimental Group
at School B
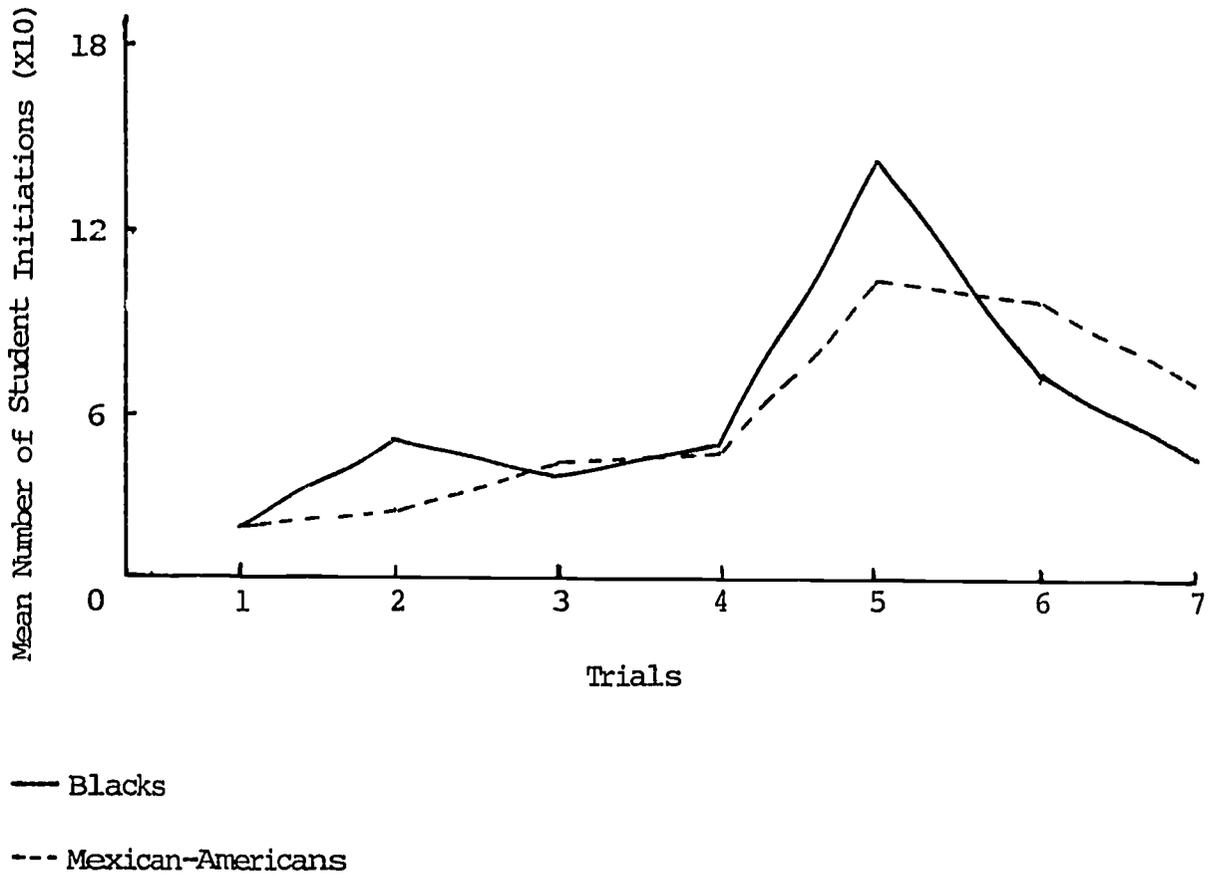
FIGURE 8

Mean Number of Student Initiations Among Blacks and
Mexican-Americans in the Contrast Group
at School B
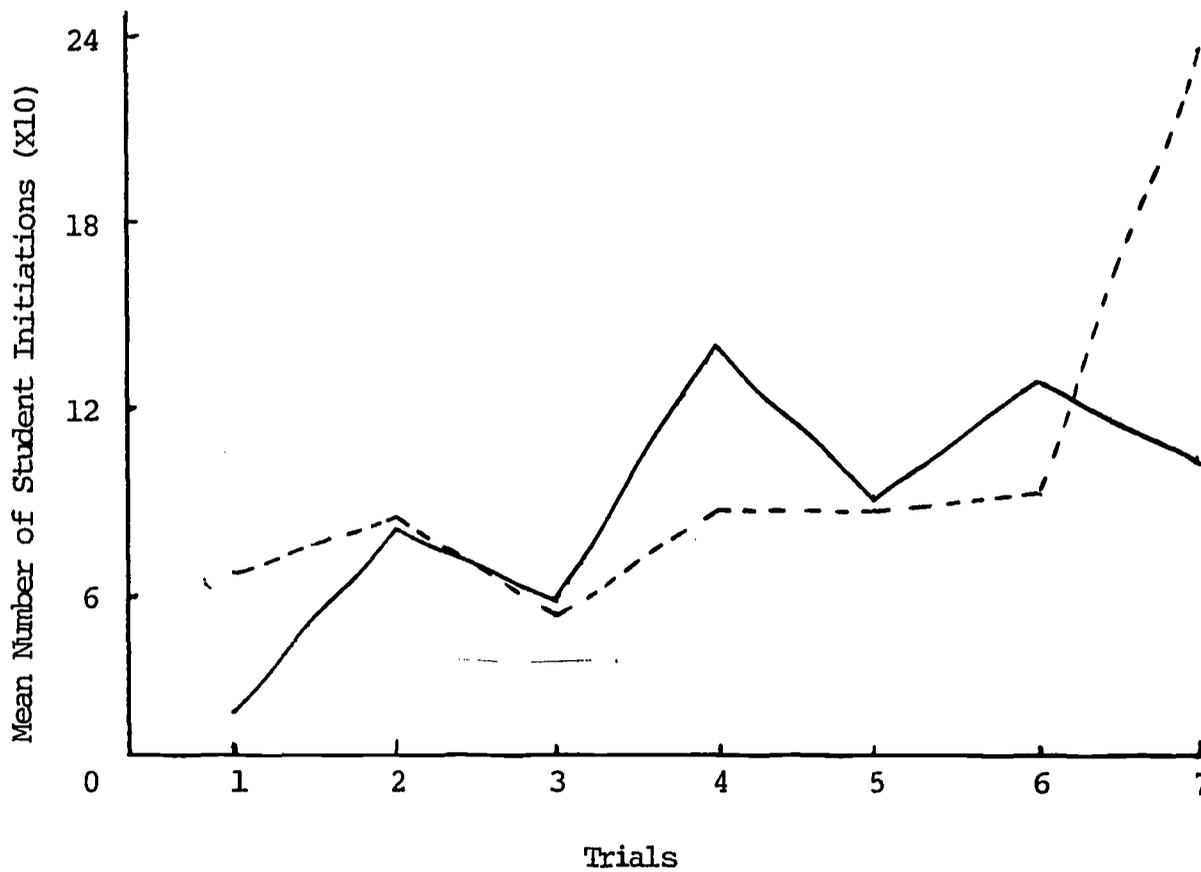
——— Blacks

--- Mexican-Americans

Analysis of Student Interviews

Interviewer:

Some of the students I've been talking with say
their government class this year has been very
useful, and some say it has not been useful. How
do you feel about yours?

Student:

It was a very relevant part of my education . . . .
Now, if I want to change something I know how to
do it. Knowing keeps me from being as pessimistic
and apathetic as I was, and I don't feel as if I'm
as pessimistic as I was, and this is one of the
things which brings tension and violence. If you
don't know how to participate in your government,
you're going to be very frustrated because the
government is going to kick you around 'til you
know how to use it.[5]

Thus began the interview of one Black male student

at School A; his response is not atypical of students from

the experimental group at both schools. With identical

questioning, each student interviewed was asked to rate his

most recently completed government course in terms of its

usefulness to himself. The results in Table 13 indicate

clearly that at both School A and School B, most students

in the experimental group rated their government class as

being more useful than did students in the contrast group.

In Tables 19 through 23, the total frequency of girls in

each category is underlined to differentiate the findings

among males and females.

_____

[5]All quotations are the student's exact statement;
emphasis noted is the student's own. Those quotations which
are most representative of the respective treatment and/or
ethnic group are selected.

Table 13

Student Rating of Value of Government Course[*]

	Very Useful	Useful	Somewhat Useful	Not Useful
School A				
Experimental Group				
Anglos (N = 11)	6 5			
Blacks (N = 9)	2 3		4	
Contrast Group				
Anglos (N = 5)	2	1 1		1
Blacks (N = 5)		2 2		1
School B				
Experimental Group				
Blacks (N = 10)	3 2	3 2		
Mexican-Americans (N = 10)	1 3	3 1	1	1
Contrast Group				
Blacks (N = 5)		2 2		1
Mexican-Americans (N = 5)		1 1		1 2

[*]Students' answers were coded "very useful" or "useful" if they could cite specific examples of the course's usefulness and/or interest. If a student was exceptionally positive and enthusiastic about the course, and used an adjective such as "very" in describing the usefulness of the course, his response was coded in the "very useful" category. The reverse reasoning was used in the "somewhat" and "not useful" categories.

The following quotations are from the taped responses
of students from the experimental group and are representa-
tive of statements made by these students. With rare excep-
tions, no single student is quoted more than once in the
entire analysis of the interviews.

Mexican-American male, School B:

I learned how minority groups can get power--and this
made me interested in politics. I didn't used to be
interested in politics because I didn't think a
Mexican-American could ever do anything. But he
opened it up--he showed us how any minority group
can have more power and recognition . . . . He gave
us problems and said solve 'em!

Black male, School B:

Mine was the best I've ever had. One reason is that
the class was kind of based on a pamphlet--it had to
do with both minority groups and everyone was pretty
motivated. In the beginning when we had the text
book it was just another course; I didn't want to
come to class until he came up with this new book.
This particular course was influencing . . . it made
me want to get involved--to join a political organi-
zation for Blacks.

Black female, School B:

The best! We talked about things we could do. I
always thought everything was going to be as it was
no matter what. This class made me feel I could
have a say! I looked forward to it!

The reasons given for the usefulness of the course at

School A are often different from those expressed at School

B.

Black female, School A:

Very useful. We talked about things of today like
racial discrimination and Black culture. This is
the first class I ever have been to where we talked

about Black culture and not just White culture.

Anglo female, School A:

Very. We talked about the problems of Blacks and
Chicanos. This is the first time I've heard how
Blacks really felt, and I think it brought us
closer together.

Anglo female, School A:

More useful and interesting than I anticipated. And
before I really hadn't thought about government; I
guess it's because politics aren't brought up
that much or discussed in my surroundings. And now,
well, I think about it!

Anglo male, School A:

The part with our second teacher was the best. To
me, it got some views from minorities that I'd never
thought of. It kind of opened my mind up. And I
learned how people could work to get things done--
like interest groups. Before I just thought about
votin'.

The following are typical remarks made by students in the

contrast group on the usefulness of their government course:

Black male, School B:

Useful. It brought me up to date on what's going on,
like when the Legislature meets and some other de-
tails . . . . We learned the leaders of all the
countries and diplomats.

Mexican-American female, School B:

Useful. But it wasn't interesting. I didn't like
our text. It was boring and out-of-date.

Each student was then asked to describe the class-

room atmosphere according to the extent to which students

felt free to openly express their opinions, and to assess

their government teacher's enthusiasm, daily preparation,

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and knowledge of the topics covered (see Tables 14 through 17). The data indicate that the perceptions of students in both the contrast and experimental groups at both schools are remarkably similar; most students (whether from the experimental or contrast group), perceived their classroom environment as an "open" one, and their teacher as being enthusiastic, well prepared, and knowledgeable in government.

Tables 18 and 19 summarize the extent and direction of influence from the government course on each interviewed student's feelings of political efficacy at the local and national levels, feelings of political trust at the local and national levels, political interest, and general feelings of political effectiveness. Each table contains data from one treatment group at one school and presents findings by sex and ethnic group.

The data in Tables 18, 19, 20, and 21 were coded as follows. The student's level of feelings of political efficacy was coded from items 9, 10, and 14 of the national level and from items 11, 12, and 13 for the local level. On items 13 and 14, both semi-projective items, as well as items 18 and 19, the interviewer attempted to ascertain the extent to which the government course had influenced the development of these orientations. Influence was coded as "strong" if the student described specific evidence of course influence for each item, "moderate" if evidence was given in three or

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Table 14

Student Perceptions of Classroom Atmosphere*

	Open		Somewhat Restricted	Closed
School A				
Experimental Group				
Anglos	6	5		
Blacks	$\underline{2}$	7		
Contrast Group				
Anglos	2	3		
Blacks	$\underline{2}$	2	1	
School B				
Experimental Group				
Blacks	6	4		
Mexican-Americans	$\underline{5}$	5		
Contrast Group				
Blacks	$\underline{2}$	2	1	
Mexican-Americans		1	$\underline{2}$	2

*Student responses to items 3 and 4 on the interview schedule (see Appendix C for details) are coded here. If a student felt that he and his classmates were completely free to express their opinions in class, and if he felt free to talk with the teacher if he had been treated unfairly or disagreed with something the teacher said, then his response was coded under "open." If he rarely felt this way, he was coded under "closed" and if he felt free only some of the time his response was coded under "somewhat restricted."

Table 15

Student Perception of Teacher Enthusiasm[*]

	Teacher Enthused	Teacher Somewhat Enthused	Teacher Unenthused
School A			
Experimental Group			
Anglos	6 5		
Blacks	2 7		
Contrast Group			
Anglos	1 3		1
Blacks	3	2	
School B			
Experimental Group			
Blacks	6 4		
Mexican-Americans	5 5		
Contrast Group			
Blacks	2 2	1	
Mexican-Americans	1		2

*The student responded here to a direct question about his teacher's enthusiasm, or interest and excitement in teaching government. If he described his teacher as being enthused and could give an example of this enthusiasm, his response was coded under "enthused." If the teacher was said to be enthusiastic on some days but not on others, "somewhat enthused" was used, and if he perceived his teacher to be uninterested or bored most of the time, his response was coded under "unenthused."

Table 16

Student Perception of Teacher Preparation[*]

	Well Prepared	Unprepared
School A		
Experimental Group		
Anglos	6 5	
Blacks	2 7	
Contrast Group		
Anglos	2 3	
Blacks	2 2	1
School B		
Experimental Group		
Blacks	6 4	
Mexican-Americans	5 5	
Contrast Group		
Blacks	3 2	
Mexican-Americans	2 3	

*The student responded to item 7 in the interview
schedule, and responses were coded as for item 6 in Table 12.

Table 17

Student Perception of Teacher Knowledge of Topics Studied

	Very Knowledge-able	Knowledge-able	Didn't Know Enough
School A			
Experimental Group			
Anglos	6 5		
Blacks	2 7		
Contrast Group			
Anglos	2 3		
Blacks	3 2		
School B			
Experimental Group			
Blacks	6 4		
Mexican-Americans	5 5		
Contrast Group			
Blacks	3 2		
Mexican-Americans	2 3		

*The student responded to item 8 in the interview schedule, and responses were coded as for item 6 in Table 12.

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Table 18

Influence from Government Course on Political Attitudes
of Experimental Group Students at School A

	Anglos				Blacks			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
EFF at Local Level								
Increased	2 3	3 2	1		2 1	2	3	
Decreased								
Same								1
EFF at National Level								
Increased	2 3		3 2			1 1		
Decreased	1		1			1	1 4	
Same				2				2
Political Trust at Local Level								
Increased	3 2		1			1		
Decreased	1		1			2	1	
Same			1	1 2				4
Political Trust at National Level								
Increased	1	2	1			2 1		
Decreased			1	4 2				
Same								5

TABLE 18 (continued)

	Anglos				Blacks			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
Political Interest								
Increased	6	1			1	2	1	
Decreased	1	3	1		1		1	3
Same								
Political Effective- ness								
Increased	1	5	2		1	1	3	
Decreased	2	1			1			2
Same							1	

Table 19

Influence from Government Course on Political Attitudes
of Contrast Group Students at School A

	Anglos				Blacks			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
EFF at Local Level								
Increased								
Decreased								
Same			2	3			3	2
EFF at National Level								
Increased			1					
Decreased								
Same		1	1	2			3	2
Political Trust at Local Level								
Increased								
Decreased			1	2			1	
Same			1	1			2	2
Political Trust at National Level								
Increased			2	1			1	
Decreased				1				
Same				1			1	1 2

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TABLE 19 (continued)

	Anglos				Blacks			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
Political Interest								
Increased			1				1	1
Decreased								
Same			1	3			2	1
Political Effective-ness								
Increased			1	1			1	
Decreased			1					
Same			1				3	1

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Table 20

Influence from Government Course on Political Attitudes
of Experimental Group Students at School B

	Blacks				Mexican-Americans			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
EFF at Local Level								
Increased	3	3 2			1 4	1 1	1	
Decreased	1 1							2
Same								
EFF at National Level								
Increased	2 1	2 1	1 2		1 3	1		
Decreased								
Same				1				3 1
Political Trust at Local Level								
Increased	1	3 1			1 2	1 1		
Decreased								
Same				2 3				3 1
Political Trust at National Level								
Increased		2 1	1		2	2		
Decreased				3 3				3 3
Same								

TABLE 20 (continued)

	Blacks				Mexican-Americans			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
Political Interest								
Increased	5	1	1		2	1		1
Decreased		1	1		3			
Same				1				3
Political Effective-ness								
Increased	1	2	1		1	2	1	
Decreased	1	2	1		3	1	1	
Same				1				1

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Table 21

Influence from Government Course on Political Attitudes
of Contrast Group Students at School B

	Blacks				Mexican-Americans			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
EFF at Local Level								
Increased								
Decreased						<u>1</u>		
Same			<u>3</u>	2			<u>1</u>	3
EFF at National Level								
Increased								
Decreased						<u>1</u>		
Same			<u>3</u>	2			<u>1</u>	3
Political Trust at Local Level								
Increased								
Decreased								
Same			<u>3</u>	2			<u>2</u>	3
Political Trust at National Level								
Increased								
Decreased								
Same			<u>3</u>	2			<u>2</u>	3

TABLE 21 (continued)

	Blacks				Mexican-Americans			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
Political Interest								
Increased								
Decreased			1			1		
Same				2 2				1 3
Political Effectiveness								
Increased								
Decreased			1			1	1	
Same				2 2				1 2

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four of the items, and "weak" if evidence was supplied for one or two of the items. Political trust at the national and local levels was coded in like manner, using items 9, 11, and 15, although at times evidence of political trust (or lack of it) occurred spontaneously in response to other items. Political interest was coded according to an overall evaluation of the interview (e.g., the interviewee gave clear evidence of interest in politics, thinks and talks more about politics, is more aware of news media, wants to become politically involved) and influence from the course was coded as it was for political efficacy and trust. Finally, political effectiveness was based on item 21 and is simply the student's statement about whether he feels more or less effective than he did last summer. Again, course influence was coded from follow-up probing.

Summarizing the data from School A, Tables 18 and 19 reveal a clearcut pattern indicating that the experimental units were far more salient than the contrast units for Anglos and Blacks, and for males and females. Consistent with the findings of the analysis of covariance, the data suggest that the experimental units worked to enhance feelings of political efficacy among both Anglo and Black students, and feelings of political cynicism among Blacks, while the contrast units worked to decrease feelings of political trust among Anglos. The data also suggest that the experimental units may have had strong impact on the

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political efficacy at the local level among Black girls; in both ethnic groups girls indicated stronger influence from the experimental government course than did boys.

Tables 20 and 21 indicate that the pattern of influence of the experimental units is even more clear cut at School B. Here too, the experimental units appear to be far more salient than the contrast units, and for all students except the Mexican-American females. When the data from School B are compared with the data from School A, however, clearly many more students at School B indicated a "very strong" or "strong" influence from their government course. These results are especially interesting, in view of the fact that the statistical findings of the analyses of covariance were much less conclusive at School B than at School A.

There are several possible explanations for this inconsistency. First, it is possible that too many "leading" questions were asked during the interviews. This is unlikely, however, in view of the fact that most interviewees were eager to talk and literally "gushed forth" with information before it could be elicited by the interviewer. Not uncommonly, an interviewee would go on for some minutes after the first question was asked. In addition, the interviewing schedule used with both groups of students was identical.

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A more probable explanation is that the written questionnaire did little probing and a student could easily respond superficially. Furthermore, it is likely that the depthful probing used in the interview technique, plus the use of several semi-projective items, made it more possible to tap various dimensions of political attitudes during the interviews. This may have been especially true at School B since the use of questionnaires may not be as valid a means of measuring political attitudes among Blacks and Mexican-Americans as it is among middle-class Anglos, because of possible cultural biases in the questionnaire method and/or wording (e.g., Labov, 1969; Labov and Robins, 1969).

Finally, it is possible that the experimental curriculum had a delayed impact, and hence greater attitude changes were expressed during the interviews which were conducted some two months after the questionnaire posttest. Indeed, this is exactly what happened regarding Anglos at School A and the study of racism. Many of the students quoted below in the sections containing responses to the study of racism, reacted with hostility or indifference during the times when racism was discussed in class. Hence their "favorable" and spontaneous reactions several months later came as a surprise.

The nature of the influence from the respective government courses was also probed. Table 22 summarizes the choices of students at School A (by sex, treatment and

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Table 22

Student Choices of those Aspects of their Government
Course Having Biggest Influence on their
Political Attitudes and/or Behavior
School A *

| | Experimental Group | | Contrast Group | |
	Anglos	Blacks	Anglos	Blacks
Teacher on Cynicism			2	1
Teacher on Writing Congress			1	
Racism, Minority Cultures	5 3	2 3		
Political Socialization	2 2	1 1		
Readings		1	1		
Action Research	3 3			
Courts		1		
Congressional Simulation				2
Problem Solving		1		
No Specifics Mentioned		1	1	2	3

*Data is based on coding of student responses to
items 18 and 19 on the interview schedule.

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ethnic group) of those aspects of the government course
which had the greatest influence on their political atti-
tudes and/or behavior. Responses were used only if actual
evidence of such influence was uncovered.

One half of the students interviewed from the con-
trast group were unable to cite specifics or to think of
any way their government class may have influenced them.
Only two of the twenty students interviewed from the experi-
mental group fell into this category. The most salient
aspects of the experimental curriculum appeared to be the
study of racism and minority group culture, political
socialization, and, among Anglos, the action research.

Again, at School B the pattern is similar (see
Table 23). Seven of the ten students interviewed from the
contrast group were unable to cite anything influential about
their government course; only one of the twenty interviewees
from the experimental group fell into this category. Beyond
this, however, the pattern was different. At School B, the
categories which appeared to be most salient were "changing
the government" and the "Blue Book of readings." While it
is impossible to isolate the Blue Book from other aspects of
the course, and many students at School A did refer to it at
some point during the interview, it is interesting that
nearly a third of the interviewees from the experimental
group at School B indicated that the booklet of readings
was in itself strongly influential.

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Table 23

Student Choices of those Aspects of their Government
Course Having Biggest Influence on their
Political Attitudes and/or Behavior
School B *

	Experimental Group		Contrast Group	
	Blacks	Mexican-Americans	Blacks	Mexican-Americans
"Changing the Government"	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u> 2		
Reading Booklet	<u>3</u> 2	2		
"Raps"	<u>1</u> 1	<u>2</u>		
Action Research	<u>1</u>	1		
Racism, Minority Histories	2	<u>2</u> 2	1	
Newspaper				1
Court Fieldtrip				<u>1</u>
No Specifics Mentioned		<u>1</u>	<u>3</u> 1	<u>1</u> 2

*Data is based on coding of student responses to items 18 and 19 on the interview schedule.

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The following quotations typify the response of students from the experimental groups at both schools. Numerous students reported on the saliency and appeal of the readings booklet. In the words of one Mexican-American male at School B,

> The Blue Book told it like it really was and not how the white newscasters say it. In the textbooks we're doin' everything wrong and the Whites are doing it right. This book talked about the bus boycott, Watts, and Chavez. It showed you the different approaches and which ones work and what doesn't. In other words, if you ever have the urge to change something you will know what to do.

On the other hand, nearly every student interviewed from the contrast group was highly critical of the readings used in their government class. The following comments are representative:

> Black male, School A:
>
> If you want the truth, that book made me sick!

> Anglo male, School A:
>
> Our book was boring. It should be rewritten. I'd put it down the way it is and include opinions, because it only gave one outlook, one point of view.

Students in the experimental group often mentioned the case studies of political change as being useful:

> Black male, School A:
>
> Some time later in the future I might hafta use some of their methods to get something passed in Congress, or get something notified, or get something changed in Congress or in the city government, and I can use the same ways as they did.

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Anglo female, School A:

From these you can see what way is most effective
and if you want to change something you can see
what works best.

Black female, School B:

It inspired me to read about Rosa Parks, and I think
a lot of other people in class. Now I feel if she
can do it I can too.

Mexican-American male, School B:

We studied the bus boycott and Chavez. It shows you
that if you want to do something you can do it; all
you have to do is try--but it is harder if you're
not Anglo . . . . I didn't even know about that
thing they had in Crystal City. These people got
themselves together and did something; somebody else
wants to do it, they could do the same thing.

This same boy continued:

I sort of put that on to school too. If I want to
graduate I can. There's nothing holding me back but
myself.

Other students too were moved to political action, sometimes

action associated with the Black Power and Brown Power move-

ments:

Mexican-American female, School B:

Before I didn't get involved very much, but now I'm
involved in MAYO. I got interested in this and
started my own group called MAYA. I found out about
MAYO last summer, and everything has changed since
then--but also my government class comes in too.
MAYO didn't ring to me at first, but then we started
talking about minority groups and then this mingled
in with MAYO, you see, and I knew things and I got
into it more in government and it helped me. Class
gave me more ideas about what to do with my group.

Black male, School B:

There's a lot of my Black friends in organizations
to help Black people, and this in a way coordinates

with the book that we were studying, and also our fieldwork. And suddenly I wanted to be part of an organization, that's how much the course influenced me.

Later in the interview, this young man revealed some interesting changes in his conceptualization of government:

I remember in the eighth grade, I used to think government was just a bunch of horse rats who went and explored different countries. Columbus discovering America! (Laugh) Now, it's nothing like that. It's something that could help you and your people. Not only how things are ran, but also self-interest--parks, paved streets. There are many ways Blacks are dissatisfied, but being part of an organization or political group will help to bring about a change . . . . Before this course I didn't used to think about what I could do, but I know now that if I wanted them to listen I can make them listen. I can attract attention! If you can't do it by negotiating and compromising--non-violence, then there are alternatives, violent alternatives.

The following quotation illustrates that for some students, increased feelings of political efficacy is accompanied by increased cynicism:

Mexican-American male, School B:

We saw how if you don't feel something is right, get involved! I've learned that I don't have to be afraid to stand up and try. Before I thought someone would just call me a dumb Mexican. Now I see I have a chance.

I also learned what a crooked politician is; I used to think they were holy. From the first grade, I was taught ours was the best government in the world. Brainwashed! Like the Pledge of Allegiance--it's just a routine!

Often students made insightful comments on their own changing thought processes, showing at least an indirect understanding of their own political socialization.

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Black female, School B:

For a while I've been feeling kind of down on the
establishment, and when I found out how you can be
influenced this way--how some groups can make you
feel effective and others make you feel alienated,
I had to stop and think. You begin to realize all
the influences around you and it made me feel a
little bit less down on the establishment, because
like the Black Panthers can have this influence.

This same girl later went on to discuss her action research:

. . . We chose the speeding problem for our re-
search. We had to contact officials and police . .
. , and we were successful. That made us feel a
lot better. If it worked once you can do it again.

In contrast to this, the remarks made by students

from the contrast group are remarkably different. Evidence

of enhanced political interest and political efficacy was

clearly absent.

Black male, School A:

I didn't think very much about the government and I
still don't. Most politicians seem to be out for
themselves . . . . The government never seems to
make much of a pretext of keeping up with the theory
behind it; I mean freedom and liberty and brother-
hood and also their salaries . . . . You have to
become part of the government to change it and I
don't see myself going that way.

Black female, School A:

I really don't pay much attention to people in
government. In Washington it's a lot of people up
there for a job and they don't know how to do it
right. Maybe they got a plan, but they don't seem
to be gettin' much done. All they do is fight--
and people goin' to the moon. I mean it just don't
seem they know how to do what we need to be done.
I mean if we can send people to the moon we can
build recreation centers all over the world. And
people starving!

Mexican-American female, School B:

> I respect our government more now. Before the
> class I didn't know what it was. Now I can vote
> and I care about it.

Several students from the contrast group expressed very

negative ideas about government. It was impossible to

ascertain the extent to which the government class may have

influenced the development of these orientations and, of

course, not all students in the contrast group expressed

such negative feelings. But it is worth noting the similar

remarks were not made by any interviewees from the experi-

mental group. The following remarks are in response to

items 13 and 14 on the interview schedule, both semi-projec-

tive questions designed to probe the student's feelings of

political efficacy.

> Black female, School B:
>
> I wouldn't try to do nothin' because I feel that
> they're going to do what they want to do anyway.
> I don't want to have nothin' to do with what
> they're doin'.
>
> Mexican-American male, School B:
>
> I've always felt that the majority of our people
> really don't have a say in our government. Poli-
> ticians are rotten to the core! We can't influence
> the government--mostly it's the rich and influential.
> We've been condemned on this side of town; I wouldn't
> be able to do much unless someone up there was con-
> cerned about it . . . . It's the same situation
> with Washington, only more impossible for us . . . .
> Yes, I'm registered, and I'll vote although it won't
> do any good. It's a pure sham. The rich run things.

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Several students from the contrast group at

School A indicated that their government teacher made them

more cynical about politicians.

Black male, School A:

He thought that all politicians were crooks and
that the public wouldn't vote in an honest man, and
I tend to agree. I never really thought about it
before.

Anglo female, School A:

Our teacher has been talking and talking and talk-
ing about how corrupt the government is. And so
I'm beginning to think that maybe it's not what I
think.

When this girl was asked whether or not she could have a say

in what the government in Washington does, she responded

with:

I really don't think I can do anything unless I do
something bad. You have to get national attention,
and I'm not going to riot or anything.

Another student from the contrast group remarked,

Anglo male, School A:

I think I can, but I don't know how to go about do-
ing it.

This response contrasts sharply with nearly all the responses

of students from both experimental groups who were able to

describe detailed plans of action in reacting to items 13

and 14.

Although the study of racism was a minor portion of

the experimental curriculum as planned, an interesting

phenomenon occurred at School A regarding this topic. After

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the study of individual and institutional racism was intro-

duced during the third week of the experimental period, stu-

dents kept bringing these concepts up and applying them to

the case studies of political change later in the experi-

mental treatment period. The taped interviews revealed the

obvious conclusion that the study of racism was one of the

most salient aspects of the experimental curriculum, at

least for Anglos. This was obvious throughout the student

interviews at School A; hence a generous sampling of stu-

dent remarks on the study of racism is presented below.

Anglo male, School A:

My ideas about discrimination and racism against
your minority groups have changed from saying they
have quite a bit of say to believing they don't
have much say. We read about Chavez and Martin
Luther King and how discrimination has affected
minority groups--and it kind of made me change my
opinion to feel that minority groups are discrimi-
nated against more than I thought before I went in-
to the government class . . . . Sometimes my friends
are really racist and I kind of feel towards them
that all Blacks are bad and no good. But govern-
ment class had a great influence on me as far as not
agreeing with my friends on discrimination and
minority groups.

Anglo male, School A:

This kind of went against a basic fact that I got
from my own political socialization--that people
choose their own class, and if you want to get
ahead you can. I never really believed institu-
tional racism existed before; since government
class, I've done more research on this . . . . It
adds to my idea about inefficiency of government.

Black male, School A:

It really influenced me because I've been guilty of
the same thing. I didn't realize that Whites are

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held just as powerless to the system as Blacks,
even though they are on top--more or less.

Black female, School A:

I never thought about institutional racism before.
It enlightened me. I see it in every thing--I see
it all around me every day.

Anglo female, School A:

I had never looked at Blacks and Chicanos the way
we looked at them. I read this book by a Black
and it showed the way they grew up, and I had never
put myself into the place of a Black child before .
. . . I used to not condone the things they do be-
cause I felt they were just trying to tear down.
But now I understand that they are trying to build
up.

Item 2 on the interview schedule gave the inter-

viewers an opportunity to probe the extent to which students

in the experimental group felt that they were receiving

special treatment (i.e., the Hawthorne Effect). Not one of

the interviewees understood the nature of the experiment, or

felt he was receiving unusual treatment. The following

quotes typify student perceptions of the "experiment."

Anglo male, School A:

We had this student teacher, no she was a student
teaching supervisor from UT, and she got to teach
our class because she wanted to keep in practice.

Anglo female, School A:

Well, our class was different because we had two
teachers . . . we had this lady from the university
who worked with student teachers out here, and she
wanted a chance to teach too . . . to keep up to
date, I guess.

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Mexican-American male, School B:

> Well, at first our class was real boring, just read-
> ing the book and answering the questions. And our
> teacher could see we were bored, so he asked if
> we'd like to try a different way, and we voted on
> it and everybody said yes, and after that class was
> a whole lot better.

Finally, in an attempt to assess actual political

behavior, each interviewee was asked whether or not he had

had a chance to register to vote, whether or not he was

currently involved in any political or social action, and

whether or not he intended to become involved. Table 24

summarizes the data.

Whether or not the government class had been in-

fluential for those students who were registered to vote

was often impossible to ascertain. And no pattern emerged

to indicate that treatment and registration were correlated.

Proportionately, approximately as many students in the con-

trast group as in the experimental group were registered to

vote; this finding held consistent for both schools.

A slight trend emerged, however, which indicated

that more students from the experimental group than from the

contrast group at both schools were currently involved in

some new political or social action. In each case it was

determined that the government class had at least to some

degree influenced the student to become involved in this

activity. Furthermore, a number of students from the experi-

mental groups at both schools expressed the clear intention

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Table 24

Summary of Selected Political Behaviors Engaged in by Study Participants

	Experimental Group				Contrast Group			
	Anglos		Blacks		Anglos		Blacks	
School A								
Registered to Vote	3	4	1	2	2	1	1	1
Not Registered to Vote	3	1	1	3		2	2	1
New Political Action	2	3	1					1
No Political Action	4	2	1	5	2	3	3	1
School B								
Registered to Vote	6	1	3	3	2	2		3
Not Registered to Vote		3	2	2	1		2	
New Political Action	2	2	1	1	1			
No Political Action	4	2	4	4	2	2	2	3

*Data is based on coding of student responses to items 16, 16 and 17.

of becoming involved in such action in the near future (8 at School A and 7 at School B), while no students expressed this intent from the contrast group at School A and only two did so from this group at School B.

These findings may well reflect an influence from the respective government classes. While all students were targets of a "register 18-year-olds to vote" campaign, only those students in the experimental groups emphasized political action alternatives to voting in their government class. If anything, the experimental curriculum de-emphasized the vote and stressed other channels of political participation such as political parties, interest groups, protest, and direct action.

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CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

While this research is clearly exploratory, the find-
ings of this study support those critics of the "traditional"
approach to political education who advocate emphasis upon
political behavior, processes and conflict, rather than the
usual emphasis upon government structure and institutions.
The experimental units appeared to be salient means of in-
creased feelings of political efficacy and interest among
Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American students.

All three analyses of data supported this conclusion.
Results from the student interviews reinforced the statistical
findings on cynicism and efficacy and went beyond to suggest
that political interest, and selected political behaviors,
were also enhanced by the experimental curriculum. The analyses
of student-initiated interaction showed greater increases
in the amount and range of different students initiating
in the experimental group than in the contrast group at
School A. At School B, a wider range of students initiated
statements and/or questions in the experimental group than
in the contrast group as the experimental treatment progressed.
Since an initiation is an efficacious behavior, both student
attitudes and behavior appeared to have changed. Since

these multiple indicators corroborate each other there is strong evidence that the experimental units did have impact on the political orientations of interest in this study.

The data also suggest that feelings of political cynicism among Anglos using the experimental materials did not increase. Hence, as was noted by Patrick (1971), the study of conflict and the "sordid realities" of the American political system seems not necessarily to diminish feelings of political trust.

Blacks in the School A experimental group demonstrated increased feelings of both political cynicism and political efficacy. These findings are consistent with Ehman's (1970) conclusions that the discussion of controversial social issues does not erode the political trust of Anglos, while the feelings of political cynicism are promoted among Blacks exposed to such issues. Too, data from this study are consistent with Ehman's finding that increased treatment of controversial issues in social studies classes is related to increased feelings of political efficacy among both Black and Anglo students. According to Ehman, "Increased opportunity for participation in class appears to be the relevant linkage for white adolescents; for blacks, exposure to successful models of political participation is the explanatory factor." (p. 119) Support for this conclusion was discovered in the present study's student interviews among Black and Mexican-American students, and in a sense among Anglo students

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too. Blacks and Mexican-Americans gave evidence of having been strongly influenced by the case studies of political change in the experimental curriculum; case studies most frequently cited (i.e., Montgomery Bus Boycott, California grape pickers' strike, Chicano take-over in Crystal City, Texas) were viewed by the students as models of political action for change. On the other hand, the actual political fieldwork, along with the study of racism, appeared to be most salient for Anglos.

That the contrast units seemed to be effective in reducing cynicism and increasing efficacy among Blacks, but had the reverse effect for Anglos, may be related to the findings of Langton and Jennings (1967). They indicate that the "traditional" twelfth grade curriculum has more "positive" impact on Blacks than among Anglos and that it is largely redundant for Anglos. Perhaps the lack of impact these units had on Mexican-Americans in the study was also due to a redundancy factor. Other possible explanations, however, would include the existence of basic political orientations among Mexican-Americans which differ from those of Black and Anglo-Americans (Garcia, 1972), or the nature of the instrumentation itself.

In contrast to the Langton and Jennings findings, the non-experimental units appeared to be salient in increasing Anglo students' feelings of political cynicism and in decreasing their feelings of political efficacy. However, these findings

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must be cautiously interpreted. A "traditional" government
curriculum in other settings should not be assumed to increase
students' feelings of political cynicism and decrease their
feelings of political efficacy as the contrast units in this
study appear to have done. But at the very least the data
indicate that twelfth-grade government curriculum which
emphasizes structure and institutions and deemphasizes pat-
terns of political conflict and change may sometimes operate
to increase orientations of political alienation in the
student.

The experimental units appear to have made the Anglo
students more aware of concrete actions they personally
could take to "solve" the national and local problems they
perceive as being most severe. Furthermore, after exper-
iencing this curriculum they appeared to see themselves
as more likely to take such action, and less likely to react
with apathy. To the extent that political orientations
of alienation and apathy have indeed been decreased, changes
in the political behavior of these citizens can be expected
in the direction of action within the political system.
For Blacks and Mexican-Americans, the experimental units
may have enhanced the appeal of the Black Power and Brown
Power movements with their emphasis on unity, organization,
community power and a general "do-it-yourself" philosophy.

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Some Implications for the Social Studies

This study supports claims that the school can become a potent agent of political socialization among adolescents. While no measure of the relative impact of the school, as compared with other key agents of political socialization, was obtained, the salience of the school can be enhanced by the implementation of curricular changes.

For those social studies educators who accept the assumption that "teaching for political efficacy" and political interest should be major goals of political education, this research offers support to the hope that such goals are attainable. Further, the study suggests directions in which social studies curriculum might move to promote them.

Implicit in the experimental curriculum is the view that political and social change is necessary and good; that American society has problems (a "reality" students are well aware of); that there are means by which citizens can work to resolve these problems; and that when the channels of political change within the system are closed to certain groups, increased conflict may emerge. In this sense, conflict is viewed as creative rather than necessarily destructive, because eventually this conflict may result in the opening up of avenues of participation to those who have been excluded.

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[6]Conflict may be in the form of legitimate avenues of protest and dissent, civil disobedience, or violence (destruction of life and/or property); it is not necessarily violent.

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Hence, conflict is a vital and constructive part of the American political system.

In contrast, the "traditional" approach to government is built around the idea of preserving the status quo. Therefore the important things for students to know are the political structures and institutions. According to this interpretation of education in government, the system itself operates quite perfectly; there are no major problems and hence no need to worry about "solving" anything; conflict is viewed as a threat to the system's smooth operation, and hence is destructive.

In this study, the "dynamic" approach was far more salient than that of the "status quo." Possibly, the experimental units had more appeal to the students than did the contrast units because youth tends to be change oriented. Further, the experimental units informed students of ways by which they personally could get involved in resolving the social and political problems they perceived as most important. The acquisition of this information and accompanying sentiments alone seemed to work to enhance feelings of political efficacy and interest, particularly among Anglo and Black girls.

In contrast to the period of the 1930's, when most social scientists viewed society as stable and basically peaceful, the current paradigm of most social scientists envisions society as dynamic, and filled with tensions and

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contradictions. This being true, such turmoil and contra-
diction is reflected in everything youth experiences, and
is increasingly being reflected in the school, but the school
still lags behind. According to Hess (1969), the school's
emphasis on stability and consensus contributes to the very
fragmentation which political socialization is meant to
prevent. Hess writes that:

> ...elementary-school children have a highly idealized
> view of the Government and a very high estimate
> of the power of the individual vote, combined with
> ignorance of other legitimate channels of influence.
> These views are unrealistic (a fact that is becoming
> increasingly obvious today to children themselves)
> and they do not offer a good foundation for active,
> effective participation in a democratic process.
> They seem to point more toward compliance and com-
> placency on one hand, and toward disillusionment,
> helplessness, anger and perhaps even rejection of
> the system on the other. (p. 25)

A social studies curriculum oriented toward change and the
resolution of tensions and conflicts is more relevant and
realistic to the student--to the extent it is closer to
the reality he perceives.

Another implication valuable for the social studies
is that the study of political socialization gave students
insight not only into how their own political attitudes are
shaped, but also how racism and prejudice develop. An indirect
(and originally unintended) means of approaching racial
prejudice, political socialization proved to be a powerful
approach among Anglos especially.

Perhaps most important for social studies educators
is the finding that students' feeling of political alienation

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were affected by the experimental units. A major implication here is that social studies teachers may well be able to mediate the rising tide of political alienation among much of America's youth. And this possibility leads into implications for race relations in America. The finding that the experimental units appeared to enhance inter-ethnic empathy and cultural appreciation suggests obviously positive implications of the curricular approach taken. But beyond this, if Greenberg (1970) is correct in suggesting that differing patterns of political socialization are at the root of racial unrest in this society (i.e., that non-Anglos are socialized into more negative orientations than are their Anglo counterparts), then the finding that selected social studies curriculum units may work to mediate orientations of alienation has social significance beyond political education in the schools.

The experimental units developed for this study are not suggested as the "only," the "best," or even "one of the best" means of teaching government. The argument is asserted, however, for those who agree with the writer's biases, that curricula based on the philosophy underlying the experimental units "works." How widely this finding holds true remains to be determined. However, the fact that the teacher of the experimental units at School B was at best unfamiliar with the curricula (also, the study of political socialization was unfamiliar to him) and did not

have the time to become adequately acquainted with the experi-
mental lessons in advance suggests that these units may be
used by teachers with "average" amounts of time, background,
and expertise.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study needs to be expanded both cross-sectionally
and longitudinally.[7] To assess the generalizability of the
experimental units' impact, the study should be replicated
with a sampling of twelfth-grade classrooms across the nation.
Too, it would be worthwhile to implement the experimental
units in eighth-grade social studies classes and measure
the effects on a population whose political orientations
are presumably more malleable than those of their twelfth-
grade counterparts. Beyond this, replication at the eighth-
grade level would include possible high school dropouts
in the study population, an important group (perhaps the
most alienated group) excluded in the present study.

Research replications adding new attitudinal dependent
variables would be valuable. The present study suggests
several: ethnocentrism, racial prejudice, tolerance for
dissent, and attitudes about social change. If a large

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[7]One longitudinal study is planned as a follow-up
to the 1972 presidential elections. The 60 students inter-
viewed in the present study will be mailed letters and question-
naires and re-interviewed to determine what types of political
behavior, if any, they have engaged in since graduating in
June, 1972.

enough sample were obtained, the inclusion of personality traits (e.g., self-esteem, authoritative versus democratic personality types) as independent variables would be worthwhile.

Future studies using systems of coding classroom interaction in assessing the impact of experimental curricula might avoid a major data collection problem encountered in this study (i.e., several coding sessions took place during formal lectures in the experimental group, but not in the contrast group). Rather than selecting coding dates at random from all the available dates during the experimental period, a better procedure might be to code during one or several blocks of consecutive dates, with the starting date chosen at random. This alternative plan would enhance the chances of obtaining comparable lessons to be coded in the experimental and contrast classes.

Finally, a plea is made for improved instrumentation to be developed for the measurement of such political orientations as cynicism and efficacy.[8] The problem of valid procedures of measuring political attitudes is profound (Tanenbaum and McLeod, 1967; Greenstein, 1970; Agger and Pearl, 1961). Greater use of semi-projective items rather than superficial questionnaire responses appears to be one means of assessing various dimensions of political attitudes; this

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[8]In an ancillary effort not reported here, the writer found that the simple rearrangement of scale items could significantly decrease efficacy scores (p. = .002).

technique also appears to work with non-Anglos for whom
pencil paper tests may be less valid (Hirsch and Gutierrez,
1972).

Concluding Statement

This investigation has demonstrated that the experi-
mental units developed for the study have impact on students'
political orientations of alienation in the direction of
enhancing their sense of political efficacy, political inter-
est, and selected political behaviors. In revealing this
impact, the research suggests directions in which social
studies educators might move if they are interested in "teach-
ing for political efficacy." However, such research is
clearly exploratory. Other intervention studies are propitious
to the investigation of the influence of social studies cur-
riculum on the development of students' political attitudes,
and of the salience of the secondary school as an agent of
political socialization.

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A P P E N D I C E S

ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE (Pre-test)

Directions (to be read to class):

I am working with a group of high school government teachers to try to make government courses more interesting and useful to high school students. We need your help to do this. What I have here is not a test. It is simply a list of questions asking what you think about our government. The important thing is for you to be as honest as you can in answering the questions. There are no right or wrong answers, and it is important for you to check "don't know" or "no opinion" if this is the case. Your name will not be used. Instead, you are to find your name on the single sheet which I passed out listing all the students in this class. Find the corresponding number beside your name. Please put this number in the blank beside "Student number." (Pause to let students do this.) In the blank beside "Class-room number," please put the number shown on the top of the class listing, which is __. (Pause to let students do this.) Please double check to make sure your student number and classroom number are correct. (Pause to let students do this.) Then check either male of female. (Pause to let students do this.)

After you have checked to see that this portion of the questionnaire is complete and correct, proceed to answer the questions in both Part I and Part II, being careful to

A P P E N D I X   A

read the directions given on the questionnaire.

I want to stress again that this is not a test, there are no right or wrong answers, and we want you to be as honest as you can in answering the questions.

ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE (Post-test)

Directions (to be read to class):

As you may remember, I am working with a group of
high school government teachers to try to make government
courses more interesting and useful to high school students.
I have a questionnaire similar to the one you completed early
in the Fall. Now that you have completed a semester of
government, we would appreciate your completing this one
for us. Remember this is not a test. It is simply a list
of questions asking what you think about our government.
The important thing is for you to be as honest as you can in
answering the questions. There are no right or wrong answers,
and it is important for you to check "don't know" or "no
opinion" if this is the case. Your name will not be used.
Instead, you are to find your name on the single sheet which
I passed out listing all the students in this class. Find
the corresponding number beside your name. Please put this
number in the blank beside "Student number." (Pause to let
students do this.) In the blank beside "Classroom number,"
please put the number shown on the top of the class listing,
which is __. (Pause to let students do this.) Please double
check to make sure your student number and classroom number
are correct. (Pause to let students do this.) Then check
either male or female. (Pause to let students do this.)

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After you have checked to see that this portion of the questionnaire is complete and correct, proceed to answer the questions in both Part I and Part II, being careful to read the directions given on the questionnaire.

I want to stress again that this is not a test, there are no right or wrong answers, and please be as honest as you can in answering the questions. Thank you.

Student number_____ Classroom number_____

Questionnaire number_____

Male_____ Female_____ (check one)

_____(Leave blank.)

PART I.   STUDENT'S BELIEFS ABOUT GOVERNMENT

Directions.   For the questions below please check the answer which best
              expresses the way you feel. There are no wrong answers;
              it is only important that you be as honest as you can.

1.   Do you think that most of the people running the government are
      honest, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are?

      _____Quite a few are honest
      _____Not very many are honest
      _____Hardly any are honest

2.   Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money
      paid in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

      _____Waste a lot
      _____Waste some
      _____Don't waste very much of it

3.   How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in
      Washington to do what is right -- just about always, most of the
      time, or only some of the time?

      _____Just about always
      _____Most of the time
      _____Some of the time

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4. Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?

_____Almost all know what they are doing
_____Quite a few don't seem to know what they are doing

5. Would you say that the government is run for the benefit of all the people or that it is usually run by a few big officials looking out for themselves?

_____Run for the benefit of all
_____Run by a few big officials looking out for themselves

6. Do you think it is the duty of every person to vote?

_____Yes
_____No

7. Should the people be able to remove public officials from office if they do not like what they are doing?

_____Yes
_____No

8. Do you believe that people have the right to change the government if they don't like what it is doing, or do you think the government should be kept like it is?

_____People have the right to change the government
_____The government should be kept as it is

9. Are you interested in politics?

_____Yes
_____No

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For questions 10-27, read each statement on the left of the page.
Then, choose the answer on the right of the page that best expresses
the way you feel.

10. Voting is the only way that   _____strongly agree
    people like my mother and   _____agree
    father can help run things.   _____disagree
                                            _____strongly disagree
                                            _____don't know or no opinion

11. Sometimes I can't understand   _____strongly agree
    what goes on in government.   _____agree
                                            _____disagree
                                            _____strongly disagree
                                            _____don't know or no opinion

12. What happens in the government   _____strongly agree
    will happen no matter what   _____agree
    people do. It is like the   _____disagree.
    weather, there is nothing   _____strongly disagree
    people can do about it.   _____don't know or no opinion

13. There's no real reason why we   _____strongly agree
    shouldn't have a female for   _____agree
    President.   _____disagree
                                            _____strongly disagree
                                            _____don't know or no opinion

14. It's possible that a non-white   _____strongly agree
    person may be elected President   _____agree
    within the next 10-15 years.   _____disagree
                                            _____strongly disagree
                                            _____don't know or no opinion

15. There are some big powerful   _____strongly agree
    men in the government who are   _____agree
    running the whole thing and   _____disagree
    they do not care about us   _____strongly disagree
    ordinary people.   _____don't know or no opinion

16. Compared to people in most countries, Americans have a lot of freedom.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

17. It's very unlikely that more big race riots will occur in America.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

18. I don't feel any "generation gap" within my family.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

19. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

20. School is worthwhile, I seem to get a lot out of most classes.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

21. Americans are the richest, happiest, and healthiest people in the world.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

22. I don't think people in the government care much what people like my family think.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

23. My family cares a lot about politics.

    _____strongly agree
    _____agree
    _____disagree
    _____strongly disagree
    _____don't know or no opinion

24. Austin's City Council is working to help all the people in Austin.

    _____strongly agree
    _____agree
    _____disagree
    _____strongly disagree
    _____don't know or no opinion

25. Most of what I hear on TV newsprograms is true.

    _____strongly agree
    _____agree
    _____disagree
    _____strongly disagree
    _____don't know or no opinion

26. Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.

    _____strongly agree
    _____agree
    _____disagree
    _____strongly disagree
    _____don't know or no opinion

27. How much does the average person help decide which laws are made for our country?

    _____very much
    _____some
    _____very little
    _____not at all
    _____don't know

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28. Rate the following methods of bringing about political or social change from the most effective (use number 1) to the least effective (use number 6).

_____ writing a government official

_____ violent protest

_____ peaceful marches or sit-ins

_____ voting

_____ economic boycott (for example, not shopping at a certain store)

_____ other (please describe _____)

29. What do you think are Austin's two biggest problems?

1. _____

2. _____

30. Do you feel that you personally can do anything to help solve these problems?

_____ Yes
_____ No
_____ Don't know

If so, what? _____

If not, why? _____

31. What do you think are America's two biggest problems?

1. _____

2. _____

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32. Do you feel that you personally can do anything to help solve these problems?

_____Yes
_____No
_____Don't know

If so, what?_____

If not, why?_____

33. When do you plan to end your schooling?

_____Before high school graduation
_____After high school graduation
_____After 1 or 2 years of college
_____After completing a program training me in a special skill
_____After graduating from college (4 years)
_____After more than 4 years of college

34. What type of job do you hope to have when you finish school?

_____

35. Do you feel that a person with ability has a good chance of achieving success in our society, or do you feel that ability has little to do with it?

_____Person with ability has a good chance
_____Ability has little to do with it
_____Uncertain

36. How important to you personally is it to get ahead in life?

_____Very important
_____Not very important

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37. Realistically speaking, how good do you think are your own chances of getting ahead?

_____Excellent
_____Fair
_____Not much chance

38. Do you plan to vote when you are elegible?

_____Yes
_____No
_____Don't know

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PART II.   WHAT HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS KNOW
                              ABOUT GOVERNMENT

Directions.   In the following questions you are asked to write in
               an answer, to check an answer already given, or to
               check "don't know." This is not a test. If you do
               not know an answer, please check "don't know" rather
               than leaving the answer blank or guessing.

1.   What is the voting age for American citizens in national elections?

      _____

      _____Don't know

2.   Is the American President elected directly by the people?

      _____Yes

      _____No

      _____Don't know

3.   Presidential elections are held how often?

      Every _____ years

      _____Don't know

4.   U.S. senators are elected how often?

      Every _____ years

      _____Don't know

5.   Name one U.S. senator from Texas.

      _____

      _____Don't know

6. How often must Texans register to vote?

_____Every year

_____Every election year

_____Once in a lifetime, as long as one keeps a Texas residence

_____Other

_____Don't know

7. Name one member of the Austin City Council.

_____

_____Don't know

8. Name one decision made by the Austin City Council during the past year.

_____

_____

_____Don't know

9. Are there any current groups or organizations attempting to fight racial discrimination in Austin?

_____Yes

_____No

_____Don't know

10. If yes, name one.

_____

_____Don't know

11. Which of these famous Mexican-Americans are political leaders?

_____Cesar Chavez

_____Pancho Gonzales

_____Edward Raybal

_____Trini Lopez

12. Which of the following are Mexican-American political organizations?

_____Political Association of Spanish Speaking Americans (PASSO)

_____Chicanos United for Political Action (CUPA)

_____Mexican-American Political Organization (MAPA)

_____G.I. Forum

_____United Texans Arriba (UTA)

13-17. Match the name of a person in column I with the most appropriate item in column 2.

I		2
13. _____Stokeley Carmichael	a.	NAACP
14. _____Martin Luther King	b.	Communist
15. _____Roy Wilkins	c.	Abolitionist
16. _____Frederick Douglas	d.	"Black Power"
17. _____Malcolm X	e.	CORE
	f.	Montgomery Bus Boycott
	g.	Black Muslims

18-26. Check whether the following are noted <u>mainly</u> for attempting change through violence (killing or destruction of property) or change through non-violent resistance (deliberate violation of a law, but with no killing or destruction of property).

18. Female suffragists (early 1900's).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

19. Farmers (late 1800's).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

20. California grape pickers (N.F.W.A.).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

21. Watts (summer of 1965).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

22. Labor (late 1800's).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

23. Urban League (present day).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

24. Crystal City, Texas in 1963.

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

25. Black Caucus (present day).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

26. Weathermen (present day).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

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27.	Do you think some americans feel politically ineffective?

_____Yes

_____No

_____Don't know

28.	If you do think so, give one reason which explains why some
Americans feel this way.

_____

_____

_____Don't know

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A P P E N D I X   B

EXPLANATION OF SICI SCHEDULE

I. Overview of the Schedule

    This schedule is designed especially for coding
discussion in secondary level social studies classes. It
highlights the following aspects of classroom interaction:

    1. Amount of student-initiated interaction as
        compared with amount of teacher-initiated inter-
        action, and how this ratio may change as the
        semester progresses. (Note: Since student
        responses are coded only if they are spontaneous,
        or at least clearly voluntary, responese to
        teacher or other student questions or statements
        are included under student _initiated_ interaction.)

    2. The verbal nature of the interaction within the
        following categories: Procedural, Information,
        Opinion, and Personal (definitions below).
        Measurement of frequency changes within each
        category over time, for both students and teachers.
        (Not of immediate concern in present study.)

    3. The non-verbal nature of the interaction within
        the following categories: Enthusiastic, Positive,
        Neutral, Negative, and Hostile (definitions
        below). Measurement of frequency changes within

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each category over time, for both students
and teachers.

4. Proportion of open versus private student initiated
talk. Measurement of changes over time. (Not of
immediate concern in present study.)

Of import in the present investigation, the schedule
facilitates quantification of student-initiated interaction,
comparisons with amount of teacher-initiated interaction,
and how these may change over time during an experimental
treatment. It will be used in this study to test the following
hypothesis:

Student initiated interaction will increase in the
experimental classes to a significantly greater
degree than in the contrast classes.

II. Explanation of Schedule's Mechanics

Each coder begins by filling in the general class
activities at the top of the coding sheet. Coders are supplied
with a classroom seating chart which numbers each student.
Absentees are noted for each class period.

Entry into the coding sheet is made in one of two
ways, depending upon who begins the interaction. If a student
is the initiator his number is written under the STUDENT column;
coding then progresses across the row. If the teacher is the
initiator the appropriate box under TALK, within the TEACHER

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TALK, is checked; coding then progresses across the row.

A new row is used for each interaction. A new interaction begins with every new statement, question, or response -- whether made by student or teacher. If at times discussion becomes too confused for accurate coding (i.e., numerous people talking simultaneously) this should be written across a row with the time interval noted. Where possible, student identification numbers should be included.

Once an entry is made. (entry meaning student number or name), three checks are needed. If entry begins under STUDENT, one check under Initiation (Open -- TQ, SQ, SS; Private -- TQ, SQ, SS) OR Voluntary Response (Open -- T, S; Private -- T, S) is made. Next a check is made under Type; and finally a check is made under Tone.

If entry is made under TEACHER TALK, a check is made first in one of the following: SQ, RE, or Q. Two additional checks are needed. First a check under Type and second a check under Tone.

III. Explanation of Categories and Symbols

    A. Student Talk

        1. Initiation: Student initiates interaction on either an open level, intended to be heard by the entire class, or a private level, intended to be heard by one other or a small group of individuals.

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a. TQ: student asks the teacher a question

b. SQ: student asks another student a question

c. SS: student makes an unelicited statement

2. Voluntary response: Student reponds to a state-
    ment or question made by the teacher or another
    student on his own volition. Usually he will
    clearly indicate his willingness to interact
    before being called on. Again, interaction is
    on either an open or a private level.

    a. T: student responds to a teacher initiated
            statement or question.

    b. S: student responds to a student initiated
            statement or question.

3. Type: This describes the nature of the student's
    question, statement or response. There are four
    descriptive categories.

    a. PR: Procedure. A question, statement, or
             response which deals with classroom
             procedure. (i.e., reference to direc-
             tions, plans, facilities, etc. "It's
             too hot in here!" "What are we going
             to study next?").

    b. INF: Information. A question, statement,
             or response which deals with information
             on the topic being studied.   "Facts"
             rather than opinion (i.e., student asks

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a question requiring a factual answer
on what's being studied. "How does
Prof. Lyons define political aliena-
tion?").

c. OP: Opinion. The same as INF except that
an opinion rather than "facts" is asked
for or given. (i.e., student gives his
opinion on what political alienation
means, or asks for the teacher's or
another student's opinion.) While
opinions are, of course, personal, OP
is different from PER in that it (OP)
focuses on content and is more concerned
with which viewpoint a student agrees
or disagrees with. (i.e., "I disagree
with Carmichael and Hamilton when they
say . . ."

d. PER: Personal. A question, statement, or
response which is clearly personal in
nature. Is differentiated from the above
three in that it taps a personal "like,"
"dislike," "feeling," "preference," etc.
Also included here are references to
personal activities. (i.e., "Do you see
yourself as being politically alienated?"
"I really dig Malxolm X!")

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4. Tone: This section attempts to capture the mood of the class by describing nonverbal aspects of classroom interaction. Analysis is based upon voice, body and facial expression. There are five categories.

   a. ++: Enthusiastic, positive, warm; open emotion

   b. +: Positive, but less emotion

   c. 0: Neutral, no emotion; may include no response

   d. -: Negative, mildly cold emotion; may include withdrawal

   d. --: Hostile, open expression of anger, dislike, etc.

B. Teacher Talk

   1. ST: Statement. Teacher initiates a statement.

   2. RE: Response. Teacher responds to a student question or statement.

   3. Q: Question. Teacher initiates a question. It may be intended for the entire class or one student, open or private.

   NOTE: The remaining symbols under TEACHER TALK are defined in exactly the same way as under STUDENT TALK.

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SAMPLE CODING SHEET

GENERAL CLASS ACTIVITIES

Class: _____   Date: _____   Time: _____   Page ___ of ___

Activity: _____   Observer: _____   (Start)   to   (Stop)

Absentees: _____   (Total Time Elapsed)

STUDENT	STUDENT TALK																					TEACHER TALK											
	INITIATION						VOL. RESPONSE				TYPE				TONE						TALK			TYPE				TONE				
	OPEN			PRIVATE			OPEN		PRIVATE																								
	TQ	SQ	SS	TQ	SQ	SS	T	S	T	S	PR	INF	OP	PER	++	+	0	-	--		ST	RE	Q	PR	INF	OP	PER	++	+	0	-	--

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A P P E N D I X   C

SCHEDULE FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

INTRODUCTION TO THE INTERVIEW

1. EXPLAIN THE PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH.
   "You're probably wondering why you're here so let me
   explain right away. I hope you'll find this interesting.
   I'm working with a group of high school government teachers
   at UT on a project which we hope will make high school
   government classes more meaningful and interesting to
   students. We feel that the best way to do this is to talk
   with the students themselves -- especially those who have
   just finished taking government. And so, we hope you will
   agree to help us by answering some of our questions, and
   also by asking me any you might have."

2. DESCRIBE THE METHOD BY WHICH THE RESPONDENT WAS SELECTED
   "We selected a number of 12th grade students in several
   Austin high schools at random. We actually drew names
   out of a hat and your name was one we selected."

3. STATE THE ANONYMOUS OR CONFIDENTIAL NATURE OF THE INTERVIEW.
   "If you agree to help us out on this, I want to assure you
   that everything you say will remain confidential -- it
   won't go beyond us. And don't let this tape recorder
   scare you, it's just that we've been talking with a lot
   of students and it's the best way we can remember what
   they say."

"What about you? Do you feel you'd like to help us out?"

"Good, then let's get started on some of the questions."

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Some of the students I've been talking with say their
   government class this year has been very helpful, and some
   say is has not been useful. How do you feel about yours?
   la. Why or why not? Probe.

2. Let's see. How do you feel about your government class as
   compared with other government classes?
   2a. Probe. Do you think the teacher had anything to do
       with the way you feel?

*3. In your government class, how much chance did the students
    have to express their opinions?

*4. If you felt you had been treated unfairly in some way or
    disagreed with something the teacher said, did you feel
    free to talk to the teacher about it, or was it better
    not to talk to the teacher?

*5. Would it have made any difference?

6. How enthusiastic was your government teacher about the
   topics you studied?

7. Was he/she well prepared every day?

8. Did you feel he/she know enough about these topics?
   "Now let's talk a bit about government."

*(From Langton and Karns, 1969.)

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9. Do you feel that your ideas about our national government in Washington are the same or different from what they were before you took Government?

    9a. Probe.

10. Some of the students I've talked with feel that their ideas have changed about whether or not they can have a say in what our government in Washington does. What about you?

IF IDEAS HAVE CHANGED:

    10a. How do you feel now?

    10b. And you say you didn't used to feel this way?

    10c. What made you change your mind?

    10d. If government class is used in answer, probe. If not, ask: Did your government class have any influence in your thinking here?

    10e. Do you think it was your government teacher or the things you studied in class that influenced you the most?

IF IDEAS HAVE NOT CHANGED:

    10a. How do you feel then, can you help affect what goes on or not?

    10b. What made you feel this way?

    10c. If government class is used in answer, probe. If not, ask: Did your government class have any influence in your thinking here?

11. What about _____ city government? Do you feel your

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ideas have changed this year, or not?

11a. Probe.

12. Some of the students I've talked with feel that their ideas have changed about whether or not they can have a say in what _____ city government does. What about you?

IF IDEAS HAVE CHANGED:

12a. How do you feel now?

12b. And you didn't used to feel this way?

12c. What made you change your mind?

12d. If government class is used in answer, probe.
If not, ask: Did your government class have any influence in your thinking here?

IF IDEAS HAVE NOT CHANGED:

12a. How do you feel then, can you help affect what goes on or not?

12b. What made you feel this way?

12c. If government class is used in answer, probe. If not, ask: Did your government class have any influence in your thinking here?

*13. Let's consider an imaginary situation for a moment. Suppose a law were being considered by _____ City Council which you thought was very unjust or harmful, what do you think you would do?

13a. Probe.

If you made an effort to change this regulation,

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or to prevent its passage, how likely is it that you would succeed?

If such a case arose, how likely is it you would actually do something about it?

*14. Now suppose a law were being considered by the United States Congress in Washington which you considered to be very unjust or harmful, what do you think you would do?

14a. Probe.

If you made an effort to change this law or to prevent its passage, how likely is it that you would succeed?

If such a case arose, how likely is it you would actually try to do something about it?

15. By the way, have you had the time to register to vote yet?

IF NOT:

15a. Do you think you'll get around to it this year?

IF NOT:

15b. Why not?

16. This being an election year, I'm wondering if you are involved in any political action, or if you are planning to.

16a. Probe

17. Are you involved in any political or social action in Austin that isn't necessarily tied up with the election?

IF YES:

17a. That's interesting. How did you first get involved?

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(Then probe.)

<u>IF NO</u>:

17a. Do you think you might this year? Why? (Probe.)
      "Let's talk for a minute about your government
      class specifically."

18. If you had to pick out one or two things about this
     government class that have had the biggest influence on
     your thinking, what would they be?

     18a. Can you explain why?

     18b. Probe.

19. Okay. Let's talk a bit then about some specific things.
     Just tell me if you think they've been important in
     influencing the way you think.
     (Probe each item. If it is effective, ask why. If
     not, ask why.)

     What about:

     19a. Readings?

     19b. Action research?

     19c. What other kids say in class?

     19d. What the teacher said in class?

     Topics:

     <u>Political socialization</u>:

     19e. Did you learn anything useful by studying your own
           political attitudes and how they developed?
           Probe.

     19f. Were you influenced at all by studying how peoples'

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political attitudes (for example, whether they feel politically alienated or politically effective) affect their political behavior (for example, voting, rioting, or running for office)?

Probe.

19g. What about the fact that some Americans (e.g., Appalachian whites and other groups) feel much more negative about our government than do many white-middle-class Americans? Did this affect you?

Probe.

Institutional racism:

19h. Were you influenced at all by studying how institutional racism sometimes works in our country? (If necessary give an example such as quota systems.)

Probe.

How dissatisfied minorities have worked to bring about change:

19i. How useful was it to study the different ways dissatisfied Americans have tried to bring about the change they want? (Examples: Chavez and grape pickers, ecology action.)

Probe.

20. Do you feel more or less politically effective than you did last summer? I've had students tell me both things.

20a. Why? (In probing differentiate between national and local government, and probe for influential agents.)

21. How do you feel about the kind of officials elected in Austin now? In Washington?

21a. Why? What made you feel this way?

22. Some students say it's things _outside_ the class, other things, that happen school that are influencing the way they feel about our government. Is this true for you?

22a. Probe. (If student can't think of outside factors, mention assemblies, rallies, cafeteria, school administrators, rules and atmosphere.)

A P P E N D I X   D

THE EXPERIMENTAL UNITS OUTLINED[1]

Unit I.   What Causes Political Alienation?   What Causes
Political Effectiveness?

I.   Broad Objectives. At the end of the unit, students will
be able to:

1.   Define political alienation, and explain its causes
and effects.

2.   Examine the extent to which he is politically alien-
ated by describing his political attitudes and how
they were shaped.

3.   Compare the political socialization (and degree of
political alienation) of mainstream Americans with
non-mainstream Americans. Emphasis here is upon
blacks, whites, and Mexican-Americans.

4.   View political attitudes as a link in the "aliena-
tion cycle."

5.   Discuss the extent to which political alienation can
be reduced.

6.   Plan his own independent or small group investigation
of and involvement in Austin's political/social struc-
ture. (In come cases these may be statewide or
national in scope.)

_____

[1]The writer is currently developing the complete units
in revised form. These units will be available in the near
future.

II. Selected Readings and Media

1. "Policeman Small"

2. "Do Black and White Children Have the Same or Different Political Attitudes" (Adapted from Greenberg, 1970)

3. "A Study in Appalachia" (Adapted from Jaros, et al., 1968)

4. "How Prejudice Affects Adults" (Poussaint, 1967)

5. "Self Analysis: How Did Your Political Attitudes Develop? (C. Button, 1972)

6. Series of twelve "inquiry" posters depicting political behavior ranging from effectiveness to the apathy and/or anger of political alienation. (Developed especially for this unit)

7. Poster displaying a "Vicious Cycle of Political Alienation" (Developed especially for this unit)

Unit II. Who Rules America?

I. Broad objectives.

The student is to:

1. Compare political linkages according to the elitist and pluralist theories of the American political system.

2. Use a model of the American political system to explain its power in discouraging minorities from effecting change (i.e., institutional racism).

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3. Analyze the effectiveness and availability of politi-
    cal linkages, particularly elections and political
    parties.

4. Apply the concepts learned in the unit (concepts of
    elitism, pluralism, linkages, institutional racism,
    etc.) to hypothetical problems involving political
    powerlessness.

II. Selected Readings and Media

1. "What Makes an Interest Group Effective?" (Case study
    of gun control legislation and the N.R.A.'s fight
    against strict gun control. Slide presentation
    developed especially for the unit.)

2. "Who Rules America?" (A series of transparencies
    displaying elitist and pluralist interpretations of
    American government and politics, political linkages,
    and institutional racism as it sometimes operates
    in American politics. Developed especially for
    this unit.)

3. "The Story Behind the Civil Rights Act of 1964"
    (Adapted from Dahl, 1967)

4. Political problem series designed for small group
    work. (Developed especially for the unit.)

Unit III. How Have Some Alienated Groups Attempted to Change
           America?

I. Broad objectives. The student is to:

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1. Use historical examples and current case studies to examine techniques which have tended to be effective continuously (i.e., parties, elections, interest groups), and techniques which have tended to play upon emotions of the times (i.e., sit-ins, freedom rides).

2. Examine the role of violence in America, its goals and effectiveness; make comparisons with non-violent goals, techniques and effectiveness.

3. Continue his investigation of alternatives for dealing with the current political problem he has selected. (Culmination in Unit IV.)

II. Selected Readings and Media

1. Posters graphically displaying political protest and change throughout American history on a continuum of Evolution --- Revolution. Black, "mainstream," Mexican-American and Chicano movements are included. (Developed especially for this unit.)

2. "Letter From a Birmingham Jail" (Martin Luther King, April 16, 1963.)

3. "Martin Luther King Describes the Principles of Non-Violence" (King, 1958.)

4. "Cesar Chavez on Non-Violent Protest" (Open letter from Chavez to E.L. Barr, Jr.)

5. "The Montgomery Bus Boycott" (Adapted from King, 1958.)

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6. "Cesar Chavez and the California Grape Pickers: The Little Strike that Grew to La Causa" (Adapted from an article in *Time*, July 4, 1969.)

7. "Victory for Chavez and His United Farm Workers" (Adapted from an article in *The Christian Century*, August 12, 1970, p. 956.)

8. "The Brown Power Movement: Development and Current Meaning" (Speech by Jose Limon, Assistant Director of Mexican-American Studies Center, The University of Texas at Austin, and member of M.A.Y.O.; taped live)

9. "Los Cinco Candidatos" (Adapted from an article on Crystal City in *The Texas Observer*, April 18, 1963.)

10. "Watts, Summer 1965. What Happened? Why Did It Happen?" (Time, August 20, 1965, pp. 16-19; *Newsweek*, August 30, 1965, pp. 16-20.)

11. "Who Riots? The Riff-raff Theory." (Skolnick, 1969)

12. "Who Riots? Criticism of the Riff-raff Theory." (Sears and Tomlinson, 1970.)

Unit IV.   What Political (Social, and/or Economic) Problem
           Bothers You Most? What Can Be Done About It?

I. Explanation of the Political Action Fieldwork

1. Choose one specific social, political or economic problem in Austin that is of special interest to you. The problem should be one which could possibly be

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solved by some sort of government action.

2. Gather information on the causes of the problem.
Keep written records of sources (people and/or written
material) you use. The records will become your
"working bibliography."

3. Find out what is now being done about the problem.
Again, keep records for your "working bibliography."
Good sources are the Austin newspapers (back issues)
and people connected with organizations which are
working on your problem. If yours is a controversial
topic, find out what the different viewpoints are.

4. Come up with a solution to the problem. Figure out
what you and others can do to help solve it. (Is
your solution different from the one you see being
followed? If so, what can you do?)

5. Take some sort of concrete action intended to work
solving the problem. (This may be one small step,
but nonetheless it is important.)

6. Progress reports need to be turned in every two weeks.

7. FINAL REPORT. This will be due in January. In ap-
proximately 500 words, or the equivalent of 1-2
typewritten pages, include the following:

   a. Definition of the problem. (5 points)

   b. A list of the causes of the problem with a brief
   explanation of each cause. Footnote sources.
   (10 points)

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c. A brief but complete description of what actions
    (by city government and/or interested groups
    of people) have been taken to deal with the
    problem. If opposing groups are involved, explain
    the differing viewpoints and actions taken by
    these groups. Footnote sources. (20 points)

d. A Statement of your solution to the problem.
    Explain briefly.

e. A statement of the concrete action you took to
    solve the problem. Briefly evaluate the results
    of your action.

f. Bibliography and "working bibliography" and notes.
    This is in addition to the 1-2 page report.
    (20 points)

8. CLASS PRESENTATION. This is due at the same time as
    your final report. Plan on about 5 minutes; if you
    need more time please let me know.
    The purpose of these presentations is for us to share
    our field work experiences with each other. Your
    presentation will be based on the information in your
    final report. Your imagination is the only limitation
    in making your presentation interesting to the class.
    Evaluation criteria:

a. Clarity of presentation (20 points)

b. Creativity/imagination in presentation (20 points)

c. Interest to class (20 points)

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d. Insights offered to class (20 points)

e. AV aids used (20 points)

II. Sample Form of Fieldwork Progress Report (see following page)

FIELDWORK PROGRESS REPORT

Name_____ Period_____ Date_____

Problem being explored_____

1. Briefly state the main activities you have completed during this
    period.

2. What information have you gained as a result of these activities.
    (Be very brief.)

3. What problems, if any, are you having in finding information? Other
    problems?

4. What do you plan to do during the next few weeks?

5. Other?

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