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ABSTRACT

Civic education in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s is examined with regard to program content and objectives, state mandated courses, national patterns, teaching methods, innovative practices, test results, and influences from the extra-educational sector. The developers state that the document may be useful for a variety of purposes such as test construction, textbook writing, curriculum and course revision, and educational planning. The document is presented in seven chapters. Chapter one discusses the scope of the study, explains why a comprehensive overview of citizen education is needed, and presents background information. Chapter two offers a brief survey of political education in the United States. Chapters three through five consist of summaries of recent trends and curriculum projects in civic/political education in elementary and secondary schools in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s. Information is presented on key topics, key target groups, learning approaches, neglected areas, community influences, and intra-state patterns of social studies offerings. Chapter six identifies major themes and offers conclusions and recommendations, including that citizen/political education programs should continue to reflect America's cultural pluralism, and that educators should become more aware of the influences of the mass media, should work toward improving collection and analysis of political/citizenship educational materials, and should take into account cognitive-moral development and steps when they devise materials for specific age levels. The final chapter offers a bibliography of sources used for the 1960s indices. (DB)

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FORMULATING A COMPREHENSIVE INDEX OF POLITICAL
EDUCATION IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICA

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FIRST DRAFT

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PREFACE

This effort to develop comprehensive indices of political education through a taxonomic approach was guided by a set of procedures which are more fully described in the introduction and Chapter I of this report. At the start, it should be most helpful to the reader to list the principal guiding themes for the research enterprise itself so that we can reach some common agreement on just what was and was not sought to be done through this study.

The process of developing an index or indices of citizenship education was as complex as the product itself. It required several approaches to provide answers for the following statement:

What has been (over the last generation), is now, and promises to be a valid definition of civic education in the United States?

This process required that we also try to answer the following questions:

1. What quantitative and qualitative data on civic education indices were currently available?
2. How could current indices be subdivided by content, abilities, experiences, skills, values, behaviors, and age levels?
3. What longitudinal data existed regarding civic education in the United States?
4. What did state statutes have to say about required courses in civic education?
5. What were the national patterns of political education in the nation's schools?

6. How was civic education taught; that is, who took courses, and what were the principal teaching methods and strategies used for political education in the schools?
7. What were the most important trends in innovative political education practices in the schools?
8. What were the prospects for the future of political education in the schools?
9. How could statements of national goals for civic education be synthesized--from state laws, reports, books, curriculum guides, new courses of study, or other sources?
10. Which comprehensive statements on national goals and indices of civic education were of value in formulating a new index of civic education; i.e., which were the most valid statements, and how could they be modified and expressed in qualitative and quantitative terms?
11. Which quantitative data available on course practices, test results, research findings, and other empirically derived information regarding civic education were most useful for creating a new civic education index (e.g., National Assessment, National Council for the Social Studies, and other indices)?
12. What part had the non- or extra-educational sector (business, labor, agriculture, church, public service organizations, etc.) played in establishing citizenship indices?

13. How could the findings of this study be best presented for review and revision to persons knowledgeable about, working in, and/or responsible for key decision-making in the field of civic education?
14. How could the collection of civic educational data for index development be improved in the future?

These were the major questions which guided the procedures used in this study of civic education in the contemporary United States. We collected much of the available information on each of the principal topics mentioned in the fourteen queries above. We also examined all available national goals/indices statements which have been published recently. These goals/indices were produced by organizations such as the NCSS (National Council for the Social Studies, 1951 and 1967); the United States National Assessments of Social Studies (1971-72 and 1972-73) and Citizenship (1966-67, 1969-70, and 1974-75); the IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 1967-71); U. S. National and International IEA Civic Education Committees (1965-71), as well as other nationally recognized organizations working in this field, such as the Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia (1955), the American Society of School Administrators (1954), Educational Policies Commission (1958), Russell Sage Foundation (1967); and the important statements from the NCSS task force on Social Studies Curriculum Guidelines (1971), Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education of the American Political Science Association (1971), and the Committee of Citizenship Education of the Council of Chief State School Officers (1976).

Out of necessity, we examined social studies methods textbooks, goals statements, a variety of state and local curriculum guides, and civic education tests and textbooks produced for students. We also reviewed innovative

materials from the "new" social studies in areas such as ethical and moral education, law-related and family education, multi-cultural education, political behavior/participant education, global education, and intra- or inter-disciplinary courses in economics, sociology, geography, and history. System-wide innovations (e.g., in Greater Cleveland, Ohio) as well as technique, approach, or methodological considerations (e.g., Oliver and Shaver's public issues format) were surveyed as well.

Throughout this approach to a definition of civic education, we used a six-stage process of taxonomic classification and analysis, namely:

1. Identified specific and general statements of operative goals of civic education for the pre-1966 generation, the status of civic education in two baseline years (1966 and 1976), and projected trends for the post-1976 era. Goals statements, traditional curricula, textbooks, and innovative curricula provided the primary inputs for this stage.
2. Once the principal past, present, and future objectives of civic education were identified, we classified each according to content and domain. Our conception of content refers to the general substantive areas deemed appropriate for elementary and secondary students such as patriotism, loyalty, constitutionalism, and the like. Domain refers to particular knowledges, skills, attitudes, and behaviors (such as recall of facts or ability to analyze political problems).
3. After the identification and classification of major objectives by content and domain were accomplished, document content was further analyzed with respect to the emphasis given to goals, content, and domain. This procedure resulted in the production of two taxonomies/master grids for two points in time, 1966 and 1976, accompanied by

summary statements of the pre-1966 and post-1976 periods in the initial and final segments of the report. The major points of focus for this study, however, were on the period 1966 to 1976 and where we find ourselves today in citizen education.

4. An analysis of the "new" social studies courses or programs was also conducted in terms of their goals and indices, through construction of a separate synthesis/taxonomy of law-related curricula, world order curricula, political behavior curricula, anthropology curricula, and other novel alternatives.
5. Where possible, we have also paid some incidental attention to certain key age levels (9-10 year olds, 13-14 year olds, 17-18 year olds, and young adults) as well as to individual or shared responsibility for achievement of these goals by other agents of socialization such as key individuals, groups, systems, or organizations. (However, our information on these informal agents is necessarily sparse and not as fully developed as had been hoped for at the start of this project.)
6. With all of the above in hand, we prepared this summary report of the recent past, present, and probably future state of citizen education. This process, when tied to other information being produced by civic educators, the USOE, and others will allow for somewhat separate and independent approaches to the same desideratum, namely, a national index of civic education for the relatively recent past, present, and future.

At this juncture I would also like to take this opportunity to thank my co-authors for their helpful review of the manuscript and their cross validation of the taxonomic material at various stages. Each taxonomy was produced by at

least two of the four investigators in order to ensure a measure of reliability.) Additionally the helpful assistance of Mrs. Jean Barnard of Madison College, Ms. Mary Ann McGraw Hardy and Ms. Christa Sigrid Sholtz of Harrisonburg in the preparation of the taxonomies and in editing the manuscript is also acknowledged. The special case study on voluntary community organizations was also prepared with the help of Mrs. Rosemary Travers of the Central Shenandoah Planning District Commission of Staunton, Virginia. And this massive typing project, with its numberless corrections, additions, and last minute improvements was cheerfully undertaken by Mrs. Phyllis Price of Mt. Crawford, Virginia--to whom a debt of gratitude is also owed by the authors. We four in general, and I in particular, assume the sole responsibility for any errors or omissions in the report itself. These exist, no doubt, but are the inevitable product of oversight rather than any deliberate intent to confuse or frustrate our readers. We hope we are forgiven for the major errors and that the minor errors will be tolerated given the enormity of the task itself.

A special debt of thanks is also due to Mr. Logan Sallada, Policy Adviser to the Commissioner, and Mr. George Lowe, Citizen Education Staff Director, for their leadership, foresight, and encouragement in producing these indices of political education. The careful review and perceptive comments of Ms. Elizabeth Farquhar have been especially helpful in making this report more meaningful and readable for the interested lay person or recently initiated civic educator who may someday come upon it.

Russell F. Farnen
Saratoga Springs, NY
August 1978

I. INTRODUCTION

The first chapter of this report provides some background on citizen education goals and indices, discusses the need for a comprehensive index of Citizen Education today, and describes the end product of this effort, namely, a comprehensive index of citizen education in the United States for the last decade.

A. Background of Citizen Education Goals and Indices

Civic education goals are directions for action on the part of individuals, teachers, political decision makers and others concerned with the basic knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors associated with the effective utilization of one's rights and responsibilities in a democratic society. Such goals have been an integral part of American society and have been expressed in numerous formal and informal statements throughout our national history.

There have been diverse models for the "good" citizen which have been accepted at various times in our Republic. For most of our history the religious, the historical, and the departmental-hygenic approaches have dominated the national scene both for educational objectives and in public pronouncements. However, a fourth type of goal--the realistic approach--has also been an undercurrent throughout our experience as a nation. This approach, with a broadening constituency today and for the last forty years, perhaps owes its existence to writings of our Founding Fathers in practical politics which, though steeped in the Classics and Lockean philosophy, were pragmatic statements of political life, and philosophy. At times it has had a rival in the fifth tradition

of American civic education: the legal/structural/institutional mode, which has as its hallmark devotion to the federal Constitution which has become a peculiarly American characteristic.

From the end of the nineteenth century to the present, goals for citizenship in the United States have been grouped under various all-encompassing topic headings such as civic government, political economy, community civics, or "the science of citizenship." These goals defined "good" citizens, outlined their concerns, listed the basic knowledge they needed, and suggested appropriate behaviors. During the twentieth century different goals appeared, disappeared, and reappeared--phasing from emphasis on the development of political sophistication to skill in propaganda analysis and on the promotion of basic democratic values to encouragement of behaviorism and empiricism through a study of the social sciences.

Despite this disagreement over goals, the prevailing pattern of civic education in the United States was set more than forty years ago on the basis of a report issued some twenty years before that. The pattern included social studies in the elementary grades based on the "expanding communities" theme (home, family, school, community, state, region, nation, world) and a smattering of geography, three cycles of American History (grades five, eight, and eleven), civics in grade nine, World History in grade ten, and Contemporary Problems, American Government, or International Relations in the twelfth grade, with other social studies courses or electives squeezed into gaps in the already over-crowded and near-bursting curriculum.

During the last fifty years textbook and curriculum writers, test-makers, and others also became interested in identifying the nature of the New Leviathan called "education for citizenship." Dozens of surveys of citizens' civic orientations were conducted by publishers, educational testing organizations, national committees, new social studies reformers, as well as by parent groups, school boards, government bureaucrats, and commissions at the local, state, and national levels. Since the new deal sub-fields of a new criticism in civic education arose, with critics battling over such controversial questions as: Should we teach moral and spiritual values in the schools? What about free enterprise (good) or communism (bad)? Should we strive for appropriate levels of critical thinking? Is war-peace-conflict resolution a legitimate classroom concern? Can any crucial issue be taught in a course per se? More recently textbook writers and test-makers came in for criticism, too, either because they expressed the "wrong," or the "old," or the "new" goals of citizenship or because they either were not "with it" (the "it" being the "new" social studies) or were impediments to needed changes.

New themes have also emerged since the 1930s, such as relevance and realism, practicality, peace-keeping and political power, behaviorism and ethical behavior, or ethnicity and equality. A host of goals (many of them resurrected) were presented by devotees of educational globalism, consumerism, legalism, activism, pluralism, and moralism. But their foes in turn espoused educational conservatism, historicism, fundamentalism, spiritualism, provincialism, patriotism, nativism, republicanism, or some other nascent American "ism" waiting for its new day in the sun.

The controversies continue today, leaving "citizenship education" in a state which is amorphous and confused, if not chaotic. The time for definition is surely at hand.

B. The Need for a Comprehensive Index of Citizen Education in 1976-77

This brief, synoptic history of American civic education provides essential background for the task of synthesizing a definition (or series of definitions) of citizen education. A new effort to bring order out of the chaos of contemporary civics seems thoroughly justified. Particularly, any national effort to clarify the future goals and approaches of citizenship education must take into account the previous attempts to solve riddles posed by the Sphinx of Citizenship, as well as current efforts to ascertain the status of contemporary citizen education, which some observers believe to be in a crisis mode.

Some of the recent efforts to assess the structure, scope, underlying philosophies, and methods of citizenship today are discussed more fully in Chapter V, below, of this report. Let us simply mention here that each of these previous attempts had a special or partial view and a particular purpose in mind. When critics assailed contemporary civic education as being too idealistic, unrealistic, or redundant, they often did so with a view to substituting a realistic, empirical, behavioral, or disciplinary focus on the field through the adoption of a newly created curriculum.

With this said, we may more properly approach the task at hand--an examination of recent attempts and the creation of a new model of the goals of citizen education. The stakes in the game are high, indeed,

in that a nationally-derived index (if "objective" and empirically based on content analyses techniques), could be a powerful document for assessing where we have been, where we are and where we want to take ourselves with the help of the educational system of our democratic republic.

C. The Product - A Comprehensive Citizen Education Index

The primary product produced through this report is a survey and tabular depiction of civic education indices for the 1960s and 1970s with an accompanying narrative. This document may be useful for a variety of purposes such as test construction, textbook writing, curriculum and course revision, and educational planning in general.

Specifically and briefly, this research enterprise has produced the following products:

1. A survey of present indices of civic education expressed in qualitative and quantitative terms.
2. A selection of the most valid and reliable current indices in qualitative and quantitative terms.
3. Two grids (based on independent content analyses of documents) reflecting the mainstream of civic education as of 1966 and 1976.
4. A synthesis and grid (based on content analyses of documents) of innovative "new social studies" and civic education projects.
5. A brief survey and summary of informal indices for civic education (labor, business, agricultural and public service organizations).
6. A statement on probable future directions of civic education, and on ways in which civic-education-index development can be applied and improved in the future.

Throughout this project the focus has been on where we are now and where we are going, rather than merely on past achievements, however lacking or meritorious they might have been. We have also, whenever possible, identified key age levels; key content, ability, experience, behavior, and valuative areas; and key sector responsibility ascriptions for citizen education. These indices of civic education are as contemporary and complete as our available time and resources have allowed.

Since part of the problem is the lack of a comprehensive statement of where we have been, where we are, and where we are going in the field of civic education, there is little wonder about the paucity of agreement on common goals, techniques, and materials to meet different students' needs in the schools of the United States. Responsibilities for such a curriculum, as well as the propriety of different materials for different age and ability levels of students, are as yet undefined. Civic educators have different goals, priorities, and agenda and the current state of citizen education reflects this pluralism as a mirror image. This index may help to map out the principal elements of the terrain of civic education for teachers, authors, publishers, evaluators, and educational decision-makers at several educational levels. It is an educational product which has been developed in a practical and systematic fashion for use in the reformulation of civic education at the present and in the future.

II. A BRIEF SURVEY OF CIVIC/POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

This chapter reviews past and present practices in civic education, as well as periodic reforms of this subject over the years. Civic education in the United States is comprised of separate courses of study, such as ninth grade civics and twelfth grade American Government or Problems of Democracy, and is also a topic for continual emphasis in other social studies offerings, such as American or World History or "new social studies" programs in political behavior, decision-making, environmental studies, and the like.

The large extent to which civic education is a part of all social studies offerings in the United States is but one example of the high priority which we place on the value of political participation by citizens, in addition to their civic involvement. Indeed, we are so involved politically in our civic culture that we often fail to recognize the extent to which we commit instructional time, teacher training, and other costly resources to the achievement of this major societal goal. Consequently, we have tried in this short treatment to identify our traditional national concern with civic education over the nearly 200 years of the Republic--changes which have occurred in emphasis, current practices in the field, and a partial view of present trends from the perspective of the late 1970s. What the future will actually hold for us is anybody's guess; but that is a subject for the last chapter in this report.

In Chapter II we shall treat the following topics: political education in the schools; a short history of political education; a summary of state curriculum requirements and laws; the typical pattern of political education courses; different perspectives on civic education; contemporary changes and challenges; prospects for political education; and some recent research and proposals regarding political education and democracy.

A. Political Education in the Schools - An Introduction

Americans have been increasingly concerned over the years with the diminution of trust and support for their national, state and local political systems, as well as with the degree of political cynicism and alienation which exists among the polity. In recent years, crises such as the Vietnam war and Watergate scandals have severely limited the degree of legitimacy which the citizenry was willing to accord to different regimes and even to the political system/process itself.

During the 1970s it became increasingly apparent that a crisis in citizenship trust and support was occurring. This "crisis" has implications for citizen education; but the loss of public confidence cannot be blamed on inadequacies in political education alone. As a matter of fact civic education may actually be responsible for increasing trust among adolescents whose levels of governmental support are usually higher than among most other adult groups.

As a result of national surveys of the American electorate from 1958 to 1972, a University of Michigan research team concluded that the electorate in general, and young and black voters, in particular, were becoming estranged from the federal government. From 1958 to 1968, both blacks and youth were as high or higher in their level of support for the national government as were older citizens (Institute for Social Research, Newsletter, 1973, 4-5). Yet, in 1972 both of these groups were significantly lower in their support levels than had been the case fourteen years before. The traditional pattern had been one of high initial trust among youth, with their trust eroding steadily as they grew older and reaching its lowest level only after age 60. In 1972, on the other

hand, cynicism and alienation among blacks and youth approached the highest levels observed in recent years and almost certainly contributed to markedly lower levels of political participation as measured by low voter turnout. Voters have since begun to turn away from political parties and to become more estranged, disinterested, and prone to social conflict and political realignment. Indeed, this phenomenon is expected to have long-term consequences for the stability of the American political system.

Other recent studies of cynicism and trust among youth have corroborated these national survey research data. For example, the Massachusetts State Assessment Study of Citizenship and Social Studies in 1975-1976 (Massachusetts Department of Education, 1976, 22-28) found considerable evidence of low trust/high cynicism among a statewide sample of seventeen-year-old students in the Commonwealth. Over two-thirds of the respondents thought "quite a few" of the "people running the government are a little crooked" and that the government wastes "a lot of money." About half believed that they could "trust the government in Washington" just "some" or "little" of the time, and that the people running the government are "smart people who usually know what they are doing" ("all," 39%; "some," 56%; "almost none," 5%). Forty-five percent of these high school seniors decided that the government is run "for a few big interests" rather than "for the benefit of all the people."

One curious sidelight to the cynicism dimension is that respondents in the Massachusetts State Assessment were also scored across the other social studies and citizenship objectives; that is, seventeen-year-old students with high and low trust scores were also charted on their being

above or below average on nine other social studies and eight other citizenship objectives. The findings were mixed. The very trustful respondents, who believed that "hardly any" people running the government are "a little crooked," performed poorly across the test. In contrast to these perhaps less sensitive, unengaged, or oblivious students, those who chose "quite a few" in response to the same question consistently performed above average. Their level of cynicism also correlated positively with high performance. On questions dealing with government waste and the rectitude of people in Washington, the more trustful and supportive students scored higher on the other citizenship and social studies objectives and achievement test questions than did their less trustful colleagues. Those indicating that the government is run for the benefit of "a few big interests," however, consistently scored well above their optimistic fellows who believed that it was run "for the benefit of all the people" (Massachusetts Educational Assessment, "Citizenship and Social Studies," 1975-1976, 25-28).

These examples are just two among many which show that all is not right with the prevailing political system in the United States. The dire predictions that political participation in the 1976 elections would drop to the low limits of 1948 or even below their lowest point for this century (in 1920) did not come true, in that some 55% of the electorate voted. However, the fact that this turn-out is among the lowest in the Western democratic nations (such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, West Germany, England, Italy, and Scandinavia) did not go unnoticed as contrasted with more active types of participation.

Furthermore, merely by voting (seventy million eligible voters in the United States did not vote in 1976), one does not necessarily forego one's low faith or confidence in the system. For example, between 1969 and 1972 the National Assessments of Citizenship and Social Studies (National Assessment, 1970-73) found that many Americans (particularly those from inner-city, rural, black, and low-educational-level families) felt helpless to influence government officials on policies which directly affect their lives. While most seventeen-year-olds and adults knew how they might effectively influence their government, few actually tried to do so. Moreover, these general attitudes of powerlessness and distrust increased during the period 1965-1973 to the point that about half of all parents and children queried in a survey registered trust in the national government, but fewer than one-third had indicated any faith or confidence in local governments (Jennings and Niemi, 1974 and 1975).

We have mentioned international war and national scandals as possible sources of discontent and powerlessness among children, youth, and adults, other sources are the media; the accelerated socialization process, whereby youth take on traditional older attitudes at an earlier age; the waning influence of religion and the family; the increasing influence of peers; and inflation or high unemployment. Major responsibility for these trends must be shared with yet another social institution, however--one whose primary mission has been to supervise the orderly political socialization of our youth. The American school system, while not the villain in this drama, has surely played a major role in socializing past generations of citizens to exercise their political rights and responsibilities; but just as surely, the system is not doing the same job today. The fault may actually lie in the fact that the complexity

of other socialization forces in America today has so modified the role of the school which may actually be doing a better job today than it has done previously!

The primary aim of political education in the United States today, as in the past, is to maintain citizen support for the American political system (Ziegler, 1970). As the prominent political scientist V. O. Key said some years ago, "All national educational systems indoctrinate the oncoming generation with the basic outlooks and values of the political order" (Key, 1963, 316). This aim has been variously described as "training in moral and spiritual values," "character building," and other phrases which amount to acceptance of "effective and responsible citizenship" for eventual and full membership in the American participant democracy.

Looking back to the nineteenth century, for example, citizenship training in the United States followed the European model by stressing a classical approach, including the study of ancient and European history and rhetoric (logic, argumentation, language). This system was designed to put students who would become voters at age twenty-one in a proper frame of mind to assume their full responsibilities as citizens. Such training was primarily designed to promote loyalty to the United States political system and a sense of legitimacy for that system. Inculcation of patriotism seemed especially necessary in a fast-growing nation which was becoming increasingly comprised of relatively recent immigrants from the Southern and Eastern European peasantry with their diverse national, racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Significantly, the basic framework of this nineteenth-century educational rubrick had been decided

by the dominant ethnic group of the time--white, Anglo-Saxon, Northern and Western European/Americans of 100 or more years of family residence--the political elite.

Despite its increasing irrelevance owing to mass information diffusion through expanded communications systems, the continued use of this nineteenth-century, historical method of study in political education is still often followed today. Alternatively, widespread and formal training in the then "new" civics, government, and politics primarily dates from the early 1900s. Courses in community civics, local government, American government and the like were formally adopted only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Other political science courses in problems of democracy, international relations, and advanced civics were the product of the 1930s and the decade following the heyday of "progressive education." At present, many students' formal instruction in politics and government occurs in their American history courses, which are traditionally and typically offered in the 5th, 8th and 11th grades in public schools. Supporting efforts also occur in the fairly usual 9th grade community civics course and the 12th grade American government, international relations, and/or problems course.

The 9th grade civics course had been designed to meet the needs of first-generation American students who would not likely finish secondary school because of the drop-out problem of an earlier era--one which required industrial labor by as many of the extended family as was possible, especially the male offspring. Nevertheless, the course still exists in our day as a vestigial remnant of a former era. Then the states could not afford, and had not yet decided, that the average student should

have a minimum of ten years of formal public schooling to the age of sixteen. Consequently, community civics, with its emphasis on local and state governmental institutions, continues to be the first formal introduction to political science which the typical junior high school student of government receives. Current course syllabi, textbooks, and curricula for this increasingly less popular subject often stress the institutional/formal/organizational approach to civics, despite mounting evidence that the student of this age is interested in other political inputs, such as public problems (e.g., environmental pollution), state, national, and international political figures; ideological constructs; the "democratic personality" including individualization and identity; and other facets of this self-discovery period of puberty and adolescence (R. Jones, 1968, 130-131). In sum, the traditional ninth grade civics format contributes to the inhibition of course modernization and experimentation at that level where it may be even more needed than at the later years of secondary school.

B. Retrospect - A Short History of Political Education

The teaching and study of politics and government has long been a common concern of mankind. The Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, in the 5th century B. C., inaugurated such studies in the Republic and the Politics, respectively. They created the image of the involved, informed, rational citizen who took political and social life as his own and acted accordingly. As Thucydides, the Greek historian, reported in "The Funeral Oration of Pericles," (439 B. C.):

...The same citizens among us will be found devoted to their homes and to the state, and others who are immersed in business have no mean knowledge of politics. We are the only people to regard the man who takes no interest in politics not as careless, but as useless. In one and the same citizen body we either decide matters, or seek to form correct opinions about them, and we do not regard words as incompatible with deeds, but rather the refusal to learn by discussion before advancing to the necessary action. We are preeminent in this, that we combine in the same citizen body great courage to undertake, and ample discussion of our undertakings: whereas in other men, it is ignorance that gives boldness, and discussion that produces hesitation. Surely they will rightly be judged the bravest souls who most clearly distinguish the pains and pleasures of life, and [yet] do not avoid danger.

The Greek model of the rational, informed, and active citizen is widely held in many contemporary democracies, including the United States. Recent survey research findings in the U. S. and other nations have qualified this image of the democratic citizen. For instance, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba said in their cross national study of five nations (Italy, Germany, the U. S., England, and Mexico):

...If one holds to the view that theories of politics should be drawn from the realities of political life [the Aristotlean Machiavellian, and Eastonian view, for instance]--a somewhat easier and probably more useful task--then this explanation of the gap between the rationality-activist model and the democratic realities is less acceptable. From the latter point of view, one would probably argue that the gap exists because the standards have been set unreasonably high. Given the complexity of political affairs, given the other demands made upon an individual's time, and given the difficulty of obtaining information necessary for making rational political decisions, it is no wonder that the ordinary citizen is not the ideal citizen. In the light of the individual's non-political interests, it might be quite [rational not] to invest in political activity the time and effort needed to live up to the rationality-activist model. It may just not be worth it to be that good a citizen. (Almond and Verba, 1963, 340)

Since the time of the Greek and Roman republics, material on "public instruction in civic education has had a varied history. Thirteenth century religious models for "good" citizenship were formulated by

scholastic philosopher, Thomas Aquinas, as they had been previously by St. Augustine and such members of the Roman elite as Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic. But these are to be contrasted with Nicollo Machiavelli's approach to political reality in the Prince (1513), which followed the Aristotelian model and was designed to treat the world as it is rather than as it should be. Machiavelli divorced politics from ethics and introduced the science of statecraft to would-be successful political rulers. Another tradition, which harks back to Athens and which can be termed classical or departmental, developed in the 16th century. Baldassare Castiglione's Book of the Courtier (1527) (stressing manners and "well rounded" development) and, later in the century, Polonius' advice to his son Laertes (in William Shakespeare's Hamlet) are classic and departmental expressions of instruction in civic education and "good" citizenship. Thus, four approaches to political instruction existed in the late middle ages and the early period of the nation-states: the religious, the realistic, the classical, and the departmental.

In the United States, the religious, classical, and departmental traditions have dominated civic instruction. Yet the realistic or "practical politics" viewpoint (à la Aristotle and Machiavelli) gained a small following in the formative years of the republic. We see evidence of this in the Federalist papers written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay (the classical realists of the Constitutional period) during the struggle over ratification of the Constitution.

As Hamilton wrote in the Federalist: "The science of politics, like most other sciences, has received vast improvements." George Washington agreed with Hamilton, saying: "It is more necessary in a Republic than in any other form of government that young men should be instructed in the science of government."

True to these words, textbooks containing political information were published in the 1790s and early 1800s. However, they were propagandistic documents designed to combat the Democratic-Republican ideas advanced by Jefferson and his followers, as contrasted with the "less dangerous" Federalist teachings of Hamilton and John Adams. Such partisanship faded in the late 19th century and a sort of "constitution-worship" (still present) dominated the accepted texts and teachings. It seems that the liberal/structural/institutional format of instruction took a firm hold on the educational system at that time. This approach is extant today, as we said before.

The term "civics" first came into general use during the 1880s. It was then defined as "the 'science' of citizenship--the relation of man, the individual, to man in organized collections--the individual in his relation to the state." Between 1885 and 1900 some 25 new texts in civics (or civil government, as it was also called), were published for use in political education courses, then taught mainly in the 9th grade. Some few educators then began to realize that there was more to civil government or civics than the study of the Constitution, state laws, and local ordinances. This perception eventually led to a precedent-setting approach to educational reform during the next half century: curriculum revision by a committee (or commission) called by a national professional association. One of these, the Committee of Ten of the National Education Association (NEA), appointed in 1892, ran "conferences" to survey instruction in history, political economy, and civil government. The Committee mainly proposed a variety of historical studies for the "school government"

curriculum. It determined that "civil government," combined with the study of a "special period of history," was most appropriate for grade twelve in the public schools.

Between the 1892 and 1915 reports of these Committees, a new civics textbook appeared. In 1907, Arthur W. Dunn published his very successful text, The Community and the Citizen, which shifted the current emphasis from civil government to community living. (Dunn's text was popular both because it met the needs of the new civics course and it was the first of its kind.) He discussed the nature and meaning of community and community life, as well as those still relevant topics: family, Americanization, relations between land and people, conservation, health, protection of life and property, private business, business and government, transportation and communication, education, aesthetics, religion, and social welfare. He also covered local government, but somewhat de-emphasized state and national government, as well as governmental finances. In 1908, a report of the American Political Science Association (APSA) called for a "new civics," more in tune with the "Progressive Era," and suggested that the basic substance of this course be introduced earlier in the grade schools and taught in subsequent years by a more intensive method.

In 1915 and 1916 two separate reports on the teaching of community civics and government appeared. The first was prepared by a special NEA Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. The second was produced by the APSA (A Committee of Seven on Government Instruction in Schools, Colleges, and Universities). Both reports mentioned that the primary goal of social studies instruction, especially civics, was training in social effectiveness, i.e., "good" citizenship. The "good" citizen, these reports said, was the person who was concerned about individual and community welfare in vital areas such

as health, law, education, recreation, civic beauty, wealth, charity, communication, migration, and transportation. Not only was the "good" citizen supposed to have knowledge of community agencies which promoted such percepts, but he was also supposed to contribute to social action by advocating more pure food laws, schools, playgrounds, parks, factories, post offices, and railroads. A course in community civics was also recommended for students between the ages of 12 and 15, generally in the 9th grade, with an advanced civics course at the senior level serving as the capstone of social studies instruction in high school. It should be noted here that these reports assumed that the local community was most near and, therefore, most dear to the student of government. Yet the "civics" point of view--"good" national and community relations and the development of a community of interests--was supposed to be as equally applicable to the state and the nation as to the city and village--a questionable or at least arguable assumption today.

A 1916 APSA report on the teaching of government identified the need to develop "a close working relationship between social science teaching at the college and high school levels" and separated the teaching of government from history departments--in effect by making the subject of government a separate discipline. Another APSA report (1923) touted the role of political science as a contributor, with other social sciences, to the common attack on social problems through behavioral research. This report traced the development of political science up to 1850, detailing its use of a priori and deductive reasoning patterns; identified its reliance on the historical and comparative method from 1850-1900; and recognized the trend since 1900 to use the empirical methods some behavioral psychologists and social scientists of that day were trying to often use.

Other APSA reports on the subject appeared in 1930 and 1951. The first of these, a product of the New Deal years, suggested that a political education committee be established, that the discipline be integrated and reorganized in terms of basic concepts which could be taught, and that the student's imagination, interest, contemplation, and speculation be encouraged by political science teachers. During the Korean War period, the 1951 report, Goals for Political Science, summarized its findings from interviews and questionnaires and concluded that training for democratic citizenship was the primary goal of American political scientists. This committee sought to improve political education emphasizing political sophistication, the structure and dynamics of government, the attributes and values of democracy, and individual or collective action to preserve and develop democratic attitudes, knowledge, and behaviors. Two other attributes of model citizenship were also mentioned therein, namely, critical judgment and propaganda analysis. To achieve this end, the report called for a better liaison between high schools and colleges to fulfill this goal--the training of citizens in integrated political science and social science courses, civics courses, and area studies programs through the development of critical-thinking skills and through familiarity with American and foreign political institutions.

The previously cited 1915 and 1916 reports, and the development of new textual material to teach the functions of private and governmental agencies, helped to establish civics as the predominant ninth grade political education course for our era. (In the late 1800s and early 1900s it had been an optional course in most schools. Eventually civics replaced the ancient history course which had been recommended in 1899 by a committee of the American Historical Association (AHA). These reports

also directed attention to the study of the European or "world" community and to the study of economic, social and political problems of contemporary American democracy. At that time the ninth grade course was supposed to continue the work in community civics begun two grades earlier, while exposing fifteen-year-olds to the state, the nation, the world, and the economic/vocational aspects of civics. A problems course was proposed for the twelfth grade to develop intelligent and active citizens (the elite who then finished high school) capable of dealing with vital social problems which were of immediate interest to special students and to which the various new social sciences could contribute.

Thus we see that the prevailing pattern for contemporary civics (ninth), American History (eleventh), and twelfth-grade American government, problems, and international relations courses, was set over half a century ago. With the impetus of "progressive" education reforms of the 1930s, the problems course became a vehicle for teaching "good citizenship" through active participation, problem solving, cooperation in social projects, and so forth. Thus, the problems course took its place in the schools as one of the "big three" or "big four" of political history /government courses-- civics, American History, and American government or problems.

C. A Summary of Curriculum Requirements and Laws - State Statutes and Required Courses in Civics, Democracy, Politics and Government

The most universally taught topic in history and government courses in our high schools is the Constitution of the United States--as was true of the nineteenth-century civics curriculum in the United States. (Robert A. Taft Institute, 1963) Nearly all states require such instruction by law. The study of state constitutions, United States history (as well as

study of American national, state and local government), reverence for the flag, civics, patriotism, and the like, are common means by which state statutes not only encourage, but actually require some formal training in "democratic" citizenship. Many states also require instruction in patriotism, the Declaration of Independence, representative government, American institutions and ideals, and the duties, responsibilities and freedoms of citizenship (Sutton, 1976).

Additionally, a few states require courses in communism, elections, party politics, and even the Federalist Papers. Such statutes usually are broadly phrased, however, and require only that certain topical knowledge be taught. Rarely do school boards or state legislative mandates stipulate when a given course must be studied, the term of study, or if an examination in the subject must be passed prior to graduation from secondary school. State equivalency examinations in certain states (e.g. California, Maryland, and Oregon, for example) are also long on American history and the formal structures, institutions, and processes of government and short on critical thinking or inquiry processes, democratic values, or political behaviors--other than the procedures for and obligation to vote. A more detailed study of state legislative requirements and their bearing on what is taught and learned at the local level would be a valuable piece of information. Such a study is now underway through a cooperative effort of the American Bar Association and the Ford Foundation with results expected in the spring of 1977.

These state statutes and requirements shed some light upon, but do not entirely answer the question: what does political or citizenship education mean today? Citizenship in a democratic political system involves three facets of any civic culture, namely, concepts held by the body politic as to rights and responsibilities, an affective sense of identity with the national polity, and a grasp of the traditions, "style," or process of governing the country, (including skills for affecting the course of government), in which one lives at the local, state, and national levels. For instance, one's sense of political responsibility includes reasoned loyalty, respect for law observance, participation in law-making and changing the laws, the right to dissent, democratic inter-group relations, social responsibility for one's behavior, and a sense of altruism. Subversion, radicalism, law breaking, alienation, bigotry, reliance on social welfare, and selfishness are the polar extremes of these behaviors (Gibson, 1968). As Franklin Patterson succinctly puts the matter:

The most novel aspect of the idea of [democratic] citizenship is the assumption that every citizen has the right to be consulted on the conduct of the society and the duty of having something to contribute to the general consultation. This idea means that the citizen who has a right to be consulted is bound by the results of the consultation, and that his duties flow from his rights. Thus, the fabric of citizenship holds our society together, linking freedom with responsibility. (Patterson, 1964, 2)

This statement corresponds with the English observer of American politics, Denis F. Brogan's earlier definition of the term "citizenship" in his Citizenship Today, England, France, the United States, (1960).

The extreme emphasis on responsibility and social integration in certain definitions of citizenship may overlook the compelling forces only recently loose in our society which agree on one's rights, but which flout political

responsibility and herald civil disobedience, teacher and student strikes, and other more violent and sometimes extra-legal political behaviors. Sometimes more is needed to define the delicate balance between rights and responsibilities and the meaning of democratic citizenship in the United States today.

D. Some National Traditions - The Typical Pattern of Political Education Courses Offered in the Schools

American public schools devote much of their time as do those in the Soviet Union and many other industrially developed and developing nations, to the training of "good" citizens. Estimates of time spent in such instruction range upward to over fifty per cent of the entire elementary and secondary school educational experience. This fifty-per-cent figure is reached when one considers that much of the work in English, music, health, and even in the natural sciences has a strong nationalistic or citizenship component. This is true despite the fact that little agreement exists now (or ever has existed) as to the proper attributes of the universal "good," "responsible," or "effective" democratic citizen. Descriptions of such a person range from one who is rabidly patriotic to one who is reasonably loyal, from the avid nationalist to the mature cosmopolitan, from the mannered conformist to the creative individualist, and so on. Other definitions stress health, cleanliness, posture, and the attributes of the "good Scout." This homely and departmental approach to civics has been characterized as "milk and moralism" combined with "ashcan civics"--pick up the papers on the playground, do not talk in the school halls, and the like (Massialas, 1969, 54-55; Patterson, 1965).

Several studies also (see Chapter III) of prevailing curriculum patterns in the United States, illustrate the subject matter contexts in which "good" citizenship is taught. This information is detailed here in order that we will be able to perceive trends during the 1960s and 1970s. Throughout the United States, for grades 7-12, the most typical social studies offerings during the 1960s followed this pattern: Grade Seven - Selected Peoples and Nations, Geography, American History, Social Studies; Grade Eight - American History, Social Studies; Grade Nine - Civics, Occupational-Vocational Orientation, State History; Grade Ten - World History, Modern History; Grade Eleven - American History, Social Studies, Electives (e.g., Sociology and Economics); Grade Twelve - Contemporary Problems, American History, American Government, International Relations.

In elementary school, the "expanding communities" format was manifest, along with the fifth, eighth, and eleventh grade "American history" emphasis. In junior high school, the prevalent pattern was geography or social studies in the seventh grade, American history in the eighth grade, and civics in the ninth grade. World History was most common in the tenth, American history in the eleventh, and American government, problems; international relations, or history in the twelfth (see Table I).

Another social studies survey in 1962, based on returns from 281 secondary schools, reported that civics was most commonly required in the ninth grade and that, in the twelfth grade, American government was required twice as often as courses on political problems. The ninth grade civics course was still the most universally required political course (Moreland, 1962, 73-76).

TABLE I

Summary of Political Science Courses Offered in Public Schools in 1963, Grades 7-12

(Total number of schools in random sample: 388)

Courses	Number of Schools	Offered in Two Semesters (%)	Required for Graduation for All Students (%)	Most Frequently Offered at Grade
Civics	207	57%	74%	9th
American Government	188	41%	78%	12th
Problems of Democracy	90	64%	63%	12th

Source: Adapted from Anderson, 1964, 16.

In 130 large cities with over 100,000 population, course offerings also appear when comparing 1953 and 1962 data. In these cities, where most of America's students are found, the civics or government course was still required by almost half of the school systems. The twelfth grade "problems" course, on the other hand, had slightly declined in popularity. The reverse was true of world history, which had achieved the status of civics or government and second place in course popularity, behind American history but still ahead of the "problems" course (E. Jones, 1963, 17-18).

Two other surveys of social studies offerings in 1961 and 1964 are summarized below, in Tables II and III.

Table II illustrates that: (1) The largest attendance in high school government courses occurred in the last two years of secondary school, when advanced civics or American government were offered; (2) The second most popular government course offering was civics in grades 9 and 10; (3) The problems course was about half as popular as either of the preceding courses; and, (4) The civics course in the 7th and 8th grades and the international relations course in the final year brought up the rear. This table also shows that, in terms of full-year exposure, the civics course at grades 9-10 outdistanced the 11th-12th grade civics or government course, and the problems course, the 7th-8th grade civics course, and the international relations course in the terminal year. In terms of half-year courses, however, the 9th-10th grade civics course usually outdistanced the civics or government course in the last two years of high school, followed by problems, 7th-8th grade civics, and international relations.

Table III provides us with gross figures for civics, American government, and the 12th grade problems course--the three most typical political courses in the schools during the 1960's. Compared with Tables I and II, these courses actually had about the same total enrollments in 1964 as in 1960-61. It seems clear, however, that advanced civics or government was pulling further ahead of the problems course in terms of total student enrollment. Of all pupils in grades 9-12, about 18% were in a government or civics course in the school year 1960-61. The total of all students (junior and senior high) enrolled in all social studies courses that year was 80%. The traditional exposure to civics at

the ninth grade was still quite obvious. Ninth grade civics enrollments were then exceeded only by geography or United States History in grades 7-8, and by world or American history in grades 10 or 11.

TABLE II

Offerings and Enrollment in Political Science Courses by Subject in Grades 7-12 of Public Secondary Schools (1960-61)

Approximate total number of students enrolled in Public Junior and Senior high schools (1960): Grades 7-9: 8,900,000; Grades 10-12: 5,700,000

Subject Field	Total Number of Pupils Enrolled	Enrolled in Half-year Courses	Enrolled in Full-year Courses
Civics, Grades 7-8	54,598	32,555	21,943
Civics, Grades 9-10	732,609	163,313	569,296
Civics or Government, Grades 11-12	780,123	343,423	436,700
Problems of Democracy	380,448	95,053	285,395
International Relations	17,006	12,073	4,933

Source: Wright, 1965, 39-46.

TABLE III

Government Courses Offered in Secondary Schools for Grades 9-12 (1964)

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

Source: Moreland, 1965, 4-5.

One study conducted in 1965 used a national probability sample of 1,660 seniors in 97 public and private secondary schools and found that patterns of government course offerings by region, community size, and academic features actually differed from the results cited above (Jennings, 1966). For instance, American problems were emphasized in the Northeast, with much less emphasis placed upon the American government course in that region. Schools in the Midwest usually offered international and comparative politics courses, and the South and West stressed American government, rather than American problems or other political courses. Very large communities usually offered the American problems course, whereas schools in smaller communities offered the American government course and the international and comparative politics course as well. American government was usually more popular in public, as compared with private or parochial, schools.

Span of grades (9th-12th year, 10th-12th year, etc.) in the school did not seem to matter significantly in terms of social studies course offerings, nor did school size in the case of the American government course. A pattern emerged as to courses on American problems and international-relations (the course least offered): the larger the size of the senior class, the greater was the likelihood that one or both of these courses would be available. Students coming from secondary schools with high percentages of graduates bound for college or college-preparatory schools were typically exposed to American government courses. Schools with an accelerated curriculum were likely to offer the American government and problems courses, and about 20% of these also offered an international and comparative politics course.

An Educational Testing Service (ETS) study, reported in 1964, indicated that the percentage of schools teaching separate or combination courses in American government, civics, current affairs (including contemporary events and foreign or world affairs), and problems of democracy increased between 1958 and 1963 (Anderson, 1964, 12). This also held true for both public and parochial schools, but not for private independent schools. Sizeable percentage increases (from 3% to 11%) were noted in all four social studies courses discussed above, with the problems course showing the least overall gain and the current-events or contemporary-affairs course showing a very large gain in public schools. For instance, in 1963, 76% of the public schools taught current events in a combination course, whereas 58% taught American government, 62% taught civics, and 32% taught problems in separate courses. The Catholic and independent schools lagged far behind the public schools in political science offerings, with the exception of the problems course, which was taught as a separate course in nearly half of those independent schools.

In the 1970s the prevailing patterns for elementary and secondary school social studies, history, and government offerings were somewhat the same as a decade ago. However, significant modifications to the prevailing pattern are noted below in Chapter V. There we shall see that the traditional framework for junior high and secondary instruction in civic education has been greatly altered and much more variety exists. At the elementary level the "expanding communities" sequence still prevails but within an interdisciplinary and inquiry oriented framework of analysis. We shall also return to a more specific discussion of these trends at several later points in our analysis.

E. Different Perspectives on Civic Education - Current Political Education Practices in the Schools: Needs, Goals, Teaching Methods, and Strategies

The ETS study cited above, with its course topic breakdown, is still unique in the field. It may still be useful today for measuring achievement of specific objectives through evaluation instruments designed for curricular validity, a primary objective of many school measurement instruments. Table IV indicates that the structure of the three major political science courses in the mid-1960s (American government, civics, and problems of democracy) was mainly concerned with historical background, national government, state and local government, citizenship and political action, and problems dealing with economic, social, and international subjects. However, the relatively high incidence of such course topics as taxation, group guidance, and personal problems casts doubt on the accuracy of the breakdown. Were all of them in fact taught in over half of the courses offered? Such responses to a field questionnaire are suspect, especially (after even the most casual direct observations of actual classes) when one is aware of the avoidance of such topics in many schools.

Assuming that there are some inaccuracies in the ETS survey of topics taught in political science courses, we can review other indices of course content and teaching methods in order to obtain a more accurate perspective on just what was taught ten years ago and today. Using a simple frequency analysis of major subject areas found in representative statements of teaching goals, curriculum guides, government texts, and new or experimental curricula, in 1966-67 the following categories appeared most frequently. (See the Bibliographical Appendix (A-E) on Source Materials for the 1960s at the end of this report and Appendices I through III for a list of the sources consulted and for a frequency and rank order analysis of topics

TABLE IV
Political Science Course Topics Studied
for Two or More Weeks

Courses and Course Topics	Percentage of Schools Teaching Topics Two or More Weeks		
	Public	Catholic	Independent
<u>American Government (Sr. High)</u>			
Historical Background and Basic Concepts	90	88	94
National Government: Structure and Functions (Except Politics and Defense)	97	94	97
Foreign Policy and Defense	83	84	84
State and Local Government: Structure and Functions	93	89	85
Public Opinion, Pressure Groups, and Politics	82	92	81
Taxation	71	67	58
Number of Schools - 67			
<u>Civics</u>			
National Government	93	86	97
State Government	95	83	88
Local Government	92	78	82
Citizenship and Political Action	93	74	92
Group Guidance	58	47	52
Number of Schools - 67			
<u>Problems of Democracy</u>			
Personal Problems	76	71	59
Public Opinion, Pressure Groups, and Politics	84	90	91
Economic Problems	92	98	91
Social Problems	90	97	89
Foreign Relations	90	96	89
Number of Schools - 46			

Number in Sample - Public Schools: 388 (Grades 7-12); Catholic Schools: 248 (Grades 9-12); Independent (Private) Schools: 233 (Grades 7-12).
Source: Adapted from Anderson, 1964, 20.

studied in 9th grade civics and 12th grade American government and problems of democracy courses, including level of abstraction and curriculum depth.)

For the 1966-67 period the following content (grades 9-12) was taught:

1. Basic interests and values (e.g., toleration, reasoned patriotism, dignity and worth of the individual, social consciousness).
2. Basic political understandings (e.g., nature of politics, freedom versus license, equality of opportunity).
3. Respect for individualism (e.g., autonomy, compromise, pluralism).
4. Basic citizenship terminology and vocabulary (e.g., popular sovereignty, democracy, majority rule).
5. Critical thinking and judgment (e.g., problem solving, social scientific methods and attitudes, propaganda analysis).
6. Sociological and psychological factors (e.g., social change, roles, statuses, political power).
7. Group factors (e.g., group participation, civic action, rules of order).
8. The family (e.g., loyalty, functions as an economic and personal unit, recreation, and problem solving functions).
9. Social problem solving (e.g., racial, economic, and other problems-- solutions and evaluation of results).
10. Economic factors (e.g., economic efficiency, conservation, collective bargaining, consumership).
11. Foreign, international and intercultural problems (e.g., war and peace, realization of vital national interests, armaments).

Looking at the field in another way, we find that political education documents (texts, curriculum guides, goals statements, and experimental curricula), can be divided into certain sub-topics or special areas of emphasis. These are the domains of political knowledge, political sophistication, political values, and political activity or behavior. Table V shows that goals statements, curriculum guides, and textbooks in 1966-67 emphasized political knowledge, while experimental curricula emphasized political activity, skills, and behavior as well as politically sophisticated topics and political values. All four document surveys revealed a stress on group problems and group-problem-solving (yet textbooks seemed to be the most balanced of the four sources in terms of overall coverage of those topical, subject, and content areas deemed important by curriculum experts). On the one hand, it may be that state goals statements and local curriculum guides, written as they are by committees of teachers, have been capable only of the highest level of political abstraction. On the other hand, both experimental curricula and the newer textual material are prepared by fewer people who may be more adept at concretization and application of contents and theories to the realities of life and of the real needs and interests of students, as a result of questionnaires, surveys, and research results.

A Specific Illustration: The Case of Textbooks

The categories discussed above can be further subdivided in order to determine what is taught and when it is taught to students. For instance, ninth grade civics textbooks in the 1960s typically stressed the following topics: knowledge and understanding of the federal Constitution and the national government; citizenship; understanding the how and why of citizen participation; knowledge of personal and community needs and goals;

TABLE V

Results of Content Analysis of Civic Education Documents Illustrating 1966-67 Patterns

(Key: *** - Much Emphasis; ** - Some Emphasis; * - Little Emphasis)

Types of Documents	Political Knowledge	Political Sophistication	Political Values	Political Activity or Behavior
Goals Statements	Comprehension of Foundations and Basic Concepts of Government***, Constitutional Rights***, International Relations and Organizations* Political Processes and Institutions- A Legal Structural Approach***	Interpretive and Critical Thinking Skills* Problem Solving*	Receptive and Responsive to Patriotism, Loyalty, and Tolerance*** Appreciation of Group Problems*	"Good Citizenship" Voting, and Political Party Membership***
Curriculum Guides	Constitutional Rights***, Historical Background of Government***, International Relations*, Intercultural Studies* Legal, Structural, Institutional Approaches***	Class Discussion of Selected Public Problems*	Group and Social Problems*	Voting and Political Party Membership***
Experimental Curricula	Historical Background*	Stress on Political Conceptualization, Understanding, Analysis, and Synthesis*** Ability to Apply Political Theories to Public Problems*** Gaming and Simulation** Government and the Economy**	Evaluation of Responsible Citizenship: Interests and Values** Personal Rights and Liberties** Group Problems*	Skills in Applying How to Work in Practical Politics* Bargaining and Compromise*** Critical Thinking, Judgment and Problem Solving***
Textbooks	Responsible Citizenship*** Basic Concepts of Government*** Legal, Structural, Institutional Approach***	Government and the Economy* Comparative Government* Political Theory*	Basic Civic Values*** Group Problems*	Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving*

knowledge and understanding of government services and controls; governmental finances; and understanding the structure and function of state and local governmental institutions. National defense, international relations, and miscellaneous topics such as respect for the flag, becoming a citizen, and conducting meetings were emphasized to some degree. (See Appendix I)

Twelfth grade American government texts also stressed the following major topics: government and the economy; political processes; the presidency and the executive branch; Congress; foreign policy and national defense; state government; the federal judiciary, the law and the political process; foundations for the study of government and political science; the Constitution; territories, and the "old" and "new" federalism; local government; essentials of effective democratic and responsible citizenship, and personal rights and liberties. The first topic, government and the economy, was by far the most thoroughly and consistently covered. The second two ranked topics (political processes and the presidency) were not even close seconds. The other topics were about equally emphasized. Cognitive knowledge was stressed in all twenty-four topics, with political understanding of the topic being the primary objective. Mere recall or remembering was stressed in the following topics: government and the economy, state government, territories and federalism, and local government. Only in the case of foreign policy and national defense was stress placed on the higher-level ability to analyze. (See Appendix II)

In twelfth-grade problems-of-democracy texts (See Appendix III), the treatment of various major economic problems also received emphasis. Understanding and analysis were particularly stressed in these terms: "knowledge and

understanding of, opinions with regard to solutions, pursuit of information, and intelligent discussion of governments and major social problems. Other approaches receiving considerable emphasis were: "knowledge about, favoring use of, and skill in using clear and critical thinking and problem solving in a democratic political system;" and "knowledge and recall of information about the nation and world affairs--war and peace in the nuclear age" (remembering was also stressed in this last mentioned topic). Two other areas receiving some attention were: "knowledge and appreciation of the role of the citizen in a democracy" and "knowledge of problem solving skills relating to problems of living and working together in our society." Miscellaneous areas such as the following also received some mention: "recalling place locations on a political map of the world;" "knowing the goals of national life, the democratic heritage, and democratic values;" "practicing creative citizenship;" "knowledge and understanding of comparative political systems;" and "knowledge and understanding of public documents such as the federal Constitution, Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, and the U.N.O. Charter." The major emphasis of these problems texts was on points of view and values at issue in contemporary American problems as well as alternative solutions for solving public problems. Minor emphasis was placed on the probable consequences of using one method of solution as opposed to another. (See Appendices I through III for a detailed survey of these topics in civic education textbooks.)

Two comprehensive surveys (Shaver, 1965, and Cox and Massialas, 1967), among some one hundred secondary school government texts analyzed reported the following very critical findings concerning content and method in such courses:

1. Critical thinking skills were mainly taught through exhorting the student to use analytical skills, though no conceptual framework for such thinking was provided, nor was an intellectual scheme provided to weigh the relative merits of conflicting social values.

2. Statements about American democracy and the political party structure were extremely naive, unrealistic, and optimistic. They confused the ideals of democracy when compared with the reality of the political system as reported in the newspapers and other mass media.

3. Textbooks ignored many controversial social problems such as population control, crime, corruption, and racism. Prescription was confused with description and explanation, and America was treated as a superior, free, good, and rational nation in contrast to those other nations, which were either "second rate" or "aggressive" powers.

4. The historical development and legal structure of American government were stressed to the neglect of behavioral and socio-economic research findings which challenge the allegedly "rational" operation of the American political system. Fundamental laws, ideology, the Constitution, and the formalities of decision making were glorified, whereas the influence of social class, education, race, sex, peer group relations, etc., were either ignored or underplayed in most texts.

5. No theoretical framework, save the historical and comparative approach, was used to define actual governments, and political systems analysis was rarely mentioned. Themes, foci, organization, integration, and interrelationships were lacking in these "cookbook" texts.

6. Communism and socialism were attacked indirectly or directly in these texts; yet full discussions of other systems of government, as well as the results of crosscultural research, rarely appeared in such textbooks.

7. The inquiry or discovery method of teaching was rarely used by textbook authors. Detail and memory were stressed at the expense of the inquiry method, and words or phrases such as "hypotheses," "testing and evaluating data," "tentative conclusions," and "relationships among data" were rarely treated as concepts or taught as techniques.

Other research concerning textbooks on government reveals that the treatment of minority groups in these volumes tended to be incomplete, overly selective, or inaccurate. Though readable and attractive, these texts often sought detachment, objectivity, and neutrality when discussing the inequities of segregation, sexism, discrimination, or other limitations on our system of social and political democracy. A national market for a textbook seemed much to be preferred to a realistic civics course describing America as it was, warts and all.

Furthermore these texts frequently operated on the naïve, or at least unsubstantiated assumption, that students, if given no information or only partial information on controversial social issues, would develop or hold reasonable democratic values. Rare was the textbook that treated actual controversial issues and value conflicts in any way, but through presentation of selective and superabundant factual and descriptive material (the essential ingredient of most systems-maintaining texts).

In short, American nationalism was glorified; the treatment of controversial issues was inadequate; and the problem-solving, inquiry, or open-ended methods were neglected or misused by most of the high school government

texts in circulation during the 1960s. The almost addictive reliance by teachers and students on the textbook in a vast majority of secondary school political science courses in the 1960s (a phenomenon by no means dead today) meant that much of what was taught and learned in secondary school government courses placed a premium on memorization rather than analytical skills. Of course, supplementary teaching materials helped to redress this balance then as well as now.

Since there are few absolutes in civic education (barring the abnegation of the democratic process itself) we cannot say that these traditional textbooks were inherently inferior. What occurred, however, was an emphasis on American unity, consensus, positive values, and virtues during the Cold War years so that both history and reality became distorted in the process. Consequently a larger effort to redress the balance was needed to bring political studies back into a more balanced democratic focus.

Civic Education Patterns in the 1970s

A casual survey of citizenship education requirements distributed to state departments of education in 1976 (Sutton, 1976) revealed that these departments, boards, and legislatures did not have policies and/or regulations founded on comprehensive statements of citizenship education as a part of the total school curriculum. The coordinator of this non-scientific study called for a better definition of the "scope" of citizenship education-- a "reconceptualization" of the field, its goals in the schools, and "competencies" for citizenship in a "democratic framework." The results of this interesting, if non-rigorous, survey (to which thirty-nine state curriculum supervisors responded) are presented in Table VI.

TABLE VI

Citizenship Education: Summary of K-12
Statutory Requirements, Policy Statements,
and Administrative Policies of Fifty
State Departments of Education (1976)

	Yes	No	No Response
Statutory Requirements	34 (89%)	4 (11%)	12
Policy Statements	25 (64%)	14 (36%)	11
Administrative Policies	23 (62%)	14 (38%)	13

Twenty One Courses and/or Topics Studied K-12 (Rank Order):

Key Course or Topic	Number of States Recommending/Requiring
1) Responsibility/Citizenship Education	21
2) U. S. Constitution	17
3) U. S. Government	16
4) U. S. History	14
5) State Constitution	14
6) Patriotism/Americanism	11
7) State History	11
8) State Government	10
9) Civics	9
10) Legal/Law Related Education	7
11) Social Studies	7
12) Local History and Government	6
13) Moral/Ethical/Values Education	6
14) Other Political Education (other history, geography, field/community/ case studies, human relations, media, conservation, safety, etc.)	6
15) Mock Elections/Voter Education	5
16) Declaration of Independence	5
17) Free Enterprise/Economics	3
18) Principles of Democracy	2
19) Flag Education	2
20) Federalist Papers	2
21) Citizenship and Other Countries	1

Source: Produced from information in Sutton, 1976

In 1976, most states either recommended or required some form of citizenship education. Those requiring such instruction (thirty-four states), prescribed courses in citizenship, American government or history, civics, and/or state history and government (usually at the secondary level) as the major fields to be studied. As we can see from Table VI, the most frequently listed courses are those in citizenship education, state or American government or history, the state or United States Constitution, and patriotism or Americanism. Local history, government, or civics were also occasionally mentioned as areas of study.

Also of interest is the fact that moral, ethical, and legal education, as well as a variety of other types of courses or units (e.g. free enterprise, human relations, and voter education) are now making their appearance with greater frequency. This trend may show some of the influence of "new social studies" curriculum reforms. If so, these new courses are more popular than the old civics topics (e.g., flag education, the Federalist, etc.) and are about as numerous as the study of the Declaration of Independence.

The major point to be made is that most state statutes and policies requiring instruction in citizenship are vague and generalized in their references to the study of the privileges, responsibilities, and duties (and occasionally the rights and freedoms) of citizenship at the local, state, and/or national level. The consensus is to meet these requirements through courses in constitutions, history, government, or patriotism, or a general citizenship education emphasis throughout the school years. No clear pattern emerges from this study, however; and the general picture presented for civic education instruction in the 1960s still remains true today, with the exceptions noted above.

F. The Current Scene: Civic Education in Elementary and Secondary Education
The Elementary Level

In a later part (G) of this chapter we shall describe some of the "new social studies" courses or programs in use at the elementary level. These include units in anthropology (Bruner, MACOS), economics (Senesh), and law-related, intergroup relations (Gibson, Lincoln-Filene/Tufts), and citizenship decision-making (Merston Center/Ohio State). New stress on certain aspects of the traditional curriculum (e.g., vocational, work, and occupational studies) has also been observed. We shall return to this subject in Chapter IV below. However, it is appropriate at this point to conclude that trends and patterns of studying social studies in the elementary school have changed little in the past ten years. Schools continue to teach, for the most part, communities in the 4th grade, U. S. history in the 5th grade, and World History in the 6th. The cycle is then repeated; that is, U. S. history is usually taught again in the 8th grade.

The most significant change in the curriculum has resulted from the materials written to be used by elementary school children. Much of the new material is organized from a conceptual framework. The principal concepts from each of the disciplines of the social studies are identified and used as a structure upon which to build the content provided in the material. Each concept is used in such a way as to provide learning experiences for an increasing level of academic ability as the child progresses through the material.

The increased use of objectives written in measurable terms has also provided teachers with a clearer picture of what their students should learn from their study of the materials, as well as procedures for determining if those objectives have been met. As a result of teachers' use of materials constructed in this manner, more direction has been provided in what should be learned and what has actually been learned. Therefore, the change in elementary education over the past ten years has not been so much in the area of

changing course content, but rather in the organization of the materials and methods used to teach social studies courses or topics.

The Secondary Level

Three more recent surveys of civic education practices in the secondary schools bring us into the 1970's with respect to course offerings, subjects and topics studied, and teacher practices in the field. These are one ETS Survey of College Board Candidates and two studies of civic education "inputs" in conjunction with the I.E.A. civic education research project. The ETS Survey (Kimball, 1969) found that social studies offerings had remained fairly constant for at least the last ten years and that little evidence of the "new social studies" was discernible. This study of over 1,000 college-bound students (juniors and seniors and an elite group, to be sure) in 1965-1966 revealed the following patterns:

A. About one-fifth of the students had taken a civics, citizenship, or constitution course in grade nine for one or two semesters.

B. The same number of seniors had taken American government in grade twelve for one or two semesters (usually one).

C. About half of the seniors had taken Problems of democracy or social problems in grade twelve for at least one or two semesters (usually one).

D. More than three-fourths of the juniors and seniors had taken American or U. S. history in grade eleven for one or two semesters (usually two).

E. More than one-third of the juniors and seniors had studied world history in grades nine or ten (usually ten) for one or two semesters (usually two).

F. About fifteen percent of juniors and seniors had taken a geography (economic, commercial, or world) course in grade nine for one or two semesters (usually one).

G. Some fifteen percent of juniors and seniors had taken an economics course for one or two semesters (usually two) in grade twelve.

H. Only some three percent had studied an international or foreign relations or political science course for one or two semesters. A mere one percent had studied comparative government.

This study also revealed that the problems course was taught most frequently in public and parochial (particularly Roman Catholic) schools and more in the South, Midwest, and Farwest than in the Northeast. In terms of topics studied in this course the following breakdown was made: Democracy and Dictatorships - 85%; Communism - 82%; U. S. Government and Foreign Policy - 77%; Agriculture - 57%; Conservation - 55%; Teen Age Problems - 47%; Family Problems - 45%; Health - 37%; and Choosing a Vocation - 36%. Thus we can conclude with these researchers that the patterns of course offerings remained the same for at least the twenty-five preceeding years with little direct evidence of any innovation.

One of the I.E.A. surveys (Passow, et al., 1976), on the basis of an "experts" questionnaire completed in 1971, described civic education courses in the United States as follows:

A. History as a separate subject was taught some five hours per week at ages seventeen to nineteen.

B. Civic education as a separate subject was taught for about five hours per week at ages seventeen to nineteen.

C. Social studies was taught from one to five hours per week at age ten and about five hours per week at age fourteen.

D. Related areas (social psychology or anthropology) were taught for one hour per day at ages seventeen to nineteen.

This study of civic education "inputs" sampled only three key age groups (10, 14, and 17-19 years) in the schools and thus is lacking in its description of the totality of the average students' exposure to civic education in the schools. The second IEA report (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975) somewhat compensates for this deficiency in that three age cohorts are studied but descriptions of the entire curriculum are provided and students were asked about actual exposure to civic education course. The following findings were reported in the latter study from a national sample of schools regarding civic education in the United States as of 1971:

A. Eighty-seven percent of fourteen and ninety-one percent of seventeen to nineteen year olds indicated they were currently enrolled in a civics, social studies, history, or current events course.

B. On a scale of 1-5 (never to always) students (14 and 17-19 year olds) indicated that they liked such classes at the lowest relative (i.e. cross national) level (3.0-3.1). Students in all of the other nations reported greater interest in civic education courses.

C. Both of these same age levels also reported that there was much stress on factual learning (3.4) in such classes.

D. When asked the degree to which civic education encouraged students' independent expression in class, however, students in the United States indicated above average encouragement at age fourteen and the same level (but only average there) at the older ages.

E. Students were also asked to identify the extent of their agreement with their father's, mother's, friends's, and civics teacher's political opinions. Agreement and disagreement levels were fairly consistent across both age groups with respect to all four socialization agents (e.g. about 40%-50% of both age groups indicated agreeing "a lot" or "a little" with all four and disagreement levels were only 10%-11%).

The general description of America's civic education teachers may also be of some use to us in assessing the status of the field today. Over half of those teaching civic education classified themselves as specialists in the field, with more than half a year of graduate studies. Most had taught fewer than twenty years, prepared about eight hours per week for teaching, and had about ten pre-service semester hours and seven in-service weeks of training in the social sciences. Although less than twenty percent belonged to professional/subject matter associations, between thirty-nine and fifty-three percent indicated recent participation in a curriculum reform project.

Teacher practices, instructional materials and techniques, evaluation methods and perceptions of the importance or propriety of teaching certain topics are also of some interest. Some three-fourths or more indicated regular use of questioning and discussion; about half used textbooks and audio visuals regularly; some one-quarter used small groups, lectures, student reports, and individual conferences; and about ten percent used individual material, field trips, or printed drill materials. The teacher-made objective test was the most popular (54-69%) evaluation method followed by teacher-made essays (48-55%), performance on homework (40-44%), term papers (37-42%), and standardized tests (10-12%).

Only about half of the civic education teachers at both levels reported that topics such as the ideology of political parties, U. S. political history, or "non-Western" cultures were important to the general education of students in grades 7-12. However, from 68%-91% at both age

levels said the study of political activities and figures, political functions and constitutions, local government and social services, the ideology of democracy, American social problems (e.g. race or crime), and international problems (e.g. overpopulation) were important for a junior and senior high general education program. More interesting, perhaps, are the teachers' reports of the appropriateness of certain behaviors. Less than a majority (i.e. between 22% and 48% of teachers of fourteen and seventeen to nineteen year olds) thought it proper for a teacher to explain reasons for preferring one party over another in a national election, to speak out in favor of nationalizing an industry, to speak favorably or distribute literature about Marxism, to argue for further governmental regulation or control of labor unions, or to speak out against the government. Well over half (from 60%-91% for the following items) would allow atheists to express their views before a class, argue against censorship, speak out against fascist, objectionable, or unpopular political groups, endorse the economic and political union of Europe, allow the distribution of free enterprise literature (prepared by banks, stock exchanges, or the Chamber of Commerce), and speak out against racial discrimination. (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975, 67-86)

From these and our own surveys of civic education we can draw several conclusions about the field as of 1971.

1. By 1971, civic education had not varied much in the past ten or even thirty-five years.
2. Civic education materials are taught so extensively throughout the school system and to such an all-pervasive extent, that perhaps only systematic and direct observation in the classroom would reveal the actual amount of such political content,

- which has been estimated to be about half of the curriculum emphasis, even greater than that in the U.S.S.R. (Massialas, 1969, 54-55).
3. The measurable effect of the "new social studies" movement seemed to be minimal by 1971 with the only indications being the large extent to which many teachers seemed to be involved in curriculum reform movements.
 4. There was considerable evidence that civic education teachers used traditional teaching and evaluation methods (e.g. textbooks and objective tests) in their classes, promoted patriotism and factual learning, ignored foreign and non-Western cultures, and did not encourage free expression in their classes. The teachers also placed a greater stress on the non-political or departmental aspects of good citizenship (manners, politeness and loyalty to family, studying and working hard, showing respect, etc.) as against an active role (voting, political party activity, knows where tax money goes, actually works for governmental change, belongs to a union, gets others to vote, etc.). These behaviors and practices were found deficient in the production of student support for democratic values or cognitive achievement levels in civics, although interest/participation and support for the national government could be promoted in these ways.
 5. Teachers in American schools seemed to avoid controversial materials and subjects and felt safe in bringing up that which is supported by the conventional wisdom, including denigration of the "enemy," e.g., "fascists" and "unpopular" groups.

6. Although the United States performance on the IEA civics cognitive achievement tests was quite respectable cross nationally (especially when contrasted with, e.g., educationally non-comprehensive and elitist West Germany), the attitudinal performance indicated that support for women's rights and other democratic values was indeed not strong. Perhaps owing to America's pluralistic subsystems involving trade-offs and compromises, variable and even contradictory patterns of relationship between sense of political efficacy, trust, and participation also indicated that the civic education system in the United States was not functioning harmoniously or producing expected outputs based on national, state, or local inputs or goals statements (See Chapters III and IV below and Appendices I-III to this report).
7. We had not developed in the United States any reasonable, common national, state, or local rationales or standards for course offerings, curriculum patterns, topics to be offered, or other yardsticks whereby civic educational accountability could be measured and determined or individual curricula could be tailored for a student, a class, a school or a district.
8. The kinds of standards which exist are abstract, have few behavioral or experiential referents, and are not concrete, consistent, reasonable or realistic. For example, we expect our students (and presumably their teachers) to reason critically; yet about half of our teachers and their students have difficulty differentiating between a factual and a valuative political statement (Massialas, 1969 and Patrick, 1969).
9. And finally, we have not rationalized the orderly progression of civic knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors from the elementary to the junior high and senior high and then to the adult or college/university levels, not to speak of the lack of any structured or orderly information on non-formal, extra-curricular inputs from the family, media, and other agents of political socialization.

G. Contemporary Changes and Challenges - Recent Trends and Innovations in Teaching Political Education in the Schools

Despite the fact that for at least the last ten years there have been major changes underway in elementary and secondary political education in the United States, traditional and time-worn curriculum patterns still appear. Some teachers practice an interdisciplinary approach in their government or civics courses by introducing social science materials from other than political science--yet this may be the exception rather than the rule. For example, major emphasis on some essential elements of political education is often found in other school subjects, particularly history, English, literature, American studies, and other classes which are supposedly distinct from the social studies/sciences. Teachers in these classes may use the historical, psychological, comparative, humanistic, or philosophical approaches to the study of man's basic personal and social problems and institutions. Furthermore, the current ferment affecting instruction in college and university graduate and undergraduate instruction in political science (e.g., teaching the policy-making, political systems, or political socialization process) seems to be having some effect on instruction in civic education through textbook revision, curriculum reorganization, goal restatements, and training.

It may be said with some assurance that the historical and traditional approach to topics such as the Presidency, the Constitution, and basic governmental institutions have now been radically revised in much graduate and undergraduate political science instruction; this modest academic "revolution" has yet to reach many elementary and secondary school teachers or their pupils. To date, new, experimental, and innovative curricula which stress basic political policy, principles,

methods, and the quantitative and inductive approaches have created only some waves of change on an otherwise calm sea of traditionalism in both elementary and secondary school instruction in political science. Although this subject is more fully treated in Chapter V of this report, let us now briefly consider some effects of the social studies "revolution" which, in part, was begun by the USOE in 1962 with its "Project Social Studies" grants to colleges and secondary schools. These projects were also financed by private or professional associations, state and local governments, the National Science Foundation, and similar sponsoring organizations such as the National Council for the Social Studies and the Foreign Policy Association, to name but a few of the educational agencies involved in this reform movement.

The following list is a selection of some of the themes of innovative curriculum projects:

1. Students are taught how to learn rather than some particular content that is tied to classically structured disciplines, whose boundaries may themselves be quite different in the future. (This assumption is rooted in the educational philosophies of, for example, John Dewey, Jean Piaget, Jerome Bruner, Lawrence Kohlberg, and B. E. Skinner.)

2. Emphasis is given to the importance of introducing the student to the ways of thinking utilized in social science in such a way that he can actually think like a social scientist. This assumption is directly related to that educational philosophy which emphasizes the structures of various disciplines and the spiral or progressive teaching of different conceptual "layers"--levels of abstraction--of the disciplines at various ages according to the level of psychological development of the child.

(Jerome Bruner and Lawrence Senesh in elementary school anthropology and economics come to mind as representatives of this theme.)

3. Political Science courses must rid themselves of their provincial emphasis on the United States. They must become more cosmopolitan, cross-cultural, and international, recognizing the importance of the Middle East, Canada, Latin America, Europe, Asia, and Africa as political entities in which more than half of the people of the world live today. This philosophy is found in papers, publications, teaching materials, and directives from many sources particularly the Foreign Policy Association (F.P.A.), The International Studies Association, the Asia Institute, Education and World Affairs, the NDEA Title VI USOE program, and various overseas area studies and international institute programs at many universities. (Certain scholars such as James Becker, at Indiana University, John Gibson at Tufts, Lee Anderson at Northeastern, and Elizabeth Riordan at the World Law Fund, are perhaps quite representative of these cross or trans-national educational programs and innovative curricula.)

4. Young children (grades K-6) can understand and work with more abstract and meaningful political and social science content than is presently expected of, or provided for, them. Bruner assumes that complex elements of subjects can be taught to any child at any age level if they are presented simply, fairly, and honestly in terms of the child's level of abstraction, past experience, and future expectation of similar (reinforcement) teaching of related and more developed methods, content, "concepts," and generalizations at subsequent levels of psychological, physical, and social development. (This point is again a product of the "stage" or developmental psychologists such as Piaget, Bruner, or Kohlberg--plus behavior modification corrolaries, which have been espoused by Skinner.)

5. The theory and functions of American and world governments, as well as the realities of practical politics and political life, must be taught to students of government rather than merely the classical, legal, institutional, or formal structures and institutions of government. (This theme has been supported by national professional organizations such as the APSA, and the NCSS, and experts in political science and social studies education, for example.)

6. Political Science in the schools must free itself from the lockstep (read-recite-review-test) syndrome which is tied to outdated and sterile political textbooks. Inoffensive materials, pleasing to the major interest groups, serve to reinforce political prejudices and promote short term retention of an obsolete political curriculum which has been static for more than fifty years. (This point of view has long been advocated, but its chief proponents over the last ten years have come from the Lincoln Filene Center at Tufts, the Educational Development Center of Newton, Massachusetts, and various scholars and teams at Utah State, UCLA, Ohio State, Indiana, Michigan, Syracuse, and Harvard Universities.)

7. The teaching of values, ethnicity, and controversial public issues has been avoided too long; honest treatment of such topics might foster more appreciation for the realities of American politics and may head off the development of cynicism and disillusionment with the political process during early adulthood. (This point of view has repeatedly been mentioned in articles appearing in journals such as Social Education, Social Science, and The Social Studies and by influential writers in the field of civic education such as Franklin Patterson, Donald Oliver, James Shaver, James Banks, and Fred Newmann.) On these points, also see Cleary, 1970 and 1971.

Other Major Trends

A survey of major trends in contemporary civic education as a whole is a task to which we shall return subsequently in Chapter IV. We shall limit ourselves here to a brief review of some major thrusts in political education as seen in specific projects devoted to improving political and social studies. Several of the major developments in civic education over the last decade can be divided, however roughly, into the following categories:

- a) The Behavioral Approach, Training Institutes, and Practical Politics,
- b) Simulation and Gaming, c) Case Studies, d) Controversy and Values,
- e) Major Concepts, f) Inquiry and Methodological Approaches, g) Interdisciplinary Approaches, h) The Political Socialization Process,
- i) Comparative and International Studies, and j) Comprehensive Problems, Miscellaneous Course Practices, and Other Approaches to Civic and Social Education.

a. The Behavioral Approach, Training Institutes, and Practical Politics

To date, the most fully developed program utilizing the behavioral approach to revision of the political curriculum has been conducted for the last ten years at Indiana University by the High School Curriculum Center in Government (HSCCG) with USOE and NSF funding. This project attempted a full scale restructuring of the ninth grade civics and twelfth grade American government courses. The twelfth grade American Political Behavior (APB) and twelfth grade Comparing Political Experiences (CPE) projects have specifically defined behavioral goals for civic education. These new course formats emphasize the structure of the discipline under study, major concepts, the inquiry method, and the values approach. The

material leads students to discover for themselves the difference between the political and non-political worlds, the hierarchy of roles and statuses, the importance of community elites, the realities of practical politics, and the pattern of expected class responses concerning affects towards political symbols such as flags, medals, posters, and pictures of political leaders. This project has also benefitted from the results of pilot programs and evaluations in selected schools which have tested these experimental materials. In addition, the project has attempted to teach teachers through practicum experiences in which the college professors who developed the course have actually taught high school students while being observed directly and on video tapes by secondary school teachers who themselves would later use these materials in their own classes. Since 1972 Ginn and Company has been marketing the APB materials which has resulted in their more widespread use in secondary schools. The HSCCG staff has also completed a second edition of the APB course for 1977 and is finishing its work on CPE which stresses political systems and issues in the curriculum materials. It is expected that one CPE course, which has been thoroughly piloted, will be ready for full scale use in the 1978-79 school year.

The HSCCG has also experimented with different dissemination models by using, for example, a series of Civics Dissemination Institutes (CDI's) in cooperation with local university hosts. These CDI's attempted to reach educational "gate keepers" (such as college professors of political science and social studies methods, teachers, curriculum supervisors, school superintendents, state department social studies coordinators, and other "change agents" who would adopt or disseminate the APB course in their school-systems or teacher training programs. These highly successful

institutes utilized a similar format by illustrating the teaching strategy utilized in the course (data gathering, hypothesis formulation, hypothesis testing, generalization and conclusion formulation, etc.) through demonstration lessons, teacher training films, discussion of course materials, lectures on the behavioral approach to political science, and plans for dissemination of APB course materials in future. Participants underwent three days of intensive study of the APB course with the HSCCG staff and were immersed in the course materials. These CDI's were carefully evaluated through questionnaires and observations and were revised on the basis of participant feedback. The results of the evaluation of these CDI's by some 253 participants indicated that 83% were willing to use or recommend the APB course when it became available.

The post-publication experience of the APB course (500,000 copies have been sold) indicates that it has indeed been a popular alternative to the traditional American government textbook.

The HSCCG also experimented with a new method of training social studies "field agents," much like the dissemination model long used with success by the U. S. Department of Agriculture. This program, also supported by a USOE, involved the training of some thirty-five persons at Indiana University for one year in the behavioral approach, the APB course, the new social studies, and in dissemination strategies. After this they returned to their local school districts to serve as consultants and curriculum innovators.

Two other federal programs (the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and the National Science Foundation (NSF)) have also become part of the civic education input in the United States. For example, the NSF has

supported curriculum development in the fields of sociology, economics, anthropology, and geography (some of these programs are more fully discussed in Chapter V below). The NEH also supported several innovative programs designed to expand the options open to students of American history and government; for example, an eighth grade unit on the American Revolution designed to appear during the bicentennial celebration.

Some of the (now defunct) National Defense Education Act (NDEA) and Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) Civics Institutes also developed new political materials, realistic experiences in civic education, successful teaching strategies, and exposure to political science concepts and content (such as systems analysis) for pre-service, in-service, and graduate education during the 1960s and 1970s. The training of teachers, teacher trainers, and teachers of teacher trainers in civic education has also occurred in federally sponsored TTT projects during this same time period. The Lincoln Filene Center at Tufts University, for example, worked for several years with teachers and administrators from the northeastern states under federal programs to improve instruction in civic and legal education based on current social science and behavioral research. Despite a curtailment in federal funding, these endeavors are still having an effect as a result of institutional, state, and local funding and cooperation.

To cite another example of an institute program, George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, conducted a summer training institute in 1968 for civics teachers in the South which stressed new findings in political science, the importance of the political systems analysis approach, results and implications of recent political socialization research, a practicum experience in civic education, current issues in

local, state, national, and international political topics, and the application of these findings to classrooms of diverse social, economic, racial, and other personally relevant backgrounds. Teacher-participants were encouraged to observe and/or teach demonstration lessons to "real" students, to work with students on local survey research regarding the 1968 elections [a survey which accurately predicted in July of 1968 that Davidson County (Nashville), Tennessee, would vote for Wallace, Nixon, and Humphrey in November in that order and with fairly close approximations-- in terms of sex, race, age, voting district-- to other politically relevant variables]. Subsequently, students and teachers from this NDEA Institute conducted school surveys prior to the fall elections in their own schools (of students, teachers, parents, and administrators). These studies were of such consequence that twelfth grade students often visited the eighth or ninth grade classes which conducted the surveys in order to find out which way the school itself was voting. Participants also tried out gaming, programmed learning, innovative audio visual presentations, and the use of other media for more effective classroom learning and teaching. The behavioral approach was stressed throughout this experience, as was pre- and post-teaching testing of political attitudes and information (to which the teacher-participants had themselves been exposed). Although undocumented, the NDEA, EPDA, and TTT programs are still having an effect (despite mixed original evaluation results) in school systems of the 1970s.

For the last fifteen years the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government in New York City has sponsored hundreds of seminars for elementary and secondary school teachers in about half the states. These seminars have been co-sponsored by more than fifty colleges, universities, and school

systems. They emphasize practical politics and the realities of political behavior in the United States political system. Thousands of "real" politicians and political scientists have lectured and/or worked with four times as many teachers (who have over half a million students in class annually) in areas such as political socialization, the two-party system, practical politics, constitutional government, political survey techniques, individual political opportunities and responsibilities, appreciation of (and involvement in) democratic political life, and so on. These institutes are part of a contemporary education program which exposes teachers and other adults (through reports on these seminars in the mass media) to the broad spectrum of political opportunities available to them--from mere awareness as a citizen, on the one hand, to active participation as a pressure-group member, party worker, or even as a political office-seeker.

As a part of this program, how a person may participate as an individual or as a member of an organized political group has been well reported through local newspapers, and through radio, television, and other observers who have visited Taft Seminars throughout the nation. The Taft Institute also produces a newsletter which reaches thousands of key individuals involved in political education with each mailing. During the 1970s, teachers and other "change agents" have received information regarding relevant films, classroom practices, available opportunities for research and further education, and additional information in the field of contemporary political education. Follow-up surveys by the Taft Institute and NDEA Institute Directors also indicated that a great deal of innovation and experimentation was occurring in these classrooms, doubtless much more than otherwise would have been the case without these programs.

b. Simulation and Gaming

Northwestern and Johns Hopkins Universities, the Foreign Policy Association, Abt Associates, as well as the Western Behavioral Sciences Institute, Science Research Associates, and other contributors too numerous to mention have been responsible for the development of many useful and stimulating ideas for civic education courses throughout the United States. Impressive games concerning war and peace, international crisis, the legislative process, democracy, and international relations have been developed in the last ten years and have proved to be instructive and rewarding civic education devices. Despite the fact that some of these games are often misleading or oversimplified, student and teacher reactions and estimates of their value are quite favorable. Some of the realities of the political process (including legislative "pairing," the "pork barrel," "trading votes," etc.) are demonstrated in these student-teacher exercises. For instance, one game, called "Decision," involves many crucial variables of national policy-making in the international sphere. A politically sophisticated game, it requires students to consider ideas, peoples, and a nation's potential and objectives. Compromise is always a potential 'decision.' Some critics of gaming, however, say that more consideration of "real" and "relevant" issues ought to be brought out in these games. Yet these critics have not yet produced any suitable alternatives for such civic instruction.

In response to such suggestions, Paul Amindon Associates, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, has developed some simulations dealing with city planning at the local level. In cooperation with the Political Science Department of MacAlister College in St. Paul, Amindon Associates has also developed a

game called "Crisis," dealing with foreign policy and decision-making in international affairs. Several other publishers have come abreast of the new social studies movement and are producing up-to-date textbooks. For instance, Benziger Brothers produced a two-volume text (From Left to Right: Readings on the Socio-Political Spectrum) which treats case studies of black power, teachers' strikes, U. S. foreign policy, civil liberties, youth, separation of church and state, and Vietnam as major elements for study. Debates, student self-evaluation sheets, field trips, role playing, socio-drama, posters, bibliographies, editorials, student speeches, cartoons, visiting speakers, letter writing, use of mass media, and "Meet the Press" sessions are some of the suggested activities which complement this book of readings. Other publishers (some of whom are listed in this report) are also engaged in disseminating the new social studies political curricula which have been developed over the past decade.

c. Case Studies

Case studies in civic education (particularly social, political and legal problems) have been developed and are appearing with greater frequency in government courses in secondary schools, as has been the case for many years in the colleges. These case studies deal with critical, controversial, and often contemporary topics such as due process of law, civil liberties, and political decision making. For instance, these case studies involve search and seizure, the right to counsel, free press and free trial guarantees, prayer and Bible reading in the schools, religion and politics, congressional investigations, loyalty oaths, right-to-work laws, the Fifth Amendment, reapportionment, racial discrimination, censorship, open housing, and so forth. Such case studies not only help

students to learn about critical issues facing the American people, but they also help to develop knowledge of the ways in which the political system operates, as contrasted with the strict checks and balances and separation of powers outlined in the national "rule book," the Constitution of the United States.

The Committee On Civic Education at the University of California, Los Angeles, has published (with Ginn & Company) student and teacher materials dealing with case studies of political conflict, government, and freedom. Political considerations, guide questions, suggested activities, and thought-provoking case studies are at the heart of this program. The American and Chicago Bar Associations and the Chicago Board of Education have jointly sponsored the "Law in American Society" project. Essentially, these approaches study key cases in American history, much as a lawyer would see them in specific cases at bar. The law curriculum is supplementary (rather than displacement-oriented) and is designed for use at the fifth, eighth, and/or eleventh grades in traditional courses in history and civics offered at those levels. The teaching strategy utilizes inquiry, dramatization, gaming, and discussion throughout. Establishment of law and order, and consideration of slavery, equal opportunity, free speech, separation of church and state, federal power, and other such topics are some of the current issues treated in these materials. The course is realistic and relates to issues which concern students and which must be handled now or later in a contemporary social studies curriculum. Other similar projects have been sponsored by the Law in a Free Society Project (California), The Constitutional Rights Foundation (Los Angeles) and The Institute for Political/Legal Education (New Jersey), under the general aegis of the ABA Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship (Chicago).

d. Controversy and Values

Consideration of "the affective domain," values, and controversy in contemporary America has also been a vital part of the "new social studies" movement over the last decade in American education. The Harvard Social Studies Project has specialized in the consideration of public controversy. In this project a framework for the examination of such issues has been developed and evaluated. The evidence now available indicates that students can handle concepts and operations for dealing with such issues while gaining in their knowledge of, and interest in, traditional content and findings of the extant political curriculum. This approach has also utilized the structure of discipline and mode of inquiry approaches, which have also improved students' analytic abilities. This "jurisprudential" approach to political participation has received greater impetus as a result of these findings. Several other social studies programs have also found this approach to be interesting, meaningful, relevant, and rewarding to students and teachers alike. It is likely to become even more widespread for the development of civic education curriculum materials in the future. The so-called inquiry method, however, seems to be neither more nor less than that which was previously called the "open ended" discussion. Although no one of these projects has (or could have) a monopoly on the "open end" technique itself, each uses a special version of this approach--so that some may be more structured or more "open" than others. However, we do not feel the need to become involved in this semantic dispute and prefer to leave the question itself open for the reader.

The Harvard Social Studies project has a public issues casebook and pamphlet series dealing with controversial issues and public problems.

These materials focus on issues with historical and contemporary significance (e.g., the church-and-state and individual-freedom-from-state-control issues deal with the Amish in various parts of the United States; the Negro views-of-America pamphlet deals with slavery, the South, integrated housing, life in Harlem, getting an education, the status of blacks, and race; success, and radicalism in America). Teacher's guides are also available and, in the case of the black studies pamphlet, contain questions directed toward racial differences, supposed inferiority, economic opportunity, race relations, racial integration, and public responsibility for social welfare. One booklet, entitled Taking a Stand, helps students and teachers to classify points of view, contemporary relevance, value and factual issues, and definitions of legal, or "frame of reference," issues. Each pamphlet has a final section dealing with "Review, Reflection, and Research," which helps the student to carry on a continuing dialogue, both in and out of class.

Two other "non academic" sources which may be of considerable interest to realistically oriented civic/social studies educators are The Washington Monthly (published by the Washington Monthly Co.) and Inside the System, a special selection of articles from The Washington Monthly on the presidency, Congress, and the regulatory agencies--written by such noteworthy authors as Hugh Sidney, Russell Baker, James David-Barber, James Boyd, et al.. The Washington Monthly believes that the American system is in trouble and has not responded adequately or quickly enough to today's urgent needs. It is dedicated to understanding the "why" of what is wrong with the political system and the "how" of what can be done--before, as they say, "it's too late" to do anything about it. Common Cause, a growing group of

more than 100,000 influentials in the United States, is also devoted to similar purposes. John Gardner, former U. S. HEW Secretary, is the leading light in this organization which, like the Ralph Nader Washington-based "people's lobby," is also devoted to doing something about the "mess" in American public life. Each produces adult education materials.

e. Major Concepts

Several projects have used major concepts in the social studies and are also worth mentioning at this point. Consortia utilizing "social science" curriculum materials, based on conceptual and structural constructs, were or are part of projects carried on at Michigan State, the University of Illinois, Syracuse University, and other "new social studies" university centers. These projects tried to encourage the experimental approach, while avoiding the redundancies so typical of traditional curriculum materials. They attempted to foster the study of essential knowledge, understandings, skills, and basic ideas and concepts of government and the social studies through their materials. At Syracuse University, for instance, social scientists defined key conceptual topics, such as conflict resolution and political leadership, which could aid students in structuring and integrating knowledge gleaned from their other social studies, history, and humanities courses and materials. (Price, 1965; Morrisett, 1966).

f. Inquiry and Methodological Approaches

An increasing interest in the methodologies of the political and social sciences was also quite typical of newer approaches to civic education in the United States. In addition to the new techniques mentioned previously, the use of the inquiry method to examine man's political institutions is a characteristic feature of civic education in the 1960s

and 70s. At the University of Illinois, concepts and generalizations drawn from other social science fields ("non political" and "political") were developed for a coherent program of instruction. Similarly, the materials from Syracuse University detailed the methods of analysis used to develop certain key political/social science concepts. Both the NCSS and the Sociological Resources for the Social Studies (SRSS) have also produced short studies of inquiry, structure, and methodology in the social sciences with encouraging results. The SRSS also developed full-year course materials in sociology for secondary students.

SRSS developed forty social science "episodes" and sets of instructional materials which provided brief, dramatic, and firsthand encounters with sociological data. Each unit was designed for use in history, government, and/or problems courses and stressed the "inquiry" approach. Poverty, stereotyping, religion, hypothesis formulation, the family, science, and juvenile delinquency are some of the topics treated in these pamphlets. Each episode has instructors' and students' guides, some of which have readings, diagrams, statistical tables, pictures, and politically evocative materials.

Another sequence of materials, developed for half-year use, is the SRSS Inquiries in Sociology course for high school juniors and seniors (available since 1972 from Allyn and Bacon). It deals with urbanism, adolescence, the family, racial relations, social institutions, crime, social stratification, and effecting change in the social order. Each topic is treated (in paperback books) by professional sociologists who have rewritten their contributions to the professional literature in language which, hopefully, is meaningful for high school readers.

Evidence drawn from school trials has been used to revise the preliminary versions of these materials.

Each of the SRSS episodes is different, not only in content and method, but also in approach (e.g., some have recordings which depict an interview with a "slum landlord," whereas others are supported by films, slides, pictures, maps, charts, transparencies, tapes, games, or simulations). The project (funded in part by the National Science Foundation) also encourages self evaluation as well as evaluation of teacher and material effectiveness. Questions of factual recall, evaluation, and probability are integral parts of the SRSS approach. Encouragingly, students do seem to learn to distinguish between a fact, value, and probability statement. The SRSS episodes are not a "course" to replace current social studies courses, but rather comprise a supplement to existing practices and materials now used in the social studies. The Inquiries one-semester course, on the other hand, is designed to replace part of the American history, government, problems, or international relations course in the eleventh or twelfth grades. The entire SRSS approach, however, is noteworthy for its effort (as with the Ohio State elementary program and the Indiana APB and CPE programs) to correlate college and secondary school instruction in the social sciences.

g. Interdisciplinary Approaches

Certain groups, organizations, and projects are also responsible for developing political materials which are applicable to such fields as history and geography. For instance, the Educational Development Center in Newton, Massachusetts, produced units in American history dealing with 17th-18th Century political man--the theme being the development of the

American "from subject to citizen." Along the same line, the High School Geography Project, Boulder, Colorado, produced political geography units which treat sectional issues through games and up-to-date, interdisciplinary, content and inquiry-oriented units of study. Moreover, both the Lincoln-Filene Center at Tufts and the Foreign Relations Project in New York City have developed materials dealing with ideology and world affairs, using case study materials to improve the teaching of United States foreign policy and the international political system. The Foreign Relations Project deals with the basic political and economic problems of American foreign policy through educators' conferences and seminars, clearinghouse activities, and a selective publishing policy. The Lincoln-Filene Center, in addition to its work in curriculum materials development and course try-outs, has also researched teacher education, processes, and styles as related to contemporary civic instruction. As a matter of fact, until the last few years, much of the most meaningful work in political learning and socialization in the schools was done at the Center. This includes the Center's work on case studies, television, films, and other materials on practical political action and group political activity. However, programs at Indiana, Ohio State, UCLA, Northwestern and other institutions have more recently taken the lead in spearheading the interdisciplinary movement in civic education.

The Tufts Center also developed a program to improve democratic human relations at the grade school level through intergroup education. This interdisciplinary curriculum stresses the "affective" (emotional or evaluative) domain through elements such as positive self concepts for whites and blacks alike. Children become aware of the differences between groups to

which they belong, overlapping or conflicting allegiances, and differences and similarities among peoples and groups. This curriculum faces potentially controversial and socially sensitive topics in the curriculum head-on. Children's viewpoints are not only tolerated, but are appreciated, expected, and respected in the classroom. No textbook or book of readings is provided. Instead, a two volume teacher's manual of over 500 pages is used. Lessons are developed throughout the year so that relevant games, questions, role playing, and information gathering become part of the regular course of study. (Gibson, 1968 and 1969).

Over the years, the Center has also produced up-to-date political materials for classroom use in social studies courses. Minorities in America, civil liberties and civil disobedience, citizenship, presidential elections, gun control, the courts, practical politics, poverty, welfare, urban renewal, the police, idealism, interpersonal relations, race, intolerance, prejudice, poverty, dissent, and technology are examples of some political topics discussed in these materials. Inexpensive narratives for students, teacher's guides, films, and tapes also support these basic textual materials.

More specifically, the interdisciplinary materials and course practices which may be appealing to contemporary teachers of civic education can also be found in, for example, the Carnegie-Mellon University multimedia program of "able" students. These include Comparative Political Systems (9th/10th grade), Comparative Economic Systems (9th/10th grade), and an Introduction to Behavioral Science (12th grade), available from Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Edwin Fenton's Teaching the New Social Studies in Secondary Schools: An Inductive Approach (1966) and the New Social Studies (1967) also provide a rationale for this "inquiry" oriented

or "skills" approach to civic education. However, there is strong emphasis in Fenton's program on verbal inputs, the historical method, structure, formalism, and certain elements of what might be called political "classicism." But this program also has another segment for slower learners.

In this same regard, the High School Geography Project materials, e.g., "Geography of Cities" and "Political Geography" units, which are available from the Macmillan Company, are emphatically interdisciplinary by nature. They may be used on a selective basis in American history or other social studies courses. This multi-media program provides teachers with educational materials useful for students from diverse backgrounds, despite the burden of a heavy reading load which may impede some students. (Prices for these units vary considerably including expensive teachers' kits for different units, but student materials are relatively inexpensive.)

The Law in American Society Project, jointly sponsored by the American and Chicago Bar Associations and the Chicago School Board, is also a multi-disciplinary level program for use in the fifth or eighth grades, and/or for seventh and eighth grade history, social studies, and civics courses. Open-ended discussion, simulations, games, and the case book approach are vital parts of this program, which has relatively inexpensive materials and which seems to work in different school settings.

However, the "real action" in citizen education may be occurring in other "new" interdisciplinary social studies programs offering political material for the elementary school. Worthy of mention in this context are the Educational Development Center's Social Studies Curriculum Program (including the 4th-6th grade "Man: A Course of Study" anthropological program, their 8th grade "Subject to Citizen" course materials, and

other educational materials, including protocol films, a "Caesar" unit on Roman history, an African Studies program, and the like). Project Social Studies, University of Minnesota (directed by Edith West); the Providence Social Studies Curriculum Project (Ridgway F. Shinn, Jr., Director); the (Taba) Curriculum Development Project at San Francisco State College (a process-oriented approach); and

Materials and Activities for Teachers and Children (Office of the Director, Children's Museum, Boston, Massachusetts), which uses an inquiry approach and supports active roles and student involvement in learning about the city, are also in the "new social studies" movement. (For a more complete report on these interdisciplinary projects and others among twenty-six national social studies programs, see NCSS, Social Education, April 1970, 383-470.) The citizenship decision-making theme for citizen education is the focal point of the interdisciplinary approach for the elementary school project (grades 4-6) of the APSA and NSF at the Mershon Center, Ohio State University (Richard Remy and Richard Snyder, Directors, Citizenship Development Program). This material has been undergoing field testing in the basic grades and will soon be ready for more widespread distribution.

h. Political Socialization

Since the appearance of Herbert Hyman's book on political socialization in 1959, a new field of interdisciplinary research and writing in psychology, sociology, political science, and education has come into being. Earlier work on the subject in the 1930s by Charles E. Merriam, the distinguished political scientist, is also a part of the literature in this field. However, the renaissance in this subject is a more startling development which, with stage/development psychology, has implications for curriculum development.

We can define political socialization as a field of study either narrowly or broadly. In its lesser sense, it refers to deliberate instruction in political information, values, and practices by educators who are formally responsible for such a task. In its more important denotative and connotative referents, political socialization refers to all political learning, whether formal or informal, planned or unplanned, at each stage of a person's life cycle, from birth to death. This definition would also include learning of allegedly nonpolitical things which have some observable or perceivable effect on political behavior (such as social attitudes and personality characteristics). Scholars formerly approached the topic from either the individual or the systemic level; this bifurcated approach to political socialization has been integrated in more recent research efforts.

The scientific study of political socialization is underway at many colleges and universities throughout the country, such as Chicago, The University of Illinois, Michigan, Michigan State, Purdue, SUNY (Buffalo), Rochester, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Wesleyan. This empirical research has helped us to put together several missing pieces in the political life-cycle puzzle. For instance, research on elementary school children, however mixed in its findings, indicates that the school teacher is an important agent of political socialization. Children's ideas about government, when contrasted with teachers' ideas on the same subject, prove to be not similar in the first years of school, but to become more similar by fifth grade and more nearly the same by the end of the elementary grades. This research has helped us to discover that by the high school years most students are quite patriotic, loyal, and committed to the democratic political process. It has also been discovered

that whether or not a typical student takes one or several courses in government does not seem to matter in terms of his attitudes toward our governmental system (Farnen and German, 1971 and 1972; Langton and Jennings 1968).

The IEA project (discussed more fully below and in part (i) of this Chapter) has also surveyed civic education in ten nations and has assessed comparative political attitudes, backgrounds, behaviors, and knowledge of fundamental civics topics such as support for democratic values; anti-authoritarianism; political efficacy and participation; citizenship concepts; and legislative, judicial, executive processes (for some 30,000 students aged 10, 14, and 17-19). Findings from the IEA study indicate that meaningful crossnational research on political knowledge and attitudes is actually possible, and that an "Atlantic Political Community" of political thought exists, e.g., fourteen and seventeen year olds in Sweden or West Germany think much the same about politics as do children in New Zealand or the United States but not very much like Iranian adolescents (Torney, Oppenheim and Farnen, 1975).

Most of the research on political socialization in the United States (with the possible exception of the most recent national assessment results) indicates that the political education, history, and other social studies offerings in twelve years of schooling do not seem to have much measurable effect on the basic political attitudes or behaviors of American students, particularly after the elementary grades. (True, we do not know what students would be like were there no civic education courses.) But we are aware (based on the APB and other innovative program research results) that one's political sophistication and capacity to discuss politics at a higher level of abstraction can be increased through exposure to civics courses. Nevertheless, the relative amount of time and money spent on traditional social studies courses may not be worth the investment when

there are more socially significant things to do. There appears to be no change in the level of one's civic accountability, nor is much contributed by the traditional teacher, text, or course to development of the modern citizenship role. If anything, traditional course practices (overly idealistic as they are) may actually be destructive of the realistic citizenship role. Minority group students, having different values and group experiences, are affected differently by such courses. For example, Jennings (1967) research indicates that Blacks are positively affected by civics courses.

9 Students learn prior to graduation from high school that the classroom and textbook descriptions of how a bill becomes a law, ethics and politics, the political power of community elites, the power of the legislative committees, the ambiguities faced by the regulatory agencies (many of which have long since fallen under the control of those being regulated), and like situations are simply too idealistic to be believed. All too frequently we have avoided the realities of money as a sine qua non to political office, the relative powerlessness of the average individual apart from an organized interest group, and the insolubility of certain perhaps irreversible trends in American life (e.g., destruction of the environment in the pursuit of energy self-sufficiency, or the seeming impossibility of reconstructing the landscape after it has been scarred beyond recognition by surface mining in Appalachia, the Cumberlands and the Mesabi Range--much as was done a century ago by pressure mining in the Rockies).

Our refusal to face these existential dilemmas may result in students turning "off" to politics. Instead of helping involved citizen-lawmakers to mature, some commentators say, we may instead be helping to produce a new generation of political cynics, "inside dopesters," and at best apathetic, at worst alienated citizens. Novel efforts to develop realistic political education

for students and adults alike have been described in part below and we shall return to others in Chapter IV below. But despite the worth of these new ventures, it seems that much more will have to be done to identify our systemic weaknesses and to offset them if we are to improve the quality of American life--in its political and personal, social and economic, and international contexts (Cleary, 1970 and 1971).

Other research findings indicate that much of what is being taught in civic education courses seems to be redundant (with the possible exception of instruction for Negroes and lower-class whites in the inner city and rural areas). For example, John Patrick has made a very strong case for the lack of measurable civics course impact, the contradictions between student values and course content, and political disabilities of lower SES students which are encouraged by schools whose teachers foster conformism rather than a reasoned cosmopolitanism among their students (see Patrick, 1969, 15-21). Nevertheless, most American teenagers do increase in political knowledge and sophistication during adolescence (as a result of maturation, mass media exposure, and schoolings). In addition, we find that nearly all of our students are able to recognize the Bill of Rights and democratic theories of government: yet, when it comes to freedom of speech, press, and religion, large minorities of students regardless of race or SES--deny these basic democratic freedoms and practices to others. These students have also found that the generation gap between students and their parents closes in the post-high school years in terms of political information, interest in governmental affairs, sources of political information, party preferences, and so forth (see National Assessment 1970-75; Remmers, 1963; Jennings and Niemi, 1975).

Although there was little difference in 1965 between parents and high school seniors on party affiliation, sources of political information, or opinions regarding United States participation in the United Nations,

there were great differences between them on political cynicism, school integration, and political knowledge. However, in a replication of this same study eight years later (1973), it was found that these two generations came closer together. Only with respect to certain issues (such as allowing Communists to hold political office, the propriety of school prayers, or allowing speeches against organized religion) and with respect to political partisanship did the two groups pull apart. The younger generation also seemed to be more liberal in its political outlook, more Democratic in its voting preferences, and more independent in political party membership and partisanship. Youth continued to have different media usage habits and more interracial friendships. For both groups, civil rights stands and trust in government were weakened during this period, with a corresponding increase in levels of cynicism registered by both parents and (especially) their offspring. These studies also have reported differences in the political socialization of male and female students and parents. For instance, males are more interested in politics than females; but mothers seem to influence their offspring's basic political values (regardless of the child's sex) more than fathers do. The level of education reached by the mother is another important intervening variable in determining the relative political effect of the parents on children's political orientations. (Jennings and Niemi, 1974 and 1975; Langton, 1969).

These studies of political socialization are having their effect on teacher education programs (both preservice and inservice), new curriculum projects, textbook and curriculum materials development and revisions, and through NSF academic year and summer programs throughout the country--on college professors of political science. One such project, at Indiana

University is heavily dependent on the results of political socialization studies which are being disseminated in social science and education journals by the NCCS and through the American Sociological, Psychological, and Political Science Associations. With such an effort behind this research area, the field of political socialization is likely to have a strong influence on civic education in the future.

1. Comparative and International Studies

Comparative and international studies of the political socialization process and civic education are perhaps the most ambitious attempts to help us clarify the complicated scene of political education in the United States. Based upon the IEA findings and other such work, the United States seems to be much like other developed industrialized nations in the West.

These researchers have indicated that Westerners think much alike about things political. (See, e.g., Farnen and German, 1970 and 1972). Consequently, what seemed to be our own peculiarly national confusions and shortcomings have taken on an international dimension as a result of these studies. These comparative analyses indicate that nations do indeed differ with respect to some few, but important, political variables. However, support for democratic values, for example, does not differ appreciably from Helsinki to Washington. On the other hand, the results do indicate that more than a few things are not quite right in Western-oriented political education systems, in terms of the democratic educational objectives of these political systems. These findings also indicate that students in an Arabic nation such as Iran (with its different economic, social, linguistic, ethnic, and

political/cultural background) respond quite differently to Western, democratic-oriented, political concepts which the government wants to teach in the schools. However, students in another developing country, South Korea (perhaps another Western educational outpost, despite its different politico-cultural background), may respond quite similarly to American students on common cognitive measures of political knowledge (see Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975; and Farnen and Marklund, 1977).

Various theories or models have been offered by national and international researchers to describe and categorize the basic elements of the political socialization process, namely: 1) the accumulation model (which assumes that complex political concepts and attitudes result from the storing up of discrete political information and bits of value statements); 2) the identification model (which stresses the attitudes and behaviors that teachers, peers, and parents provide for students to imitate); 3) the role transfer model (which maintains that students learn certain role behaviors, such as political or group leader, follower, adversary male or female political roles, and so forth); and 4) the cognitive-developmental model (which recognizes that certain stages of cognitive growth, ability, and development occur and that students must move from an initial state of evaluative confusion to the highest level of evaluative consistency and coherence, or from a simple level of factual comprehension to that of creative, abstract, or intuitive logical leaps).

The accumulation model obtained little support from the IEA data analysis (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975). If anything, accumulation of facts and rote memorization were found to be counterproductive to the acquisition of democratic civic knowledge or attitudes. The

identification model was also deficient for explanation in some respects, yet strong in others. The identification process has been found useful in other studies for explaining students' political party membership, but the IEA study did not gather such data. The open classroom, in which the teacher and the student are involved, proved in the IEA civic education study to have a positive effect on student knowledge and attitudes across age levels, even as the teacher's use of more traditional modes of instruction proved to be counterproductive.

It is difficult to disentangle the identification mode from that of role transfer. For instance, the positive relationship between a climate of independent discussion in the classroom and students' higher knowledge of civics and support for democratic values could result from the students' modeling themselves upon the teacher or, alternatively, from the students' increased familiarity with the role of independent decision-maker. Also, the identification and role transfer models help to explain some of the sex differences found in the IEA regression analysis. Although this study found girls were less knowledgeable and less participant in their discussion about civic affairs, they were more supportive of democratic values than were boys. These results correspond with sex role patterns previously reported in other studies of political and personality development.

The data gathered in this project also proved to be insufficient to test fully the cognitive-developmental model. After a variety of other predictors of civic cognitive and attitudinal outcomes were partialled out statistically, general word knowledge (the closest approximation of, or surrogate for, cognitive ability) was still a powerful predictor of civic knowledge, and moderately effective predictor of anti-authoritarianism, and a

predictor of political participation at a still lower level. In comparisons between Populations II and IV (14 and 17-19 year olds), the IEA study found a more coherent structure of attitudes among older students, a greater diversity in patterns of between-country differences in attitude and participation among older students, and a heightened awareness of conflict and dissent at the older level. The study also reported increased sophistication among students, who moved from being more politically inarticulate at the younger ages to higher levels of cognitive growth on the same achievement test questions in the cognitive measures. However, a more complete test of the cognitive-developmental model and its assumptions would require further analysis of these data, including more between age comparisons of students matched on SES of the parents and on school achievement.

With all of this said, the IEA civic-education survey represents something of an empirical landmark in political socialization research. This investigation examined relatively similar systems, which possessed interesting differences in practices, institutional settings, and contexts of political socialization and education. Careful piloting of both cognitive and attitudinal instruments (as well as careful sampling of schools, students, and teachers) provided a unique data base. A series of comparisons at the univariate level (which showed substantial between-country differences in attitudinal and cognitive patterns) were made, and patterns of relationships within and between countries were explored, with considerable similarity noted. Their survey did not, as other studies have suggested, find a single or average personality or character type previously associated with, or responsible for, democratic institutions.

and their preservation. Instead these different democratic political systems seem to be maintained by several different patterns of political knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors among their adolescent citizens. The study concluded that there seem to be basic variations in the level of citizen support needed in these different political systems; yet these fundamental and substantive differences do not emerge at the governmental/structural level so. Perhaps they may be found in a more thorough study of a nation's basic ideology or history.

The findings in the full report on the IEA civic education study describe in some detail the overall pattern of political socialization into which these students from different countries seemed to fit. This pattern involves a five-step process of development--from simple, trusting, and sheltered optimism at the youngest age level to a more complex, sophisticated, and realistic level often accompanied by distrust, awareness of contradictions and self interest, and even cynicism at the older age level. This typology is only suggestive, however, in that a more specific longitudinal and crossnational study of this phenomenon would be necessary before the reliability and validity of these political orientations could be accepted for use in curriculum revision or other educational decision making. Consequently, data amassed in this study provide us notably with some suggestive findings, but also with another fresh start for the crossnational analysis of political socialization processes and institutions.

As a result of some of these crossnational studies, we can present some basic elements of an international list of agenda items useful for civic education. Briefly put, they would certainly include the following items: 1) exposing youth to an integrated curriculum in the social

sciences and humanities and to the major concepts about political man;

- 2) providing and compensating for individual differences with respect to race, sex, age, and so forth in such a political curriculum;
- 3) balancing the affective, cognitive, and behavioral components of civic education with real payoffs then (at every age level), so that the familiar promise of delayed gratification in adulthood is avoided;
- 4) stressing the realities of the United States and other political systems rather than the structural/institutional/formal/"rule book" maxims which are now taught--to the detriment and neglect of the actualities of political life (such as the important role of political elites, pressure groups, lobbyists, and other important political actors);
- 5) laying bare the real conflicts and frustrations of political life for individuals and groups, including a realistic appraisal of what average men, women, and their groups can and cannot do (not every problem is soluble, regardless of the homilies found in civics textbooks or their simplistic solutions);
- 6) teaching the practicalities of how to work within the system and subsystems, so that dealing with the bureaucracy in a school, hospital, factory, union, local or state government, or telephone company, for example, is a skill which the educated student has mastered;
- 7) promoting knowledge and feelings about democratic pluralism, social adaptation, change, the myths of science and technology, and other crucial concepts which are so necessary to accommodation in contemporary democratic political life, which itself exhibits the results of the work of social leaders who have utilized political power for political innovation and purposive action;
- 8) studying and appreciating the other peoples who live with us in this "global village" and who also influence the world environment today (see Farnen and German, 1970 and 1972).

The Institute for World Order (formerly the World Law Fund) in New York City has developed textual materials, simulations about peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and war/peace in the contemporary era. Peace is treated as a substance which must be worked for, rather than as the mere absence of war, in today's confusing world of detente, SALT II, the military-industrial complex, and the arms race.

1. Comprehensive Programs and Miscellaneous Course Practices and Approaches

The Greater Cleveland Social Studies Project (GCSSP) has developed a K-12 curriculum which deals with government as early as grades K-4. For instance, government in the family, home, school, community, and metropolitan area are studied during the first four years. Some of the topics covered in this curriculum are human dignity, individual rights and responsibilities; precepts of a free society; the definitions of democracy and representative government; cooperation; services; the application and limitation of authority; structure, laws, and officials; equality before the law; and political order and power in responsible government. The University of Minnesota K-14 curriculum is also based on the structures of the social science disciplines. Like the GCSSP, this program uses Bruner's spiral curriculum framework and has incorporated the synthesis of social studies knowledge as a goal for students at each grade level.

Both the NCSS and the SRSS groups have prepared materials for students and teachers wishing to use the inquiry method. Inexpensive pamphlets and booklets on subjects such as structure in the social studies, inquiry skills, hypothesis formulation and testing, and similar topics are available from these organizations.

The San Francisco State Social Studies Curriculum Development Project was designed by the late Hilda Taba. Although primarily supported in its external funding by economics associations, this curriculum is interdisciplinary in its approach to the social studies in grades one through eight. It contains a rationale for the whole project, process-oriented teaching strategies, behavioral objectives and focuses on social skills, thinking abilities, values/attitudes, and cognitive skills. Key concepts provide the organizing principle for each grade. A sequential or "spiral" curriculum concept is also used in the (three to eight) social studies units per grade used in the elementary school sequence. Information gathering, organization of data, concept formulation, generalization, and application of ideas provide the essence of the cognitive teaching strategy. Discussion questions, role playing, letter writing, drawing, charting, mapping, reporting, and class discussion are typical skill activities designed to engage students. Attention to the affective domain is ensured through student explorations of one's emotional reactions, interpersonal problem solving, conflict resolution, analysis of values, and personal value identification. The family, urban problems, crosscultural studies, colonization, the concept of community, social change, and social problems are but a few of the major topics covered in this curriculum. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company has been distributing these materials.

Both the Providence and Rhode Island Social Studies Curriculum Projects and the University of Minnesota Project also have political education sequences in their K-12 curricula. The Providence project has American Studies in the eleventh and contemporary issues in the twelfth grades (both politically oriented). The Minnesota project has an eighth grade component, "Our Political System," and a twelfth-grade course, "Value Conflicts and Policy Decisions." These two courses deal with decision-making behavior, political parties, elections, civil liberties, national security, foreign aid, peace-keeping, and other relevant political topics. Similarly the Greater Cleveland Social Science Program (K-12), being published by Allyn and Bacon, is under the direction of a professional political scientist, Raymond English. States' rights, nationalism, federalism, tariffs, patriotism, revolution, and political analysis are some key political topics discussed in the GCSSP comprehensive program-- which also features inquiry, problem-solving, and exploration of value orientations as teaching and learning strategies.

The High School Social Studies Project at Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, also treats political science in a one semester course for above-average ninth graders, "Comparative Political Systems." Leadership, decision making, institutions, ideology, and citizenship are the key concepts developed. This curriculum, published by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., deals with values, attitudes, knowledge, and inquiry skills. A twelfth-grade "Introduction to the Behavioral Sciences" course also helps students to consider human behavior both in individual and group settings--each being helpful for a better understanding of things political and human.

Science, man, technology, and society seem to be some of the basic components for a new crossnational course of study in political education. Man the creator of ideas, tool fashioner, technologist, thinker and manipulator of himself and the future, it is proposed, can take control of his destiny through such a new curriculum, if it is worthy of all human-kind's consideration, even if not adopted everywhere on earth. However, one major task for civic educators today is to blend national and cross national research findings with a new civics having both national and international relevance.

H. Prospects - The Future of Political Education in the Schools

From our survey of the directions taken by political education institutes, new curricula, criticism and proposals in journal articles, and new books on civic education, that it is clear massive changes have been underway in our government and civics courses. However, civic education is becoming both more clearly focused and fragmented. A clearer focus is developing with the deemphasis on allegedly political topics such as health, life adjustment, personal deportment and grooming and the "good scout" attributes, important though they may be. (One cannot train a man for all political seasons or systems - to be everything in general is to be nothing in particular.)

Less emphasis is being given to the formal structures and institutions of government (e.g., the ten or more steps for a bill becoming a law in the state or federal legislature) and more to the informal and real aspects of politics and decision making (e.g., community elites and power structures).

Controversial issues are being brought into the classroom via these new textbooks and other teaching materials. The results of recent political science findings (based on research findings in American political behavior, political socialization, social stratification, survey research, comparative political systems, and political culture analysis) are making their way into classrooms throughout the country.

New political curriculum materials are now in use and teachers have been and are being educated in the "new" civics and the "new" social studies. Similarly there is now a concerted effort--likely to be even greater in the future--to teach applicable, meaningful, and relevant skills of inquiry, critical thinking, problem solving, and reflective thinking in civic education courses for students who will live in the twenty-first century.

Such an emphasis on inquiry may eventually have two major effects; namely, the thoughtful reconsideration of basic political values; and a reduction in the amount of irrelevant, normative, and redundant political information which is now taught in civics and government courses. Increasingly, the teaching of government in the schools of the future may be concerned with inquiry into controversial social issues and the amelioration, if not the resolution, of human conflict. Some of these issues are concerned with improved minority group relations and civil rights and liberties, population control, value conflicts over ideological issues, income redistribution or equalization (poverty, scarcity, open housing, equal job opportunity), and the seemingly insurmountable problems of differential affluence and citizenship training for world responsibility.

To meet some of these purposes, the civic education curriculum has become increasingly interdisciplinary, drawing particularly from new and

old concepts in economics, sociology, social psychology, and anthropology. A new spiral political curriculum has taken hold, however gradually, in elementary and secondary instruction in government. This means that certain basic political issues, concepts, and topics are introduced in earlier grades and are repeated in more abstract and sophisticated terms at selected intervals in the upper grades (e.g., analytical concepts and explanatory generalizations regarding decision-making and social change). The introduction of behavioral research findings has necessarily encouraged the development of the social scientific method of hypothesis formulation and testing, data collection, and development of conclusions based on empirical evidence--a teaching method more sophisticated than that now in use in most schools. However, the behavioral-scientific emphasis has not tried to exclude values and attitudes in social policy formulation. Consequently, the study of the method and content of philosophy and history are also vital parts of recent and proposed curriculum innovations. This is not to say that the guidelines for selecting the content to be studied will be narrowly discipline-oriented in the traditional sense. Instead, the various disciplines are being used to study important topics such as: the American revolution as a political movement; war as an instrument for social change; the interrelationships among, for example, communism, democracy, and third-world realities or expectations; and the basic elements of other social or revolutionary movements and the imperatives for change. Contemporary social problems, such as juvenile "delinquency," crime, abortion, food, energy, technology, the strike, armaments, and ecology are being studied in a personal, local, regional, national, hemispheric, and international context.

These new developments in curriculum content and organization are directly related to new teaching strategies and materials. The role of the teacher as the facilitator of inquiry and fellow evaluator in an issue-centered classroom is appearing with greater frequency. Direct student involvement in real social issues is being promoted through such an approach. Simulations and games (involving subjects such as the legislative process, committee hearings, social problem "solving," foreign policy formulation, war and international relations) are being used with greater frequency, as is computer assisted instruction, programmed learning, and role playing devices. The instructor of the future can also expect help from new materials which will promote "discovery" learning and creative "encounters," short case studies of social problems, legal decisions, and important, representative, and current political events. The growing availability of new resource and reference materials has also encouraged individualized instruction. Students are increasingly being expected to pursue independent (and even field and survey) research, since learning centers and data banks have become more available to them in the elementary and secondary schools and colleges. Multi-media approaches (educational television, film loops, synchronized filmstrips and recordings, transparency series) have become more conspicuous in the classroom. Eventually, the single omniscient textbook, masquerading as the ultimate authority, may not dominate the civic education courses of the future.

Another theme of contemporary and future-oriented civic education is the increasingly closer relationship between major inputs and outcomes of government instruction. This is to say that the objectives or goals of civic education are being more directly related to inputs such as textual

materials, audio-visual aids, teaching and learning methods and strategies, and then, in turn, to the measurement and evaluation of educational outputs or learning by students, classes, and teachers. This stress on outcomes may stem from the reports of various research studies on political socialization at the elementary, secondary, and college levels, the findings of testing and evaluation organizations and programs (such as the Educational Testing Service, IEA, The Psychological Corporation, ISIS, the Research Triangle, ACTB, Science Research Associates, and American Institutes for Research), various State and National Educational Assessment Projects, and even the C.B.S. National Citizenship Test (1965). These projects have proved conclusively through testing that some major goals (e.g., support for democratic values) are being achieved, but that much is wrong (e.g., personal application of these values in particular instances) with our current citizenship education program.

At this point in time there is a need to add and synthesize new information on civic education results from these various national and international assessments of civic education (drawn from student, teacher, parent and principal questionnaires and attitude scales, and quantitative crossnational research studies of political socialization). Initial findings from political research on American children and adolescents seems to require a large-scale reconsideration of our current political education offerings. Fortunately, new courses are being developed--courses which take account of race, sex, age level, educational expectancy, socio-economic class, region, information redundancy, and other crucial variables heretofore slighted or entirely ignored in civic education curriculum construction.

If we look, for just a moment, at some curriculum designs and proposals from representative groups, communities, and writers in the United States we can also see several patterns emerging. One such pattern emerges from a study of individuals and families locally, and in selected parts of the world, throughout grades K-12; local and selected communities in the United States and in different parts of the world in grades 3-4; the study of periods in American History and other countries "in depth" in grades 5-6. This may be followed by "basic" problems and "decisions" in the country today and yesterday (grades 7-8); "in-depth" studies of former and present western and nonwestern, major culture areas (grades 9-10); and United States history, contemporary problems, and other cultures in the last two years of public school. This spiral curriculum pattern is based on "chunks" or small units of study and incorporates behavioral objectives throughout the program, as well as concern for reading levels and teaching strategies.

Other new curriculum proposals and plans are using a basic conceptual structure to unify the use of alternative social studies programs. There is increasing emphasis on basic social science concepts and democratic values, major political understandings and generalizations, and skill development. Inductive and discovery learning are also receiving some attention, as is realistic evaluation of pupil progress in these new courses. The study of the "non-western" world, introduction of basic economic and political concepts at various levels, and the "upgrading" of the elementary school curriculum through presentation of supposedly too abstract topics, such as economic interdependence and specialization of function, are also gaining momentum. In-depth analysis and emphasis (or "postholing") of

selected topics is also part of the new experimental mode in political education, which is disposed toward juggling, reversing, or even to discarding entirely the traditional cyclical approach to the study of history at grades 5, 8, and 11 and government at grades 9 and 12. Evaluation results for many of these programs are not yet available, but the face validity of such curricula is quite impressive.

The general trend away from the traditional expanding-horizons or expanding-communities sequence in the elementary grades is evident, though some study of "primitive" communities remains. Emphasis is increasingly being given to the study of racial groups and contemporary problems, such as conservation of natural resources. The use of raw, uninterpreted data (statistical charts, pictures, graphs, maps, reading passages, etc.) is also coming more into use. Lead questions require the student to develop skills for thought, analysis, generalization, and interpretation. Controversial issues are also being studied; the interdisciplinary approach to the study of attitudes, values and content is being used; and the textbook is being replaced by pamphlets, case studies, supplementary readings, and other less "hidebound" learning materials.

Some other themes now receiving emphasis in the new civics are: the role of the individual in a democracy; democracy and education; personal values; world interdependence; social change; and the pluralistic political structure of American society--all of which are certainly of interest to the political scientist. In elementary grades, students are now answering such basic questions such as: What is law? How do citizens make laws? What is the role of voluntary groups in a democracy? How can current events help us to know more about how our government functions?

Some new programs have several years of community studies, followed by two years of area studies, three years of American studies, concluding with two years of "world" studies. Not only does such an approach do away with much that has been considered repetitious in the social studies programs of the past, but it also allows for an interdisciplinary approach whereby aspects of national, state, and local geography (as well as economics, government, and history) can be discussed with potentially eager and ripe-to-learn seventh and eighth grade students. Similarly, the structure of the social studies disciplines are being handled in basic content--conceptual "packages" (or "strands") such as in geographic--economic, socio-cultural, and political-governmental units. Critical thinking and problems have also been grafted onto current programs with the consequent costs, benefits, and confusion occurring from such social studies hybridization. Urban problems and international relations courses (stressing research, inductive, and inquiry skills, current events, evaluation techniques, bibliographical material for in-depth study, audio-visual aids and the like) are also being used. These elements seem to be characteristic of the major trends in the new civics of our era. Moreover, new and experimental programs, projects, and curriculum guides are proving to be so successful that they are likely to be more widely emulated in the near future.

With all this said about the presumed benefits of the "new social studies" and the revision and restructuring of the traditional mode of civic instruction, we have not forgotten the costs of such a program. That is, with the introduction of a decision-making component at the elementary level, a comparative political-experiences course at the ninth

grade, and a political-behavior component at the eleventh or twelfth grade, we do not see that basic harm is being done to the older sequential or developmental scheme present in civic education for most of this century. When one adds these political components to the elementary curriculum, and then introduces economics, anthropology, international studies, and sociology components, mixed with some new critical thinking, inquiry-based, or ethical/moral education, together with new American history units, the result is a smorgasbord that is hardly digestible by student, teacher, or parent. Furthermore, if we add ethics/morality/values education: family-related, economic, and law-related education; multi-ethnic, international/global perspectives; and political participation/behavior/experiences/issues education to the elementary and/or secondary curriculum, then we have fractionalization to the nth degree.

That there are other flaws in the new social studies is as obvious as the other warts on our political, social, economic, and educational subsystems. These projects have not been accepted universally, not all projects have produced convincing results, nor do they always make a difference for all students (who are not equally motivated), and critical thinking/inquiry is not for everyone. Moreover, even the federal government, as well as citizens' groups and school administrators, have also become part of the "backlash" against certain programs such as MACOS or political education courses (e.g., Comparative Political Systems) which examine the school as a political system. These qualifications are just a few of the reservations which must be mentioned in a more balanced view of these innovative projects.

The exponential growth curve of the new social studies increases with the addition of other units on urbanism, welfare, consumerism, environmental and ecology studies, land use, occupational education, and of course, free enterprise and technology, to be "balanced" by labor and war/peace studies. With all this moveable feast now available for the curriculum consumer, it is no wonder that the current pattern in civic education, bereft as it is of a workable rationale, is akin to an educational tower of Babel. Some feel

statewide, or national educational projects (e.g., the California (Taba), Minnesota, Providence, and Greater Cleveland Curriculum Projects) have attempted a new developmental sequence. Such a rationale must account for age levels, levels of abstraction, personal interests, ability groupings, teaching-learning styles, redundancy, conceptual development, and reinforcement, relevance, material cost and availability, and other such factors in curriculum design and development. However, as it now stands, some states with uniform or multi-adoption textbook systems have one set of state curriculum standards and guides with different, contradictory, or even mutually hostile (although occasionally supplementary) textbooks in use throughout the state. Consequently, the student enrolled in the Commonwealth of Virginia schools, for example, must study American government. But the type of government course studied will depend on local option and may be "traditional" (McClenaghan-Magruder) or "avant garde" (Nehlinger-Patrick), or something in between. Thus, there have been costs as well as benefits to the "new social studies" movement. Since we have no common measure of inputs or expectations even for textbooks (not to speak of school organization or classroom climate), then it is not surprising that our measures of outputs show differential patterns of achievement (lower in the Southeast and Midwest and higher in the Northeast and Far West) in different sections of the country or in different types of communities within a state itself. With this caveat in mind, we shall necessarily return to this important discussion in Chapter VI below, when we discuss the future of civic education in the United States.

I. Some Recent Research and Proposals Regarding Political Education and Democracy

In the spring of 1972, viewers watching the public broadcasting system were able to participate in a program entitled, "The National Law and Order Test," produced by station KETC-TV in St. Louis, Missouri. This program provided a studio audience of law students and police recruits, who competed

against a sample of adults living in urban cities throughout the United States. The results of responses to some eighteen basic questions regarding knowledge of the law were not encouraging, though the law students outshone the neophyte policemen and the "national sample" of respondents (most of whom "failed" the test, i.e., had ten or fewer correct answers to the questions asked). Consequently, this program was quite different from the usual "Perry Mason," "Owen Marshall," "Young Attorneys," or other standard TV fare of recent years.

One may quarrel with the phrasing, or even the importance of some of the questions posed; but the fact that this program now stands with the national driving test, citizenship test, and health test, for example, is no small accomplishment. Articles in prominent popular magazines and results of public opinion polls indicate that crime, law and order, riots and the like are increasingly becoming a major preoccupation of many Americans. However, this sixty-minute program, with its interesting subsamples of "liberal" Los Angeles versus "conservative" Dallas, and more tolerant youth attitudes toward criminals than those held by their elders, is but one example of the growing interest in the subject at hand. Now let us turn to the results of a more involved, and lengthy study of some topics similar to those covered in this television program.

A long term project concerning citizens' orientations toward, and knowledge of, the legal system is the National Assessment of Educational Progress, a project of the Education Commission of the States, in Denver, Colorado. This research enterprise, begun in 1964, has been supported with grants from the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation, and the

U. S. Office of Education. The development of citizenship objectives and evaluation instruments was the joint product over several years of teachers, scholars, laymen, and evaluation experts. Packages of exercises measuring citizenship, science, and writing abilities were administered to representative national samples of students aged 9, 13, and 17 (including "drop outs") and to young adults (26-35 years of age). In all, some 36,000 individuals were sampled during 1967 and 1970 for the citizenship project through personally administered and taped interviews, paper-and-pencil tests, and observations of group-interaction situations (see National Assessment, 1970-1975).

At least four of the nine major goals of this citizenship-assessment project, reported in 1970, are relevant to our discussion here. These concern "supporting individual rights and freedoms," "recognizing the value of just laws," "participating in effective civic action," and "understanding problems of international relations." (Certain other citizenship goals or objectives are also relevant, such as a person's willingness to associate with a friend whose father is in jail (positive response levels: age 9 - 56%, age 13 - 79%); ability to give an acceptable reason for doing so (positive response levels: age 9 - 48%, age 13 - 76%) and knowledge of such citizen action techniques as how to help someone report that a traffic light is not working (positive response levels: age 13 - 79%, age 17 - 90%, adult - 95%), to report a danger to public health, e.g., garbage in the streets (positive response levels: age 17 - 90% and adults - 95%); and to report an unfair business practice (positive response level: adults - 88%).

At age 13, 81% of American students responded that a person arrested for stealing is entitled to a hearing in court before he may be punished. This exercise was categorized under "individual rights and freedoms," as was "recognition of the right to lawful assembly" (43% "passed" at age 13) and "the right to protection against illegal searches and seizures in a person's home" (age 9 - 20%, age 13 - 68%, age 17 - 90%, adults - 83%). Under the category, "recognizes the value of just laws," the majority of all respondents at all ages knew the need for rules and laws and gave at least one purpose for them. At age 9, 88% provided an acceptable reason for playground rules; and over 90%, at each of the three older age levels, gave at least one reason "why laws are necessary." Those giving at least three such reasons fell to 43% of 13s, 58% of 17s, and 34% of adults. (Most 9-year-olds also recognized that adults need rules, and 63% were able to give an acceptable reason for their response.) Significantly, although 81% of 13-year-old respondents mentioned using courts to determine one's guilt or innocence of a charge of theft, only 50% of that age group invoked the legal system as a means for settling an argument over money, as contrasted with 70% of 17-year-olds and 87% of adult respondents.

In terms of effectively participating in civic action, one exercise dealt with a multi-topic group discussion regarding student dress rules, open housing and individual property rights, wire-tapping, the death penalty, gun control, legal limits on population size, and censorship--all controversial public issues. About half of both the 13- (42%) and 17- (56%) year-olds in this setting volunteered to give an initial opinion on the issue at hand; but nearly twice as many 13-year-olds (63%) as 17-year-olds (31%) volunteered at least one opinion contrary to that given by another student on the same issue. A total of over 60% of individuals in both age

groups volunteered either one initial or one contrary opinion, or both. In both age groups (35% at age 13 and 45% at age 17), those who volunteered initial opinions were most likely to contribute contrary opinions on other issues. Students in both groups who volunteered initial opinions were about equally divided at both age levels with regard to dress codes; yet most were opposed to wire-tapping and the death penalty, and most favored stricter gun control laws.

In the area of international relations, nearly all nine-year-olds were aware of the meaning of war, nearly all 13-35 year olds were aware of a specific war in progress, and over half (from 53 to 77%) could explain something about the conflict mentioned. Well over half of nine-year-olds were able to give at least one reason why countries have wars and a large majority named at least one way of possible war prevention (at age 13, 77%; age 17, 88%; and among adults 65%, gave at least one such reason). At ages 9 and 13 (45% and 75% respectively) respondents agreed that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. should settle legal rights (in the proposed hypothetical "settlement" of Mars), by advanced international agreement.

Similarly, for more than twenty years the Purdue Opinion Panel has been reporting on American students' orientations toward democratic principles and political tolerance (Remmers, 1963). Recognizing all the limitations of paper and pencil attitudinal measures the results, indicating that large numbers of teenagers lack a concrete, practical, and everyday commitment to democratic values, are not encouraging. Their attitudes toward freedom of speech and press, police authority, and rights of foreigners and minorities evidence strong practical intolerance, even though they pay equally strong lip service to the Bill of Rights.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress citizenship and social studies reports, to which we have frequently referred, corroborate these results and show that age, sex, region, and community size are other important variables associated with democratic citizenship. For instance, while adults in the Southeastern region scored higher than the national median in terms of understanding and participating in local government, providing for the educational care of their children, and pursuing the objective "help and respect their own families," this region displayed a lower level of total performance than the other three regions (Northeast, Central, and West) at all age levels (9, 13, 17, and 26-35) in a national random sample of approximately 100,000 persons (for both assessments) who were tested, interviewed, or observed in more than 2,500 schools and thousands of homes (see National Assessment, 1970-1975; Womer and Mastie, 1971; and NCSS, 1975).

The overall national assessment results reveal that tolerance of unpopular statements about race, religion, or politics is rarer than mere verbal acceptance of freedom in the abstract, that adults are best informed about local government and current office holders; but that little is known at any age level about the specific workings of government, as contrasted with merely the basic principles and main structures of the government. Relatively few people even know more than three or four (out of at least a dozen common ways) to influence governmental decisions, and even fewer report attempting to do so. Although female respondents are more advanced in areas concerning care of the family, they score lower (from 5-20%) than males with respect to their knowledge of law, government, international problems, and support for individual rights. Although cities do not differ greatly in terms of assessment results, citizens in

the urban fringe (suburbs) and medium-size cities perform slightly better than those in large or small cities in all categories at nearly all age levels.

Whereas at least two-thirds of young adults were willing to associate in public places with people of different races, they were unwilling to do so in more personal or private situations (e.g., 90% of young adults were willing to eat together in a crowded restaurant; yet only 65% were willing to have a nearby neighbor of another race). Moreover, students and young adults in the Southeast were from 12-14% below the national average in terms of accepting different races, even in public situations or places. Other differences in the Southeast were recorded with respect to a person of one race representing citizens of another in public office, ministering medical services, or even staying in the same motel or hotel with them. Large and significant differences in racial responses were also noted with respect to age, community size, and sex. (In the 1976 national assessment results reported below in Chapter VI we shall see some variations in these patterns and some new results such as the high interest of rural and minority students in civic education.)

Despite the fact that more than half of the respondents from all age levels in all four regions were willing to associate with other races in the five situations described in the exercises, fewer than fifty percent were aware of religious discrimination in the United States, as contrasted with their greater awareness of this phenomenon elsewhere in the world. (In interpreting these findings, the first staff director of the NAEP concluded:

legislators and board members probably will be attracted more strongly, at first, to the citizenship results, and next year to the reading results. One citizenship exercise demonstrated clearly that most young people and young adults do not believe that the government should allow certain very controversial statements to be aired on radio or TV. If I were a member of a board of education and saw that result, I would want to inquire of my superintendent whether our students were studying the issue of freedom of expression, freedom of the press, etc....

After reading the total citizenship report, I might even be disturbed enough to suggest that additional resources be allocated to citizenship education, or at least that our director of curriculum be asked to appear before the board to discuss our practices in citizenship education....

If the results of national assessment indicate a decided lack of knowledge of the structure of government, particularly at the state and local level, who can say whether it is the fault of our schools, of other social agencies, or of a general lack of interest on the part of many citizens in their government? (Womer and Mastie, 1971, 119)

A previous study also indicated that all is not well with civic education in the United States. Westin and his colleagues at Columbia University studied some 7,000 junior and senior high school students in metropolitan New York and Philadelphia. They concluded that there was a considerable lack of opportunity to learn democratic decision-making skills. Students were unable to determine the "democratic thing to do" in conflict situations, could not perceive alternative courses of action or view the problems of other persons involved, nor could they appreciate the problem from more than the personal level, to the neglect of a group/institutional basis. Eighty percent of these students were either unwilling or unable to state alternative courses of action to ensure negotiation when finding themselves in these self-described conflict situations. These students reported that the schools provided them with little opportunity for real experiences in democratic rule and decision-making. Widespread use of arbitrary rules, apathy, powerlessness, tension, and conformity were the key words used to describe their school environments. This group of researchers has also suggested the pressing need for reforming civic education, the process of instruction, the organization and administration of the school itself, and the relations of the school to the local community. Students, they say, must become involved in real decision-making without having adults tell them

what to do about their personal, genuine perceptions of school and community conflict (DeCecco, 1971; Weston, 1970). Schools must promote a consistent rapport among students, teachers, parents, and administrators, so that the gap between the professed democratic objectives of the school and their realization will be closed.

There is no small amount of published research and professional advice supporting this recommendation, although the long tradition of adult repression (often followed by a brief spate of student activism, proposed reforms, and the eventual return to self-serving "normalcy" in the schools) is sure to return once again, unless public education is truly and continually reformed again and again. As Silberman has concluded:

Far from helping students to develop into mature, self-reliant, self-motivated individuals, schools seem to do everything they can to keep youngsters in a state of chronic, almost infantile dependency. The pervasive atmosphere of distrust, together with rules covering the most minute aspects of existence, teach students, every day that they are not people of worth, and certainly not individuals capable of regulating their own behavior. (Silberman, 1970, 134)

From a different perspective and after a more thorough study of research on students' democratic orientations, Simpson said:

For some years now, it has been clear that the American educational system is not the bastion of democracy it is labeled in the national ideology. Values and the cultural myths of equality and opportunity are memorized, and the mundane problems of a representative system are analyzed. Elections and voting are even walked through. Everywhere the power of the flag and the President's picture shelter the school symbolically, and the stigmata of democracy are ritualistically displayed. Yet the political and social structure of our schools is not democratic, and many graduates of these socializing institutions are emerging class-conscious and difference-conscious, with an abiding lack of faith in the capability of their fellows to govern either themselves or the country. (Simpson, 1971, 2)

Simpson's research of nearly 400 works on the subject of democratic values and basic biosocial needs, her empirical evidence drawn from an in-depth study of over 400 students in high schools (three in California and one in Georgia), and her work on psychological deprivation led her to suggest that:

Three conditions . . . must be met for the emergence of democratic attitudes and behavior: the gratification of basic needs which represent antecedents, or preconditions; the opportunity of an immediate environment in which to learn and to practice these values; and a democratic social structure which not only permits but encourages their situational expression. We believe . . . that the latter is a natural outcome of the former two. . . . Which of these needs cannot be alleviated if a democratic society . . . finds it necessary for its own preservation? (Simpson, 1971, 185)

Encouraging efforts to reform the school curriculum and educational climate have been described elsewhere in this report. However, the most concerted effort, with promising long-range objectives, should also be described at this point, if for no other reason than to provide hope in the light of some glaring deficiencies in current civic-education practices as presented throughout this study.

In 1971 the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education (PSEP) released a report entitled Political Education in the Public Schools: The Challenge for Political Science (APSA, P. S., Summer, 1971, 431-458). This report described the work of political scientists in areas such as political socialization, the politics of education, new curricula and instructional materials, teacher education, and social structure and culture of schools. The PSEP also detailed the baneful consequences of the mutual isolation which exists between schoolmen and political scientists. However, as the committee said, there is a common core of assumptions about the

purposes of political education in our schools, such as teaching about:

- a) democratic ideals and realities; b) formal governmental institutions/ legal structures and political behavior/processes; c) the American political system and other such systems, particularly the international system;
- d) the capacity to think in conceptually sophisticated ways about politics and skillful use of the process of social-science inquiry in order to make careful normative judgments about political affairs; e) the historical/ cultural/social/psychological sources of their political attitudes;
- f) the personal or social implications of alternative values; and g) the capacities and skills required to participate effectively in the life of a democratic society.

The PSEP concluded in strong and straightforward language that contemporary political education in the schools promotes "naive, unrealistic and romanticized" images of political life which confuse the ideal and the real of politics; unduly stresses historical events, legal structures, and formal government institutions rather than political behaviors and processes; reflects an ethnocentric preoccupation with American society to the neglect of other such political systems; encourages conceptual oversimplification, dereliction, and irresponsibility; and fails to encourage the development of the skills needed to participate effectively in democratic politics.

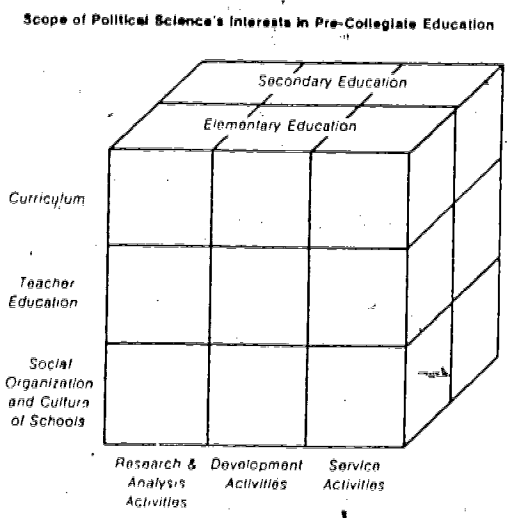
To turn the tide, the PSEP proposed a strategy for improving political education, including such devices as a support system using existent university based civic education centers, encouraging the increased involvement of political science departments in teacher education, identifying a subculture or subdiscipline of political scientists interested in political

education, and seeking national leadership and staff assistance from organizations such as the APSA. The committee also proposed collaborative relationships with other groups, organizations, and disciplines and the development of educational programs to achieve curriculum change, revised teacher preparation and experiences in politics, and reform of the social organization and culture of the schools in a democratic fashion. These current, ongoing, and long-range objectives of the PSEP have been absent too long in the fields of social-studies education and political science in the United States.

Only time will tell, of course, how successful this committee, in cooperation with social-studies educators, will be in the future. Its efforts may prove to be a turning point, signalling a trend toward organized change of the civic-education structure, and the educational system, as well as eventually, even the political system itself.

The nature and extent of the discipline's interest in pre-collegiate education is graphically illustrated in Figure 1:

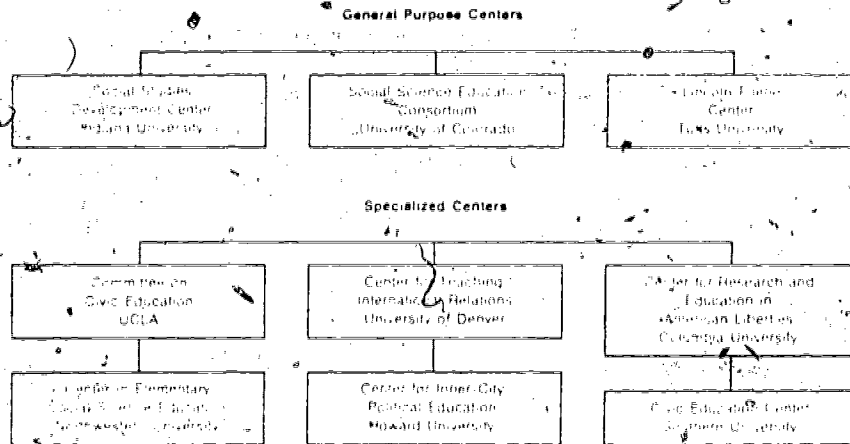
Figure 1



Source: APSA, P.S., Summer, 1971, 453

A network of broad, comprehensive, and special purpose centers has been created and is illustrated in Figure 2:

Figure 2



Source: APSA, P. S., Summer 1971, -448

It is likely that more political scientists will work in the future on curriculum change in civic education, improving teacher education programs, reforming the social organization and culture of the schools, conducting basic research on children's political learning, and identifying of the political sociology of educational change. Surveys by the APSA over the years indicate that this field is a growth stock in the profession. But more work by political scientists is needed of the sort conducted by Richard M. Merelman, in Political Socialization and Educational Climates (1971), who examined the effects of social class, age, intelligence, sex and party identification, school district quality, and teacher characteristics, on levels of political information, political maturation, and support for democratic values among sixth, ninth, and twelfth grade students in two Los Angeles school districts. Such studies, when coupled with constructive suggestions for educational change, may serve to provide

some common meeting ground for teachers, students, and professors of politics. This is just one of many developments which hold great promise for the future of civic education in the United States, a topic to which we shall return in Chapter VI of this report.

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III. INDICES OF UNITED STATES CIVIC/POLITICAL EDUCATION: THE 1960s

A. INTRODUCTION

Chapter III of this report provides background for and a presentation of the indices of civic/political education in the United States for the 1960s.

After this introduction, it is divided into the following parts:

Educational Goals: The Curriculum and Teaching Methods:
Quantitative Data on Civic Education: 1966/67; Alternative Approaches to an
Index of Civic Education: 1966/67; Indices of Civic Education for the 1960s
Results, Sources, and Procedures Used; and Summary and Conclusions.

A basic assumption underlying this report is that the schools play an important part in the formation of the political knowledge, skills, abilities, behaviors, and attitudes of American youth. A study by Fred I. Greenstein indicated that the political attitudes of young children in the early years of elementary school are also developed with reference to parents, peers, and other individuals with whom they are personally acquainted (Greenstein, 1965, 148).

The Greenstein study and others, such as the work of David Easton and Jack Dennis, imply that political awareness in the cognitive domain rapidly develops in later years, beginning ages 9-10, as a result of formal education (Easton and Dennis, 1965; and Hess and Torney, 1965). The school teaches content, information, and concepts which expand and elaborate on early political dispositions, attitudes, and feelings. In 1965 Hess and Torney concluded that, in the United States, "The school is apparently the most powerful institution in the socialization of attitudes, conceptions, and beliefs about the operation of the political system" (Hess and Torney, 1965, 377). Although no such claim is made here, the influence of the school must be considered along with parental and peer group influence in order to understand the political socialization of American youth.

We do not intend to overemphasize the role that schools play in the political socialization process; however, this is an important phase of civic education research today. Instead, our major intent is to present a detailed description of education for what has been called "effective and responsible citizenship," which is the most important goal traditionally encountered in social studies education in the United States.

B. EDUCATIONAL GOALS

1. Statements of the Law

In line with the Tenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, public education has historically been a function reserved to the states. Some aspects of political education have been specified in the laws of the fifty states. For example, in 1963 the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government (Taft Institute, 1963, 6) found that the following subject matter was referred to by statute in the number of states shown below:

<u>Content/Topic (By Rank)</u>	<u>States Requiring</u>
Constitution of the United States	41
United States of America History	33
Constitution of the State	33
State History	29
United States Government	28
State Government	27
Flag Education	25
Civics	21
Geography	21
Patriotism	21
Declaration of Independence	18
Local Government	18
Principles of Representative Government	17
Duties of Citizenship	17
American Institutions and Ideals	16
Communism	6
Election Laws	4
<u>The Federalist Papers</u>	3
Political Party Structure	3
Political Party Operations	3
Economics	3

State statutes usually were broadly phrased and required only that certain topical knowledge be taught. Rarely did legislation stipulate in what grade a given course was to be studied, for how long, or whether a student had to pass an examination in it in order to graduate.

2. Other Statements on Goals

In the 1960s, the major theme in nearly every statement of goals for instruction in the social studies was citizenship education for "nation building." However, little agreement existed then, as today, as to just what constitutes a "good" citizen-- or a "good" nation, for that matter. Selecting or sampling from the almost limitless and constantly expanding universe of citizenship goals is a frustrating task because of the overlapping, contradictory, and nebulous nature of so many of its elements. Goals statements aside, one empirical study in the mid-1960s showed that elementary and secondary school teachers placed particular stress upon citizen compliance to rules and authority, de-emphasizing all other political topics, such as political parties and governmental institutions. A frequency chart illustrating the most important citizenship goals statements has been included in the 1966/67 taxonomy presented in part F of this section. This chart indicates that the essentials of responsible citizenship; cooperation with others to solve social, economic, and political problems; and personal rights and liberties received most emphasis in the mid-60s goals statements.

C. THE CURRICULUM AND TEACHING METHODS

1. The Traditional Curriculum

It is a well known, if widely disregarded, fact that the political education curriculum has not been uniform or consistent throughout the United States. Although the states may prescribe certain subjects or topics that must be taught in the schools, the tradition has been to permit the local school district, city,

county, or other educational unit to formulate its own curriculum. There are, however, general curriculum patterns which appear throughout the country. In the 1960s, such curricula were categorized by one writer as the "Conservative Curriculum," the "Middle-Road Curriculum," and the "Liberal Curriculum" (Kenworthy, 1962, 61-63).

The first of these approaches accented the teaching or transmitting of the past, with some slight changes. The "Middle-Road" approach combined transmitting the past and preparing people to improve society. The third approach aimed to prepare people for improving society. Generally, these three may be summarized as follows:)

Curriculum I. Here the emphasis was on history as a discipline. Interdisciplinary efforts to include other social studies subjects (such as political science, sociology, and economics) were decried. This curriculum pattern, which was generally out of fashion in the 1960s, developed early in the century. It usually exhibited the following pattern:

Grade 9	Ancient and Medieval History
Grade 10	Modern European History
Grade 11	English History
Grade 12	United States History

Curriculum II. In this pattern history was often combined with frequent references to current events and contemporary problems. This curriculum pattern reflected the general status of the social studies in the primary and secondary schools of the United States in the 1960s:

Grade 7	Civics (or some aspect of geography continued from the sixth grade)
Grade 8	United States History
Grade 9	Community Civics (or occasionally World Geography)
Grade 10	World History
Grade 11	United States History
Grade 12	Problems of Democracy or Contemporary Problems

Curriculum III. This was the area of experimentally minded curriculum planners. Here, the traditional emphasis on history was superseded by an emphasis on the "new social studies." More will be said later in this and the following two sections about new curricula in civics education.

For further correlation, a study conducted through The Lincoln-Filene Center for Civic Education and Public Affairs of Tufts University (Patterson, 1960, 37) maintained in 1960 that the curriculum pattern in civic education was incorporated in the general term "social studies." It tended toward the following grade-level sequence throughout the United States:

MOST FREQUENT OFFERINGS: GRADES 7-12

Grade VII
Selected Peoples and Nations
Geography
U. S. History
Social Studies

Grade X
World History
Modern History

Grade VIII
U. S. History
Civics
Social Studies

Grade XI
U. S. History
Electives

Grade IX
Civics
Orientation
State History

Grade XII
Contemporary Problems
U. S. History
American Government

We can see that, except for civics in the seventh grade, this chart is the same as Kenworthy's Curriculum II. In summary, then, for the 1960s period the most common course offerings by grade were geography in the seventh, American history in the eighth and eleventh, civics in the ninth, world history in the tenth, and problems of democracy and American government in the twelfth. Most schools did not attempt to organize these courses in any cumulative or sequential fashion (Gross and Zeleny, et al., 1958, 70; and Fenton, 1966, 97).

At the elementary school level, the following list presents those social studies topics which were most frequently offered in the 1950s and 1960s (Wesley, 1952, 46).

Grades I-III	Home, family, school, community, food, shelter, clothing, protection, Indian life, life in other lands, holidays, making a living
Grade IV	Geography, local history and geography, state history and geography, occupations
Grade V	American history, industries or occupations, geography of the United States and North America
Grade VI	European backgrounds, geography of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Two more recent studies of the typical elementary school social studies curriculum in the 1960s were also consulted, namely, John U. Michaelis' Social Studies for Children in a Democracy (1963) and Kenneth L. Husbands' Teaching Elementary School Subjects (1961).

Husbands' list is basically similar to those found in the volumes by Wesley (1952) and Michaelis (1963), but it is more detailed. Therefore, for our purposes it is more useful and is quoted below in full:

Kindergarten. Working and Playing Together. Our Homes, Knowing Our School, Community Activities, Holidays, Pets, The Farm, The Circus

Grade One. Home, School, The Immediate Neighborhood, Health and Safety, Special Events, Pets, Seasons, Summer Fun, Holidays

Grade Two. Community Workers and Helpers, City Life, Farm Life, How We Live in Our Community

Grade Three. The Expanding Community, Food, Shelter, Clothing, Transportation, Communication, Early Life in Our Community, Indians, Pioneers

Grade Four. Ways of Living in Other Lands, Ways of Living - Now and Then, Development of Our State, Our State as Part of the Nation, Conservation of Natural Resources

Grade Five. The Early Development of Our Country, National Heroes, Geographic Regions of the United States, Our Neighbors to the North and South, Our Possessions, The Near and Far East, The Pacific Rim, Industries of the United States

Grade Six. World Geography, European Backgrounds of American History, The Western Hemisphere (Husbands, 1961, 242)

The social studies curriculum was the product of many forces in the United States. The following forces or individuals and groups usually contributed in varying degrees to the construction of the civic education curriculum as it existed in the 1960s (Kenworthy, 1962, 59-60):

State Statutes & Regulations	School Administrators and Teachers
Textbook Publishers	Schools of Education
Colleges and Universities	Professional Organizations
Citizen Groups	Curriculum Bureaus
Parents	Boards of Education
Alumni	State and Private Testing Services

Not listed above, but of growing importance in the 1960s, was the influence of regional accrediting associations. Also of consequence was the fact that the total curriculum was being influenced by federal government sources, insofar as generous funds were available for some school subjects but not for others. For example, under Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (administered by the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare), federal funds were channeled into the social studies. These federal grantors were at the same time usually careful to maintain a "hands off" policy toward the specifics of curriculum design. Thus, curriculum makers were relatively "free" to produce new curricular alternatives (Goodlad, et al., 1966, 13). Of course, the U.S.O.E. and N.S.F. were able to favor that which staff members considered to be both new and most worthwhile curricular experiments. This helped to produce what was then called the emerging "new social studies."

2. A Survey of New or Experimental Civic Education Curricula in

a. New Curriculum Developments in the 1960s

It is difficult to define the specific content of political education in the 1960s because the elementary and secondary school curriculum was then in a state of flux. In school systems which placed primary

The second answer is from a generally opposed school of curriculum makers who seek a foundation for social studies in current or recurring problems which face the society in which the student is living. These problems cannot for the most part be fitted into disciplinary boundaries. The very term social studies implies, according to this school of thought, an interdisciplinary approach to a study of society.

A third approach which combines some features of one and two is to have the specialists identify the major concepts which are developed in each discipline and to make this list of concepts the basis for the social studies program. This approach has received much attention in recent years, but the problem of identifying the concepts has proved to be difficult and the natural follow-up of selecting materials for each age level to develop these concepts has proved to be even harder. The general idea, however, appeals to many university specialists and secondary teachers and has furnished a forum for an exchange of ideas. (Moreland, 1965, 6)

b. Themes of the New Civic Education Curricula in the 1960s

The following statements represent some of the recurrent themes espoused by certain individuals and groups who desired a change in the civic education curriculum during the 1960s.

1. It is more valuable for children to be taught how to learn than it is to study any particular content that is tied to formal structured disciplines, whose boundaries may be quite different in the future. (Morrisett, 1966, xiii)

2. Emphasis must be given to the importance of introducing the student to the ways of thinking represented by the disciplines in such a way that he in fact can think like an economist, historian, or political scientist. (Sowards, 1963, 115)

3. The social studies program is provincial in its emphasis on the United States and western Europe. This emphasis must become more cosmopolitan, more crosscultural, and more international. (Fraser, 1965, 424)

4. Elementary school children from kindergarten to the sixth grade can understand and work with considerably more social studies content than is presently expected or provided. (Harrison and Solomon, 1964, 277)

5. Traditionally, the civics course often avoids reality, teaching only the formal structure of government at the expense of theory and function.

(Robinson, 1967)

6. There is a need for paying more attention to controversial issues in the classroom. It is hoped and expected that this will result in a better appreciation of American politics on the part of students. (Cleary, 1965, 8)

7. The dominant influence on the social studies today is from the "mass production" textbooks which offend no interest groups, which stress the read-recite-quiz approach, and which reinforce inanity and short-term retention. The present social studies curriculum has remained essentially static for forty years. Usually it is obsolete. (Patterson, 1962, 28)

However, an Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (National Education Association) publication differed with the emphasis of some projects concerned with fostering new and experimental curricula. This difference applied to citizenship education in particular. Many curriculum builders, as mentioned, placed primary emphasis on instruction in the methods of the social science disciplines. They assumed that if the student is taught how to think, he will be able to tackle the many complex social problems confronting him in adulthood. This A.S.C.D. publication maintained that this was expecting too much of the elementary and secondary student. Instead, the issue of political education could be resolved, according to the A.S.C.D., by introducing the student to the best available knowledge from the social sciences within the structures of the disciplines themselves. (A.S.C.D., 1963, 72)

c. Textual Materials and Teaching Methods in the 1960s

Concomitant with these curricular revisions, educators were experimenting with new teaching materials and methods of teaching. The textbook was the most widely used and yet the most universally criticized of all teaching

materials. Reliance on a single "all inclusive" or "comprehensive" text, critics said, weakened both the social studies course and its impact. A teacher who hastily attempted to "cover" too much material became the bete noire for the new curricula movement, whose advocates claimed that teaching by the text resulted in a reluctance to handle genuinely and imaginatively the real, important, and controversial issues of the day (Robinson, 1967). In the new curricula "packages" or "systems," there was an obvious emphasis on the use of filmstrips, slides, motion pictures, recordings, newspapers, periodicals, and other "real" or audiovisual stimuli to promote student motivation and learning. Many projects disdained to develop a textbook per se. Instead, they proposed to use collections of data including case studies, reproductions of documents, tapes, facsimiles of artifacts, selected readings that provided conflicting interpretations or points of view, films, and still pictures (Fraser, 1965, 425).

For example, the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs at Tufts University and the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers--the State University of New Jersey--produced some guides for educational television programs, book readings to accompany textbooks, and lecture and case study films. Educational television, itself, received new impetus through the development of the Public Broadcasting System. The National Association of Educational Broadcasters published The NAEB Journal and The NAEB Newsletter, both of which provided current reports, research data, and articles on the use of ETV in the classroom. Schools in tune with these developments set up instructional materials centers which promised the greater use of a wide spectrum of new educational materials.

The new social studies recognized that, not only did teachers too often rely too heavily on a textbook in the classroom, but they often had no training to undertake the responsibility of teaching political education (Patterson, 1960; 361).

These shortcomings became more evident as new curricula evolved and used various approaches in the classroom. Some of these devices included preservice teacher education in the "new social studies," team teaching, using an interdisciplinary and audio-visual approach, simulation and role-playing in a classroom with e.g., contrived decision making situations, and reorganization of student governments, which so often proved dismal failures because student bodies usually decided on little more than the details for the school prom rather than on administrative policies for the school (Gibson, 1965, 73-78; Robinson, 1967).

D. QUANTITATIVE DATA ON CIVIC EDUCATION

Existing data on teachers and students in the United States elementary and secondary school system for the 1960s are overly general. Adequate figures on specific "political" courses do not exist. Consequently, much of the statistical material presented below relates to the social studies. Whenever possible, the data have been broken down into the specific subject matter of civic education.

1. Teachers

In 1965 the number of social studies teachers in the United States was 96,457, comprising 13.8 percent of the total number of 698,964 teachers at this level of educational instruction in the United States (Robinson and Scott, 1966).

During the mid-1960s, the National Council for the Social Studies estimated the number of history and civics teachers in United States public schools to be as follows (Gillespie, 1964):

Estimated Number Classroom Teachers, All Subjects, 1963-64

Number elementary-school classroom teachers	925,027
Number secondary-school	649,791
Total number classroom teachers, 1963-64	1,574,818

Estimated Number Classroom Teachers, History and Civics, 1963-64

		<u>Percent of Total Classroom Teachers</u>
History grades 4- 8	400,000	25.4
History grades 9-12	59,000	3.7
Total	459,000	29.1
Civics grades 4- 8	102,000	6.5
Civics grades 9-12	15,000	1.0
Total	117,000	7.5

National studies on the background of social studies teachers in the 1960s do not exist. The following information pertains to the academic preparation of social studies teachers in selected states (Hartshorne and Gillespie, 1964):

1. Arizona: In 1963, 589 social studies teachers, grades 7-12, reported that their greatest number of hours in academic preparation was in American history, followed by world history, political science, and geography.

2. In Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, and New York, social studies teachers had no college courses as indicated below:

	<u>Year of Survey</u>	<u>Percent Had No Course in:</u>		
		<u>political science</u>	<u>sociology</u>	<u>economics</u>
Kansas	1956-57	15	19	29
New York	1957	20	26	22
Minnesota	1961	31	31	38
Michigan	1963	19	20	28

In these states it was found that the teachers had more background in history than any other subject.

3. Ohio: A 1963 report stated that social studies teachers averaged well under 20 hours of college social science subject matter preparation. Although little variation existed among schools by size, it was evident that teachers in the city schools ranked highest, village schools next, and local schools last. (The categories of city, village, and local schools were left vague and do not appear to refer to urban, suburban, and rural schools respectively.)

Harlan Hahn, University of Michigan, concluded in 1965 that high school teacher preparation in political science was very weak in the United States. He stated that the amount of college work in political science taken by social science teachers was inadequate and that they rarely majored in political science (Hahn, 1965, 86-69).

2. Students

Howard Cummings reported the following facts about student enrollment by grade level in the early 1960s:

1. Grade 7: More than 250,000 students were enrolled in a general social studies course; and over 650,000 studied subjects in state history, government and geography.

2. Grade 8: United States history was the primary course.

3. Grade 9: Students enrolled in a full-year community civics course numbered 550,000, while an additional 150,000 took a one-semester course. A slow transition in curricular emphasis from community civics to geography was taking place.

4. Grade 10: World history had an enrollment of 1,400,000 in a full year course.

5. Grade 11: United States history was the usual course, with a reported enrollment of 1,950,000.

6. Grade 12: Problems of democracy was taught for one semester to 82,040 students; for one year, to 258,000; civics and government, one semester 340,000, one year 430,000; economics and economic problems, one semester 271,000, one year 75,000; and sociology and social problems, one semester 175,000, one year 110,000. (Moreland, 1965, 4-5).

The Office of Education stated that in 1960-61, 18 percent of the pupils in grades 9 to 12 were enrolled in a civics or government course. Community civics was cited as the most frequent 9th grade social studies subject. (Wright, 1965, 40-45)

E. ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO AN INDEX OF CIVIC EDUCATION

If variety truly is the spice of life, then American civic education in the 1960s was very spicy, however much its vitality could be questioned. Any survey of legislative mandates, course offerings, curricular objectives, texts, etc., would surely reveal the infinite "variegation with a vengeance" which characterized citizenship study in the pluralistic United States during the 1960s. As with civic education courses, so with the citizenship concept-- its connotative and denotative meanings seemed to be as numberless as the concept of democracy itself.

Over forty-five years ago Professor C. C. Peters, a measurement expert from Pennsylvania State College, identified nearly five hundred types of competency which composed the concept of citizenship in its political, social, and economic senses. Dr. Peters later complained that his list was incomplete, its elements often unmeasurable, and the time involved in his work overwhelming (Peters, 1942). Many new meanings were added to the concept of citizenship by the 1960s; and much more was then known about both the concept and how to measure effective

democratic citizenship. But a morass of meaning still cluttered the field, despite major attempts at digestion, synthesis, and consensus. One such well-known attempt a quarter century ago by R. W. Crary et al. (National Council for the Social Studies, 1950), yielded twenty-four major beliefs, values, skills, understandings, abilities, behaviors, and the like, (some of which had as many as eight subtopics), which in all yielded over one hundred and fifty discrete statements. This impressive list had elements involving almost everything imaginable--from courtesy, to cross-cultural understanding, to consumerism, to competition, to careers, to compromise, to the Constitution.

Such a list--and others like it--were both the bane and the boon of those wishing to extract the essentials of a definition of citizenship and its important aspects for the 1960s. The sheer number of such elements led to confusion about essentials. But the very existence of these multifaceted lists indicates responsiveness to our pluralistic American society.

These expanded definitions were a far cry from the oversimplified, formalistic, and often unrealistic and unserviceable definitions which appeared earlier in the century.

If nearly everyone is today considered to be a citizen, it is also true that most political systems are also founded on a conception of democracy which they are trying to achieve in their own ways. Leaders of the People's Democratic Republic of China say that their citizens enjoy democratic citizenship: but the crucial element of regularly registered consent is obviously lacking, along with many other traditional essentials which in the West is deemed essential to democratic citizenship. And so our confusion is not culturally limited; but that compounds the difficulty. In assessing what was meant by democratic citizenship in the mid-1960s, our first question will necessarily be: What was meant during that period by the term "democratic citizenship"?

A definition of the prevailing conception of this phenomenon of citizenship seems to be equally as essential as the question of what were the indices of democratic citizenship. Since not all of the infinite criteria can be selectively sampled and included, some rating of priorities is both necessary and desirable. Although each element of the index (behavior, value, skill, etc.) will have to stand on its own face value, the task before us is to select those ideals ("shoulds") deemed to be most essential as well as those realities ("ares") believed to be attainable by and taught to certain proportions of certain age groups at certain points in time; e.g., the National Assessment and IEA categories of nine-, thirteen-, and seventeen-year-olds, as well as adults.

The essential elements of citizenship education must be understandable to the intelligent layman. Before they reach him, they should have been subjected to public review and refined to reflect the public consensus. Stimulation of interest and appropriate attitudes must be given at least as much attention as the detailing of facts, skills, understanding, and content. Finally, we must pay some attention to political behavior even if it, like an attitude, is presumed difficult to teach or measure.

There follows an attempt to lay out the basic dimensions of civic education in the mid-1960s and to illustrate its format, basic terminology, topics, and so forth. We shall first present a summary outline of the traditional textbook and curricular approaches to the study of citizenship education ("copybook civics" in the 1960s, with an attempt to detail certain representative subtopics through an outline. Then, for illustrative purposes, we shall detail a synopsis of essential behavioral goals (including attitudes) taken from a relevant work by Will French et al. (Behavioral Goals of General Education, 1957), which stressed the definable and

measurable outcomes of citizenship education in terms of school age. Our summary is very general in its scope and may serve as one example of a guide for detailing that which was considered to be achievable and/or measurable, in contrast to those elements of civics which were inaccessible, short of the psychiatrist's couch. Finally, we shall present a general statement on civic education in the mid-1960s, which we have drawn from the catholicity of curricula, course texts, methods books, professional journals, and other sources we consulted about effective democratic citizenship a decade ago.

The "Copybook Civics" Approach

—In this approach, which we mentioned in Chapter I of this study, the emphasis is most frequently on local government, occupations, deportment, or "good" citizenship behavior. Here is a list of the most basic elements usually found in junior and senior high textbooks for civic education in the mid-1960s:

TABLE VII (see Appendices I to III)

American National, State, and Local Government: Structure, Policy, Formulation, and Process--Major Content Topics

1. Essentials of Effective Democratic Citizenship: requisites, voting; party membership; rationality; keeping informed; group action; participant, administrative, and leadership ability; critical thinking, comparative government; Communism, flag display, patriotism, loyalty, allegiance, civic courage and competence; "ashcan" civics and public cleanliness.
2. Foundations and Basic Concepts of American Government: historical and philosophical background; colonial, continental, confederation, and constitutional periods; federalism, separation of powers, and limited government.
3. Political Processes, Organization, and Participation: suffrage, voting behavior, formation and measurement of public opinion, interest and pressure groups; political parties and the nomination and electoral systems; reapportionment; values, ethics and morality in government.
4. Congress: structure, functions, and powers of House and Senate; legislative procedures and problems; Congress and the policy process; the District of Columbia and the Territories.

5. The Presidency and the Executive Branch: term, qualifications, succession, power and roles of the President; potentials and limits on policy formulation; the Cabinet and the executive office; the role of the administrative establishment and the bureaucrats in the policy process.
6. The Judiciary: the law, and the political process; organization, jurisdiction, and procedure of the federal courts; judicial review.
7. Personal Rights and Liberties: developing concepts, Constitutional guarantees; the role of Congress, the Executive, and unofficial agencies.
8. Government and the Economy: unofficial and official agencies in the political process; budgets, taxes, and expenditures; government and the promotion and/or regulation of business, commerce, agriculture, labor, public utilities, agriculture, finance, and conservation; health, education, welfare, and other public projects.
9. Foreign Policy and National Defense: individuals and agencies (official and unofficial) responsible for formulating and implementing policy; treaties, executive orders, joint resolutions; alliances, international organizations, foreign aid, and international commitments; new role and power of the military-industrial complex.
10. The New Federalism: concept of shared power; the changing nature of national, state, and local relationships.
11. State Government: state constitutions; legislative structure, functions, powers, procedure, process, and problems; gubernatorial term, qualifications, power, votes, and policy formulation; the executive office, administration, and bureaucracy; state judiciary jurisdiction, organization, procedure, and powers; state administrative agencies, finance, and other activities.
12. Local Government: metropolitan areas; county; city; township; village; special district, etc.; grass roots politics; suffrage; voting behavior; party and other political organizations; local courts; finance; welfare, education, and public projects; problems of local government; urban renewal; community planning; the home, school, community, church, and recreation; public safety.

Of course, even in this traditional citizenship education approach, it was considered necessary to spell out some of the details of each essential element which was identified or specified. With regard to the foundations and basic concepts of American government, for instance, those historical and philosophical backgrounds found in the West, Europe, and England were identified in a more specific, yet broadening manner, such as in the following example:

Historical Background - contributions of: the Judeo-Christian heritage, (mention of Thomas Aquinas, brotherhood, respect for individual, etc.); Ancient Greece and Rome (Plato and Aristotle, concepts of citizen, law, rights, and obligations, etc.); English Heritage, (Magna Charta, Petition of Right, Agreement of the People, Instrument of Government, English Bill of Rights); Colonial, Confederation, and Constitutional Periods (Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Virginia Bill of Rights, Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, the Federalist, etc.); also contributions of Blackstone, Coke, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, etc.

The second subtopic, Philosophical Background, was made more concrete in

this way:

definitions of democracy, including popular sovereignty; popular consultation and public or individual responsibility; political equality; universal suffrage and equality of opportunity; government responsive to the popular will; majority rule and minority rights; compromise; the free market place of ideas; rationality; decision-making processes; the sense of citizenship; community spirit; the general welfare; respect for the individual; faith in the people and the system; the open-free society; democratic processes; direct or representative government; economic factors; certain social requirements; critical thinking and the scientific method of problem-solving; and so on with respect to such other philosophical elements as classic liberalism, social welfare, and the "enemies" of democracy (e.g., Fascism and Communism).

Behavioral Results of the Effective Education of an Individual in Citizenship (Formal and Informal)

As an alternative method for organizing the field, the following example of a then current approach to civic education is adapted from the French report, cited previously:

A. Cognitive or Content Category

1. Factual Knowledge

- a. Knows basic elements of his cultural heritage such as Magna Charta, Declaration of Independence, etc.

- b. Knows meaning of key words such as political equality, freedom, tolerance, perjury, individualism, conformity, democracy, civil liberties and rights, social change, social class, social institutions, cultural relativity, conservatism, and liberalism*
- c. Recognizes importance of the family as a social, economic, and political unit**
- d. Recognizes importance of interpersonal, informal, and organized group activities **
- e. Knows the civil rights to which he is entitled, such as when, where, and how to vote; other substantive and procedural rights; and the rights of the accused *
- f. Realizes fundamental nature of such community problems as recreation, conservation, finance, and education **

2. Understandings

- a. Understands the meaning of basic democratic values such as human dignity, the general welfare, the decision-making process, civil rights and liberties, the rule of law *
- b. Understands the origin of certain fundamental democratic values such as individual freedom, political equality, equality of opportunity, popular sovereignty and consultation, universal suffrage, limited government, majority rule and minority rights, reasoned compromise, the free marketplace of ideas, the open society, representative government, the social scientific method of problem-solving, etc. *
- c. Understands and attains a perspective on major contemporary problems, events, cultures, and conditions by developing a sense of history and cultural perspective through recognizing roots of current social problems and past solutions to similar problems; through recognition of the role of leaders in social, economic, governmental and world affairs; and through realization of the importance of social change, social institutions, social class, subcultures, and the culture concept **
- d. Understands organization of the family, problems of the modern family, and various roles of the family in his own and other cultures**
- e. Understands the importance of defending rights of others, limitations on rights, the import of property rights which may be limited by public decision, and the primacy of such rights as freedom of speech, religion, press, and assembly *
- f. Understands the importance of religious organizations and other social service organizations in the community **
- g. Understands the importance of education in a democratic society and can differentiate it from indoctrination or propaganda by these criteria: the search for the truth, free investigation, mustering evidence, and unfettered decision making ***
- h. Understands the primacy and universality of certain values (loyalty, freedom, education, economic opportunity, etc.) and has an understanding of key issues in American life (immigration, civil rights, conservation, education, labor, agriculture, etc.) *
- i. Understands something about the formation of public opinion and the techniques of the mass media and other influential opinion agencies **

* Individual or Personal Factors

** Group or Social Factors

B. Skills, Practices, or Behavioral Category

1. Individual or Personal

- a. Practices basic democratic values by assessing his behavior with reference to democratic standards such as the rule of law, orderly change, intelligent and informed voting, "freedom with justice," and civil liberties
- b. Uses insights from past to assess present problems of the local community, state, nation, and the world community and tries to direct change in accord with democratic values
- c. Utilizes a balanced approach to local, national, and international problems by use of the culture concept as a tool of analysis and by recognizing the cultural relativity of values as one criterion of evaluation
- d. Works as a responsible group member to solve social problems at all levels, keeps informed on (and actively involved in) social problems, while utilizing effective techniques for social action
- e. Develops administrative and leadership ability, reasoned personal loyalties, openmindedness, cooperation, creativeness, and a democratic climate in groups
- f. Develops a fund of information and intelligently analyze national and international problems, issues, and controversies while utilizing knowledge of change, cultures, ideologies, economies, etc. to evaluate these problems
- g. Analyzes intelligently material from the mass media and other sources (books, forums, lectures, discussion groups, etc.) and helps to form public opinion, while guarding against being victimized by pressure groups, the mass media, or conformist pressures

2. Group or Social

- a. Uses democratic values and practices in interpersonal and organized group activities by practicing cooperation, empathy, responsibility, leadership, rational discussion and debate, while respecting minority interests and majority decisions
- b. Improves intra-and inter-familial relationships such as family intellectual activities, and helps to promote tolerance of different ethnic, socio-economic, and other groups
- c. Participates effectively in organized and informal groups and develops the necessary techniques for meaningful interpersonal relationships with friends and other associates
- d. Becomes an effective member of large groups and organizations in the aesthetic, social, economic, and political fields (accepts committee work and masters rules of order, debate, and discussion techniques)
- e. Exercises his rights and duties in political organizations and utilizes his increased understanding of democratic policies and procedures by participating in elections, expressing opinions, evaluating leaders, policies, and parties, visiting governmental agencies, and evaluating bureaucratic effectiveness

C. Noncognitive, attitudinal, or affective category

1. Individual or Personal

- a. Develops a faith in basic democratic values and accepts democracy as a worthwhile form of government and as a way of life with freedoms, rights, and privileges, as well as concomitant responsibilities, duties and obligations
- b. Identifies himself willingly with large groups and organizations in the aesthetic, social, economic, and political fields
- c. Appreciates and respects democratic goals, principles, and traditions and takes pride in community membership and citizenship by valuing popular decisions, public welfare, the advice of experts, etc. while also recognizing variance between ideals and practices and respecting the spirit as well as the letter of the law

2. Group or Social

- a. Appreciates the role of the family institution in his own and other cultures and tolerates with empathy the differences among family groups
- b. Manifests interest in civic and political affairs and exercises his civil rights, defends those of others, and assumes the full responsibilities of citizenship

The French report is an appropriate example of the behavioral approach which is still (some ten years after its publication) having an effect on the civic education curriculum.

A Synthesis and Categorization of the Goals of Effective American Citizenship

As we said previously, most definitions of democratic citizenship were and are limited to the governmental sphere of social activity in stressing the individual's (a) status as a member of a political unit, having (b) the right to cooperate in public decisions, and (c) the corresponding duty to share in implementation of and the responsibility for such decisions. Other definitions which we have encountered are overly broad and/or particularistic--stressing health, cleanliness, posture, manners, first aid, and even the "maintenance of good bodily elimination habits."

Among these broad schemes for organizing the essentials of citizenship is the approach which mentions knowledge, skills of critical thought and participation, attitudes, habits, social processes, social institutions, social

values, and social problems. The field has also been organized (using sociological or anthropological models) by reference to: the individual, interpersonal relations, social groups, social institutions (politics, family, economics, religion, education, etc.), intercultural relations, etc. However, these broad plans of organization in the mid-1960s had to reckon with Professor Franklin Patterson's guidelines, which agreed in general with the French report. Patterson said:

The genuine test of citizenship education lies in the results it has on observable behavior....The purposes of civic education are not equally attainable by all citizens...and just as individuals differ in their capacity for attaining citizenship goals, so must the goals of citizenship differ in their relative importance and cruciality. (Patterson, 1960, 23-24)

Behavior, variety, and selectivity are thus three guidelines needed for an accurate assessment of the state of citizenship education ten years in the past. The following synopsis of civic education is presented in the light of Patterson's charge.

Selecting or sampling from the almost limitless and constantly expanding universe of citizenship goals is made more difficult because of the overlapping, contradictory, and nebulous nature of so many of its elements. Thus it is that the following eleven categories-- Basic Citizenship Terminology, Critical Thinking, Individualism, Sociological and Psychological Factors, Basic Knowledge and Understandings, Group Factors, Economics, Family Matters, Social Problems, Foreign Relations, and Interests and Attitudes--are presented as another generalized view of the field in the mid-1960s, deriving from a frequency study of certain characteristics appearing time and again in the texts, curricula, professional literature, and other sources dealing with citizenship education in the 1960s. (See Bibliographical Appendix for the 1960s and Appendices I to III for a list of sources consulted for the 1960s. By far the least anticipated outcome

of this study was the number of factors dealing with the affective domain (interest, attitudes, cathexis). Normative, emotional, and valuative factors occurred with surprisingly great frequency in the literature on civic education. Studies then underway on the influence of charisma in politics and on the presidential image, the early formation and resiliency (in elementary school) of political mind sets (the political socialization process), the importance of emotional factors in voting, and the like, gave credence to the challenges of a decade ago directed toward basic aspects of the democratic myth structure, such as the rational consumer, voter, or decision-maker. These time honored citizenship values represent a long-standing commitment to a system which has a built-in presumption of the widespread capacity for, and use of, individual rationality. This basic presumption about the inevitable triumph of reason over irrationality, like liberty over ignorance and error, was being seriously questioned during the 1960s.

Ignoring these unsettling developments, for the moment, the basic pattern of citizen education in the 1960s may be outlined as in the following manner:

1. Basic Interests and Values.

- a. Appreciates basic human needs: freedom from aggression, domination, and exploitation; need for affection, cooperation, group membership, health, housing, and recreation
- b. Civic-mindedness, patriotism, keen interest in things political and in human affairs
- c. Devotion to democracy and commitment (allegiance) to democratic values, such as dignity and worth of the individual; faith in human reason and ability; and respects court decisions
- d. Seeks democratic human relationships, improves cooperation in groups, and promotes the democratic way of life--uses honest compromise (bargaining) on other than principle
- e. Trusts political leaders, values public office as a public trust, will-ly performs public services, and seeks to improve political leadership, while respecting leaders
- f. Desires to improve human living (progress), deeply senses personal responsibility for rights, privileges, and protection of democracy (sense of civic duty, sense of community, etc.)
- g. Obeys just laws, practices social justice, and accepts personal responsibility for contributions to social consensus
- h. Recognizes the obligations of military service and the claim of conscientious objectors

- d. The content and powers of democracy, the democratic method, heritage, education and democracy, experts on tap rather than on top, privileges and obligations of the citizen, voting, obligatory participation (in the Athenian sense), obedience, **self-education**, support for law enforcement, law observance, reasoned obedience, seeking the general will and consensus; duty to render public service
- e. The rivals of democracy past and present; equality of opportunity in law, education, residence, etc.; equality in other respects such as worth of individual (estimation); social and political factors
- f. Essentials of free government: self-rule; peaceful change; separation of church and state; government of laws made by responsible, non-capricious men
- g. Constitutionalism: the jury system, property rights, due process, taxation with consent, no slavery, separation of powers, checks and balances, fixed terms, civilian control over the military distribution between procedural and substantive rights and their connection
- h. Shared powers, duty to select able leaders, intelligent voting; right to petition, the open society, the multiple party system, compromise
- i. Opposition to special privilege when inimical to general welfare; the expanding impact of government on the individual, the family, the economy, and life itself

3. Respect for Individualism

- a. Reasonable self-direction and self-evaluation (estimation); autonomy; psychological orientation toward social objections; respect for subordinates, superiors, and co-workers; courage to exclude and differ from the mode; sense of worth, confidence in personal abilities and interests, self-respect; recognition of status and role; self-control;
- b. Enlightened self-interest and balancing the general and individual welfare; personal identification with political processes, parties, individuals, etc.; recognition of individual roles in a complex society; relating of democratic ideals to realities; knowledge of how, when, and where to register to vote; voting in bond issues, referenda, elections, etc.

4. Basic Citizenship Terminology and Vocabulary

The intelligent and informed citizen recognizes and understands the meaning of:

- a. Representative government, human dignity, political equality
- b. Majority rule and minority rights
- c. Political sovereignty, equality of opportunity
- d. Reasoned and/or conflicting loyalties
- e. Anti-democratic theories and "isms": aristocracy, oligarchy, monarchy, authoritarianism, fascism, Nazism, totalitarianism.
- f. Other "isms": nationalism, liberalism, conservatism, socialism, colonialism, imperialism, neutralism, revolutionism, constitutionalism, parliamentarianism, industrialism, chauvinism, conformism, individualism
- g. Other terms such as academic freedom, dole, political handout, pork barrel, ward heeler, senatorial courtesy, gerrymandering, conference committee, oligopoly, compromise, social contract, perjury, bill of attainder, and parity

5. Critical Thinking and Judgment

- a. Interpreting and comparing information; recognizing assumptions; forming logical assumptions; skillful securing, sifting, organizing, evaluating, and presenting information; verifying and validating information, sources, evidence, etc.
- b. Learning, remembering, thinking alike or differently in the evaluation of figural, symbolic, semantic, and behavioral matters; and recognizing the parts, classifications, relationships, organization, changes, and inferences of data
- c. The pursuit of truth and reason, a passion for problem solving through the social method of intelligence (scientific method and attitude), cultivation of analytical ability and the method of free inquiry utilizing induction and deduction
- d. Replacement of prejudice and misinformation by objective value patterns based on well-founded evidence; weighing, recognition and analysis of propaganda; acting on hypothesis; evaluation of results
- e. The appeal to reason, not force, in problem-solving; acceptance of compromise; desire for an informed and enlightened citizenry which is socially sensitive, informed, and intelligent
- f. Preference for reason, use of the discovery method, critical mindedness, conceptual and generalizing ability, and creative thinking
- g. Critical reading, listening and speaking ability, as well as effective use of libraries and other repositories of information

6. Sociological and Psychological Factors

- a. Recognition of social role and status; social class; receptivity to orderly social change while balancing social stability, cultural continuity, and social and technical developments; **improvement of the present through analysis of the past**, recognition of the political socialization process;
- b. Recognition of political influence, relationships, power (what it is, why, source, evils, defense, neutralization, etc.); knowledge of authority, role, legitimacy, custom, institutions, violence, force; conception of the social organization of American culture

7. Group Factors

- a. Participation in meetings, forums, organizations at the primary level, **enjoyment of political discussions or debates with friends and associates**; useful self-activity in the study of family, groups, neighborhoods, community
- b. Develops effective citizenship relations and gains direct experience in self-government, civic participation, and group reciprocity; knows how groups are organized and controlled; **demonstrates skill in cooperative decision-making; is able to present oral and written information to groups for social communication of information**
- c. Knows techniques of social action and cooperation (joins clubs, circulates petitions, etc.); **shows skill in group and cooperative planning, committee work, administration, group leadership and participation, uses effective discussion techniques, knows parliamentary procedure and group courtesy; promotes group understanding (and indirectly, that of self); shows group-mindedness; seeks to bring credit to group, not merely self or certain individuals; reconciles conflicts, such as sociability versus egoism, group or self-discipline versus independence of judgment**

8. The Family (the French report, Part III, cited above, has a more complete development of this topic)
- a. Contributes to effectiveness of family as a basic social unit; functions as responsible and effective family member; promotes good intra- and interfamilial relations
 - b. Endorses effective use of family leisure time through constructive recreational, intellectual, and aesthetic pursuits; aids in democratic solution of family problems
 - c. Cultivates loyalty to family as the basic social institution; promotes economic security of family
 - d. Furthers formal and informal education of family members; recognizes importance of the family in political socialization process

9. Social Problem-Solving

- a. **Demonstrates enthusiasm** toward solution of social problems by civic action and the intelligent use of community resources
- b. Practices effective social relations and social service as a solution to the principal social, economic and political problems of individual, family, groups, neighborhood, community, state, nation, and world
- c. **Promotes social progress, and social change**
- d. Understands symbols of social class, forces behind public opinion, and social applications of science
- e. Grasps and is favorably disposed toward working for the solution of major social problems, e.g., (1) population, ethnic, religious and racial minorities, industrial relations, war and peace (Viet Nam), family and personality disorganization, juvenile delinquency and crime, education, world organizations (the UN) and international relations; (2) conservation, big government, urban renewal, metropolitan areas, the transportation and communication revolution, the problems of poverty, the aged, mental retardation; health, civil rights and liberties, federal aid to education, medicare

10. Economic Factors

- a. Promotes economic efficiency and the intelligent use of the forces of nature and scarce resources for the general well being
- b. Understands and practices economic democracy: understands the free economy, competitive enterprise, mixed or regulated economies
- c. Economic literacy: comprehends terms such as monopoly, oligopoly, autarchy, corporate advantage, gross national product, etc.; endorses productivity, competition, monetary stability, full employment, fair pay and social security

- d. Understands the privileges and obligations of individual enterprise: reasonable use of money, employees, free contractual advantages, inventions, unions, etc.; balance between rugged individualism (ambition) and cooperative social action
- e. Recognition of other economic systems: communism, fascism, socialism, etc. (economic relativism)
- f. Understands economic organization: technology, division of labor, factors of production, economic planning
- g. Recognizes that contractual liberty does not mean the freedom to be poor, social implications of poverty, and economic equality of opportunity
- h. Promotes good employer-employee relations and collective bargaining; **appreciating** role of picketing, strikes, national emergencies, etc. in corporate business life
- i. Practices a socially useful vocation, exercises wise vocational choices; possesses a sense of economic worth, workmanship pride, well-being and health; balances pursuit of wealth with security and need to meet basic human needs
- j. Judicious consumership: opposes false advertising as fraud; respects property, consumer sovereignty, and contractual obligations; budgets time and money; **saves money;** and contributes to cause of the needy

11. Foreign, International and Intercultural Problems

- a. Understands some of the basic complexities of foreign policy formulation and the force of democratic public opinion (managed news, classified information, "007" operations, summit diplomacy, the "button")
- b. Recognizes the world-wide influence of the armaments race; economic, territorial, and ideological rivalries; power politics; nationalism, chauvinism, and ethnocentrism
- c. Comprehends the importance of intercultural understanding, UN agencies and activities, intercultural exchange and cultural interdependence
- d. Grasps the culture concept and applies it to the evaluation of other cultures, **thereby developing respect for** cultural symbiosis
- e. Erodes personal provincialism while developing a more cosmopolitan world view
- f. Recognizes the crucial nature of war and peace in this technological century

These basic knowledge, skill, and attitudinal objectives describe the essential elements of civic education in the 1960s. In that such a list is still too complex and unorganized for our purposes, we shall attempt below a fourth synthesis of the field which combines content (e.g., elements such as authority, freedom, political change, and decision-making) with individual processes (e.g., feeling, knowing, understanding, and acting), political

objects, and relationships (e.g., self, others, groups, community, nation, world), selected for key age levels (e.g., elementary, secondary, and adult), with mention of political organizations and structures (e.g., local government, pressure groups, political parties, family problems) where appropriate. This basic model will be used to analyze the mainstream of civic education in the 1960s and 1970s as well as innovative curricula now in vogue.

F. INDICES OF CIVIC EDUCATION FOR THE 1960s - RESULTS, SOURCES, AND PROCEDURES USED

Our fourth attempt to determine the nature of American civic education in the 1960s is based on another analysis of a selected number of then current books, reports, recommendations, and curricula. Specifically, some examples of the sources finally used for this analysis include the following:

Goals Statements (See Bibliographic Appendix for 1960s, items A and C)

- i. Citizenship Education Project. Resources for Citizenship. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955.
- ii. Citizenship Objectives. Palo Alto, California: American Institutes for Research, October 1965.
- iii. Civic Education Project. To Sustain and Strengthen Democracy. Cambridge, Massachusetts: See AASA (NEA) 32nd Yearbook, 1954.
- iv. Crary, Ryland W., ed. Education for Democratic Citizenship. Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1951.
- v. Educational Policies Commission. The Purposes of Education in American Democracy. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1938.
- vi. French, Will and Associates. Behavioral Goals of General Education in High School. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1957.
- vii. Kearney, Nolan. Elementary School Objectives, N.Y.: Russell Sage Foundation, 1953.
- viii. Michaelis, John D. Social Studies for Children in a Democracy: Recent Trends and Developments, Third Edition. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.
- ix. Social Studies National Assessment. Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, June 1966.
- x. State Department of Education, Hartford, Connecticut. Social Studies: Grades 7-12, Curriculum Bulletin Series, No. XIII (January, 1965).

Traditional Curriculum (See Bibliographic Appendix for 1960s, item B)

- i. Board of Education, City of New York. Proposals for a K-12 Curriculum in History and the Social Studies, 1964.
- ii. Department of Public Instruction, Bismarck, North Dakota. Social Studies for North Dakota Schools: Grades 1-6, 1963.
- iii. Herrick, Theral T. "The Kalamazoo, Michigan, Social Studies Program for Grades Seven to Nine," Julian C. Aldrich, ed. Social Studies for Young Adolescents: Programs for Grades Seven, Eight, and Nine. Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, September, 1951.
- iv. Llewellyn, Ardelle. "Minneapolis, Minnesota, Social Studies Program for Grades Seven to Nine," Julian C. Aldrich, ed. Social Studies for Young Adolescents: Programs for Grades Seven, Eight, and Nine. Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, September, 1951. Grades 7-12.
- v. The Department of Elementary Education, School City of South Bend, Indiana. Living in the World of Ours: Social Studies Course of Study for Kindergarten Through Grade Six, September, 1956. Grade 4.

- vi. Utah State Department of Public Instruction, Salt Lake City, Utah. Social Studies for Utah Schools, 1964. Grades 4, 9, 12.

New or Experimental Curricula: (See Bibliographic Appendix for 1960s, items A and C)

- i. Educational Research Council of Greater Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio. Greater Cleveland Social Science Program: Hand Book for Social Studies Teachers, 1965. Grades 4, 9, 12.
- ii. Oliver, Donald W. and Shaver, James P. Teaching Public Issues in the High School. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966.
- iii. Price, Roy A., et al. Major Concepts for Social Studies. Syracuse, New York: The Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, November 1965.

Textbook Summaries: (See Appendices I to III and Bibliographic Appendix for 1960s, Item E)

Using these sources, the actual procedure utilized in analyzing them consisted of the following three-stage process.

First, general and specific statements of aims (objectives) were identified.

Second, once the objectives had been identified, they were classified as to both content and domain. Here content refers to the general areas encountered in civic education in elementary and secondary schools, such as patriotism, government and the economy. Domain, on the other hand, refers to the particular knowledges, skills, attitudes, and behaviors which the student is expected to acquire through contact with content.

Third, an analysis of the twenty-one documents was made to determine the emphasis given to various objectives, both with respect to content and domain. Each cell on the matrix represented an intersection of one of the content items with one of the domain items.

Concerning the classification of items on the matrix (See Table VIII), some difficulties were encountered because several of the sources were detailed in the listing of either content or domain, or both, whereas others were brief with respect to both items. Consequently, more items went into cells on the matrix from several of the publications than from others. This inconsistency could not be avoided, since the purpose of this taxonomy is

to represent accurately the civic education statements contained in each of the documents. Thus, the taxonomy does not represent an equally weighted or wholly uniform listing of civic education aims (objectives) in United States elementary and secondary schools. This difficulty is unavoidable, precisely because there is no general agreement on these aims (objectives) among educators. However, the taxonomy does illustrate the areas of content and domain most often encountered in major documents on civic education.

Using the procedure outlined above, goals and objectives statements were classified according to both content and domain. Some of the items mentioned in the definitions below fit into more than one of the content or domain cells. When this occurred, an entry was noted in one or more of the cells according to the emphasis of the particular statement being surveyed. For example, the following sentence might be placed in the taxonomy under Democratic Citizenship; Basic Civic Interests and/or Constitution; Personal Rights and Liberties: "An acceptance of responsibility by every child to respect and help develop the potential of every other child regardless of race, color, or other differences." Since the Constitution accents rights and liberties in relation to race, color, etc., the choice was made to place the item there. Admittedly, personal rights and liberties may be conceived of as basic civic interests, values, and knowledges; however, for the purpose of a content breakdown for civic education materials and learnings, a distinction was made between these two frequently mentioned categories.

1. Definition of Categories

The textbook summaries in Appendices I, II, and III are included to illustrate content categories for civics, American government and problems of democracy. The definitions listed below are not comprehensive. They are included in order to provide examples of the connotative and denotative material which gave rise to the content and domain classification itself. The examples for each definition were taken from the

documents surveyed. Accordingly, the following is a brief explanation of the system of categories employed in this study:

CONTENT ITEMS IN CIVIC EDUCATION

1. Patriotism and Political Loyalties (Deference): Loyalty and patriotism to the United States of America; the flag salute; the Pledge of Allegiance; and national holidays. Example: "The educated citizen acts upon an unswerving loyalty to democratic ideals."

2. Essentials of Democratic (Effective, Responsible) Citizenship: The place of education, equality of opportunity, the capitalist system, etc, in a democracy. Example: The student "feels that he has inherited an unfinished experiment in self-government which it is his duty and privilege to carry on."

a. Basic Civic Interests, Values, and Knowledges: Man as a social being; compromise and adjustment; understanding self; consent of the governed; political attitudes, entities, and change; payment of taxes; the "American way of life;" obeying the law. Example: "The student recognizes taxes as payment for community services and pays them promptly."

3. Historical Background of Government: American government and Western civilization; heritage; institutions; traditions; theories; and personalities. Example: "Knowing the democratic heritage."

4. Foundations and Basic Concepts of Government: Checks and balances; sovereignty; separation of powers; secularization; modern institutions; individualism; democracy; federalism; power; authority; and leadership. Example: "Knows the meaning of key words such as political equality, freedom, tolerance, perjury, individualism, conformity, democracy, civil liberties and rights, social change, social class, social institutions, cultural relativity, conservatism, liberalism. etc."

5. Federal Constitution: United States Constitution. Example: "Knowing how we amend the federal Constitution."

a. Personal Rights and Liberties: Private property, due process of law, individual freedoms, etc. Example: "An acceptance of responsibility by every child to respect and help develop the potential of every other child regardless of race, color, or other differences."

6. Federal Government: General structures and functions of the United States Government, which may be specified as follows:

- a. Legislature: Congress of the United States
- b. Executive: Presidency of the United States
- c. Judiciary: United States Supreme Court and Federal judiciary.
- d. Bureaucracy: Executive and independent agencies.

Example: "Knowing about the presidency and the bureaucracy."

7. Political Processes, Organizations, and Participation (Federal, State and Local):

Inputs or demands of the polity and resulting policies of the political system. Example: "Knowledge and understanding of grass roots politics."

a. Public Opinion: Input; letters to Congressmen; letters to the editor; polls; surveys; etc.

b. Pressure Groups and Politics: **Special-interest, pressure, and lobby groups and organizations.**

c. Political Action: Voting, elections, and party work.

d. Political Parties: Organization and functions.

Example: "Knows how leaders are chosen for national, state, and local offices in the United States; understands the role of political parties."

8. Government and the Economy: Government regulation and participation in the economy, taxation, and social security. Example: Recognizes the role of "corporation law, government regulation, and tariff laws."

9. Defense and Foreign Policy: Military and diplomatic policy and defense of national interests. Example: Understands the importance of "national defense: com-

pulsory military training."

a. Foreign Relations: Historical and contemporary relations of the United States with other nations in the international political system. Example: **Individual** learns about "conducting foreign relations, treaty making, neutralism, political independence movements, etc."

10. State Government: Structure and Functions: Example: "Understanding and appreciating the work of the State Fish and Game Department and Forest Service."

11. Local Governments: Structure and Functions: Example: **Individual** has a "respect for the services given by local government in providing for the safety, protection, health, and welfare of community residents."

12. International Relations and Organizations: Interdependence of nations; techniques of cooperation; institutions; conflict, change, etc.; United Nations; regional organizations; etc.

Example: The **citizen** knows the "background of America's participation in world citizenship (U.N.)."

13. Comparative Government and Political Theory: The institutions and functions of foreign governments, historical and modern, primitive and modern, and Western and non-Western. Example: The **person** begins "to realize the significance of geographical regions and political divisions in the lands across the seas."

a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism: Parliamentarianism, nationalism, colonialism, imperialism, and pluralism, including the political theory and ideology of other nations. Example: The **citizen** develops a "philosophy of democracy and [understands] how it differs from other ideologies."

b. Cross or Intercultural Studies: Primitive cultures, developing cultures, and other societies (differences, similarities, and interdependence). Example: The **individual** begins "to see how much of the cultural, economic, social and political life of China is due to geographical and religious beliefs."

c. Institutional: Government institutions. Example: The individual begins "to learn something of the history of South America and the forms of government in the various countries."

14. Methodology of Political and Social Studies: Methods of behavioral, social, and political science. Example: The learner has "an introduction to the social science disciplines, i.e., political science and economics."

a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Sociology, Economics, Psychology, Anthropology, etc.: Use of some or all of these disciplines simultaneously. Example: Develops "the ability to handle statistical and other social science tools relevant to the study of metropolitan areas."

15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving: Conflict, problems, and the role of social, political, and economic change. Example: The citizen is capable of "recognizing that individuals have a responsibility in helping establish and maintain high standards in mass media; in determining what constitutes freedom of the press; in learning to discriminate between fact, opinion, and falsehood and between reason and emotion; and in learning to make choices and decisions based on this discriminatory skill."

a. Personal, Economic, Political, and Social Factors, e.g., Family, Community, and other Group Problems: Conservation, propaganda, and the general welfare; individuals and groups must cooperate to resolve problem situations; the "American dilemma" in Negro and other minority problems, etc. Example: Citizens "believe that each person's civic behavior is important and each should play a part in solving society's problems."

b. Group Action and Group Guidance: To work with or lead groups which were established to meet social problems. Example: Citizens "help achieve group goals by cooperating with other group members, and they support democratic procedures in group meetings."

16. Decision Making Process: Morality and expediency in decision-making. Policy

formation at all levels of government. Example: The **person** "understands some aspect of the decision-making process in the United States and other major nations."

17. Current Events: Recent domestic and foreign political events. Example: "Encouraging **individuals** to keep informed about current news affecting **one's life today**."

THE DOMAINS OF INSTRUCTION IN CIVIC EDUCATION

Useful guides for establishing the domain categories for knowledges, understandings and skills (cognitive domain), and attitudes (affective domain) were Benjamin S. Bloom, Editor, Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The classification of Educational Goals: Handbook I: Cognitive Domain, (1956) and Benjamin S. Bloom, et al., Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Classification of Educational Objectives: Handbook II: Affective Domain, (1964).

A "behavioral" (psycho-motor) domain was especially devised in order to indicate the

"real" pupil behaviors sought by citizenship educators. (See Elizabeth Simpson, "The Classification of Educational Objectives, Psychomotor Domain" (Project Report, University of Illinois, 1966).

I. COGNITIVE DOMAIN

A. KNOWLEDGES

a. Recall of Specific Political Terms and Facts: Knowledge, recall, recognition, and acquaintance with specific political terms and facts. This domain represents the lowest level of cognition and the **person** is only required to remember dates, places, names, etc. Example: "The free individual knows the rights to life and liberty."

b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications in Politics: Includes knowledge of the ways of organizing, studying, and classifying political information, e.g., the institutional arrangements of a particular government or the election procedure employed by a particular political system. Example: "Knowing how we amend the federal Constitution."

c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Political Judgments: Knowledge of the criteria by which political facts, principles, assumptions, and performance are tested or judged. Example: "Utilizes a balanced approach to local, national, and

international problems by use of the culture concept as a tool of analysis and by recognizing the cultural relativity of values as one criterion of evaluation."

d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science: Knowledge of the methods of inquiry, techniques, and procedures used in the study of political phenomena. The emphasis is on the individual's familiarity with the methods of a political scientist rather than an ability to employ the methods. Example: "Knows that ideas may be gathered by interviewing and direct observation."

e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science: Knowledge of the generalizations, abstractions, theories, and systems found in the field of political science. Example: Knows that "both competition and cooperation among individuals and groups are indispensable to the process of democracy."

B. UNDERSTANDINGS AND SKILLS

a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Political Data: Individual comprehends and understands political information; has an insight into the meaning of data that goes beyond mere recall; and illustrates skills of translation of political symbols (e.g., symbols of political parties), interpretative ability to summarize a publication, and to extrapolate trends. Example: "Understands patterns of inflation, business cycle, markets, and GNP."

b. Ability to Apply Political Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems: Includes a skill, such as the ability to apply the theories or abstractions discussed in a political study to a concrete political event or events. Example: "The ability to handle statistical and other social science tools relevant to the study of metropolitan areas."

c. Ability to Analyze Political Problems: Analysis of elements, relationships, and organizational principles. Ability to distinguish facts from opinions and hypotheses. Skill in comprehending comparisons of different political systems. The ability to recognize propaganda or an opinion based on an isolated observation from fact. Example: "Recognizing roots of current social problems and past solutions to similar prob-

lems."

d. Ability to Synthesize Political Information: Production of an original communication or plan and derivation of a set of abstract relationships. Formulating political hypotheses, generalizations, and plans of action. Testing hypotheses, formulating modifications as observation and experiment necessitate. Example: "Organizing political information from several sources and presenting it in oral, written, or graphic form."

e. Ability to Evaluate Political Situations, Problems, and Information: This category represents the highest level of cognitive understanding and skill. The trend from category a to d has been one of increasing complexity in the knowledges, understandings, and abilities required of the citizen. This cognitive dimension includes the application and determination of criteria for political judgment, as contrasted with only remembering the criteria. For instance, this ability suggests judgments about what are the highest standards of excellence in a political writing, or what would be the best criteria for differentiating between a democracy and an autocracy. Example: "Using criteria to make choices, weigh alternative plans of action, and appraise progress toward individual and group goals."

II. AFFECTIVE DOMAIN

a. Political Receptivity: This category represents a basic awareness of interest in a political content item such as intercultural studies. Here the person "appreciates" something, but in the sense that he or she is developing a deeper "affective" response or more open and positive attitude. Example: The individual "is aware of the interdependence of people and realizes that a good life can be attained only by the organized cooperation of millions of people all over the world."

b. Political Responsiveness: At this level of response to political content goes beyond merely noting the phenomenon. It implies a willingness to cooperate, tolerate, respect, respond to duties, and comply with expected responsibilities. The response is
tary, yet it might be that the person has been told specifically to

perform a certain task. Example: Students "comply with the law and school regulations or when they think a rule unjust, they oppose it by lawful democratic means."

c. Political Valuation: A belief, acceptance, preference, or commitment to an idea, i.e., something is worthwhile--highly valued. Example: **Citizens** "believe that each person's civic behavior is important."

d. Political Conceptualization: Organization of a system of values, beliefs, preferences, or commitments, and determination of the interrelationship between democratic or other political values. Example: "Believes in the First Amendment freedoms and can justify this belief."

e. Political Value Orientation: The individual's value system becomes fully consistent and internalized, and a philosophy of life is developed at this level of attitude. From the standpoint of citizenship, an individual in this domain category would have developed a code of ethical standards consistent with democratic **ideals**. Example: **Persons** "own behaviors are ethical and they encourage ethical behavior in others."

III. ACTIVITY OR BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN

a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Political Situations (Real or Contrived): The individual believes in a particular political idea or ideal and is often called upon to act in behalf of these ideals. Action that is carried on in daily life falls into this category. Example: "Manifests interest in civic and political affairs and exercises his civil rights, defends those of others, and assumes the full responsibilities of citizenship."

b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Political Situations: Political knowledge and political value acceptance exists, and the individual is definitely committed to action. Example: "Votes in elections."

c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Political Situations: Indication that an individual will act at some future time in response to a value commitment based on knowledge which is now internally incorporated or will be strengthened or developed.

Example: "If need be, take up arms in defense of one's country."

d. Evidence of Capable Political Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective

Proclivities: The action may be present, intended, or future; but the essential element in this category is that the behavior is a direct manifestation of one of the cognitive and/or affective domains. Example: "Recognizes taxes as payment for community services and pays them promptly."

e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Political Activity: The action may be present, intended, or future; but the distinction of this category is that it is either clandestine, or an attempt is made to let others know the "what" and "why" of the action. Example: "Uses insights from past to assess present problems of the community, state, nation, and in world affairs and tries to direct change in accord with democratic values."

2. The Taxonomy of Indices for the 1960s and the Summaries of Totals

The next eight pages contain a taxonomy for the 1960s period, showing the totals for each of the major content and other domain matrices, and presenting two tables of summaries for the intersections of the goals statements, the traditional curricula textbook summaries, and experimental curricula with the content and other three domains (See Tables VIII-X). The taxonomies on the next two pages illustrates the over-all classification of aims (objectives) by major content and domain areas. These taxonomies illustrate the result of the classification of items for goals statements, traditional curricula, textbooks, and experimental curricula. This matrix produced 17 major (or 34 major and minor) content divisions and 20 divisions of the cognitive, affective, activity domains, for a total of 340 major cells (or 680 major and minor cells!). Notice particularly the overwhelming emphasis on recall, ability to comprehend and interpret, receptivity, responsiveness, and ability to analyze. These five categories contain about 800 entries, i.e., about three-fourths of the total entries. Even in the experimental curricula for the 1960s, these emphases prevail, although evaluation receives some important emphasis.

TABLE VIII

I. COGNITIVE DOMAIN

GRAND TOTALS FOR 1960s:

Goals statements, traditional curricula, civic education texts, and experimental curricula:

(Raw Scores and Percentage Distributions)

A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGES

B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGES					B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS				
	a. Recall of Specific Terms and Facts	b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgments	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	3					3				1
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	11				1	10				1
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	27	2			2	25	3			4
3. Historical Background of Governments	24		6		3	23	5	15	3	16
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	22									
5. Federal Constitution	5	1				8				1
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	25		2		2	15		5	2	5
6. Federal Government	8					2	5			
a. Legislature	1	3				4		1		
b. Executive	2	1				3				
c. Judiciary	1	1				2				
d. Bureaucracy	1					2				
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	3				1	5	2	1		
a. Public Opinion	3	1				6		1		
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	2					2				
c. Political Action	8	2				8				
d. Political Parties	5					5				
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	15		4		2	16		14	2	11
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	8	2				2		3		1
a. Foreign Relations	11					5		3		
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	10		2			4				
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	8									
12. International Relations & Organizations	22					3		1		
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	6	1				1				1
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Militarism, etc.	10					4		2		
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	18	3	1			22	2	3	4	1
c. Institutional Studies	7	1				3		2		1
14. Methodology of Political Sci.										
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Socy, Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	1			1	2	2	1			
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	16	8	2		1	9	1	14	10	17
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	19	3			2	33	1	11	1	6
b. Group Action & Guidance	5	1			1	2				1
16. Decision Making Process	3				1	7		2	1	1
17. Current Events	5					1		1		1
TOTAL:	111	33	17	1	18	267	25	85	27	79
%	25.7	2.7	1.4	0.6	1.5	21.9	2.0	7.0	2.2	5.7

GRAND TOTALS FOR 1960s:

II. AFFECTIVE DOMAIN III. POLITICAL ACTIVITY OR OF POLITICS BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN

Goals statements, traditional curricula, civic education texts, and experimental curricula.

(Raw Scores and Percentage Distributions)

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	a. Receptivity	b. Responsiveness	c. Valuation	d. Conceptualization	e. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through c)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through c)	Total	%
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	1	4	4			4					20	1.6
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	9	11	4	1		11		2			61	5.0
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	26	19	19	5	4	9	1	2	3	1	157	12.8
3. Historical Background of Governments	6	8									109	8.9
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	4	1	1	2	1						54	4.4
5. Federal Constitution		2									17	1.4
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	4	3	10			5					83	6.8
6. Federal Government	1	1	1								18	1.5
a. Legislature											9	0.7
b. Executive											6	0.5
c. Judiciary		1				1					6	0.5
d. Bureaucracy											3	0.2
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	1		2			3					18	1.5
a. Public Opinion		2									11	0.9
b. Pressure Groups & Politics											4	0.3
c. Political Action		1	1			1	1				16	1.5
d. Political Parties	1										9	0.7
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation			1								65	5.3
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	1								2		19	1.5
a. Foreign Relations	4										23	1.9
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	2	1									19	1.5
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	2	2									16	1.3
12. International Relations & Organizations	8	2	4			2					54	4.4
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory											9	0.7
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.											16	1.3
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	2	6									82	6.7
c. Institutional Studies											14	1.1
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	2		1								23	1.9
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.			1								8	0.6
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	3	4	6	1	1	3				1	97	7.9
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	11	11	6	1		8		1		1	115	9.4
b. Group Action & Guidance	1	2	5			9					27	2.2
16. Decision Making Process		1						1	1		18	1.5
17. Current Events	2				1	1		1			13	1.0
TOTAL:	111	87	66	9	8	57	2	7	6	3	1221	
%	9.0	7.1	5.4	0.7	0.6	4.7	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.2		100

GRAND TOTALS FOR 1960s

I. COGNITIVE DOMAIN

(Scale Scores and Percentage Distributions)

A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING & SKILLS

- Key to Scale Scores:
 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
 3 = Frequent/Obvious Emphasis
 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE					B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING & SKILLS				
	a. Recall of Specific Items and Facts	b. Recognition of Concepts, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgment	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	0.5					0.5				0.5
2. Essentials of Dem. Citizenship a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	2.5				0.5	2.0				0.5
3. Historical Background of Governments	5.5	0.5			0.5	5.5	0.5			1.0
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	5.0		1.5		0.5	4.5	1.0	3.0	0.5	3.5
5. Federal Constitution a. Personal Rights and Liberties	4.5					3.0	1.0	0.5		0.5
6. Federal Government a. Legislature	1.0	0.5				1.5			0.5	
b. Executive	5.0		0.5		0.5	3.0		1.0	2.5	1.0
c. Judiciary	1.5					0.5	1.0			
d. Bureaucracy	0.5	0.5				0.5				
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local) a. Public Opinion	0.5				0.5	1.0	0.5	0.5		
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	0.5	0.5				1.0		0.5		
c. Political Action	0.5					0.5				
d. Political Parties	1.5	0.5				1.5				
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	1.0					0.5				
9. Defense & Foreign Policy a. Foreign Relations	3.0		1.0		0.5	3.5		3.0	0.5	2.5
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	1.5	0.5				0.5		0.5		0.5
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	2.5					1.0				
12. International Relations & Organizations	2.0		0.5			1.0				
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Militarism, etc.	4.5	0.5				2.5		0.5		0.5
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	1.5	0.5				0.5				0.5
c. Institutional Studies	2.0					1.0		0.5		
14. Methodology of Political Sci. a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Socy, Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	2.5	0.5	0.5			4.5	0.5	0.5	1.0	0.5
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	1.5	0.5			1.5	1.0		0.5	0.5	
b. Group Action & Guidance	0.5			0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5			
16. Decision Making Process	3.5	1.5	0.5		0.5	2.0	0.5	2.0	2.0	3.5
17. Current Events	4.0	0.5			0.5	5.5	0.5	2.5	0.5	1.5
TOTALS:	1.0				0.5	1.5		0.5		0.5
	23.5	6.4	1.0	0.7	1.9	19.8	2.1	7.1	2.3	6.6

23.5 6.4 1.0 0.7 1.9 19.8 2.1 7.1 2.3 6.6

GRAND TOTALS FOR 1960s

(Scale Scores and Percentage Distributions)

Key to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
- 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
- 3 = Frequent/Obvious Emphasis
- 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
- 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	II. AFFECTIVE DOMAIN					III. POLITICAL ACTIVITY/ BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN					TOTALS:	%
	a. Receptivity	b. Responsiveness	c. Valuation	d. Conceptualization	e. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through e)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through e)		
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	0.5	1.0	1.0			1.0					5.0	1.7
2. Essentials of Dem. Citizenship	2.0	2.5	1.0	0.5		2.5		0.5			14.5	5.1
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	2.5	2.5	1.0	1.0		2.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	33.0	11.7
3. Historical Background of Governments	1.5	1.5									22.5	8.0
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5						12.5	4.4
5. Federal Constitution		0.5									4.0	1.4
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	1.0	1.5	2.0			1.0					17.0	6.0
6. Federal Government	0.5	0.5	0.5								4.5	1.6
a. Legislature											2.5	0.8
b. Executive											1.5	0.5
c. Judiciary		0.5				0.5					2.0	0.7
d. Bureaucracy											1.0	0.3
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	0.5		0.5			0.5					4.5	1.6
a. Public Opinion		0.5									3.0	1.7
b. Pressure Groups & Politicians											1.0	0.3
c. Political Action		0.5	0.5			0.5	0.5				5.5	1.9
d. Political Parties	0.5										2.0	0.7
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation			0.5								14.5	5.1
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	0.5								0.5		4.5	1.6
a. Foreign Relations	1.0										5.0	1.7
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	0.5	0.5									4.5	1.6
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	0.5	0.5									3.5	1.2
12. International Relations & Organizations	1.5	0.5	1.0			0.5					12.0	4.2
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory											3.0	1.7
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.											3.5	1.2
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	1.5	1.5									17.5	6.2
c. Institutional Studies											3.5	1.2
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	0.5	0.5									5.5	1.9
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.		0.5									3.0	1.7
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	0.5	1.0	1.5	0.5	0.5	0.5				0.5	22.0	7.8
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	2.5	2.5	1.5	0.5		1.5		0.5		0.5	25.0	8.9
b. Group Action & Guidance	0.5	0.5	1.0			2.0					7.0	2.5
16. Decision Making Process		0.5						0.5	0.5		5.5	1.9
17. Current Events	0.5			0.5	0.5	0.5		0.5			4.5	1.6
TOTALS:	92.0	75.0	58.0	28.0	13.0	13.0	2.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	280.0	100.0

TABLE X
SUMMARY OF TOTALS FOR THE CONTENT DOMAIN
1960s

	<u>Goals Statements</u>	<u>Traditional Curriculum</u>	<u>Texts</u>	<u>Experimental Curriculum</u>
1. Patriotism and Political Loyalties (Deference)	9	6	4	1
2. Essentials of Democratic (Effective, Responsible) Citizenship	39	13	8	--
a. Basic Civic Interests and Values	95	41	10	11
3. Historical Background of Governmental Systems	6	45	4	55
4. Foundations and Basic Concepts of Governments: Individualism; Democracy; Federalism; Power, Authority, Leadership, etc.	26	1	14	14
5. Federal Constitution	6	2	8	1
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	41	17	8	17
6. Federal Government	6	3	2	7
a. Legislature	1	--	5	1
b. Executive	1	--	4	1
c. Judiciary	2	--	4	--
d. Bureaucracy	--	--	3	--
7. Political Processes, Organizations, and Participation (Federal, State, and Local)	15	--	3	--
a. Public Opinion	5	--	4	1
b. Pressure Groups and Politics	--	--	3	1
c. Political Action	8	1	5	1
d. Political Parties	2	1	5	1
8. Government and the Economy: Taxation	3	7	14	37
9. Defense and Foreign Policy	6	5	8	--
a. Foreign Relations	--	19	4	--
10. State Governments: Structures and Functions	4	6	9	--
11. Local Governments: Structures and Functions	4	6	6	--
12. International Relations and Organizations	21	25	7	1

SUMMARY OF TOTALS FOR THE CONTENT DOMAIN (CONT.)

1960s

	<u>Goals Statements</u>	<u>Traditional Curriculum</u>	<u>Texts</u>	<u>Experimental Curriculum</u>
13. Comparative Government and Political Theory	3	5	11	1
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarian- ism, etc.	4	2	4	6
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	11	61	--	4
c. Institutional Studies	12	4	1	1
14. Methodology of Political Studies	18	3	1	1
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Sociology, Economics, Psy- chology, Anthropology, etc.	4	1	--	3
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	30	22	17	25
a. Personal, Economic, and Social Factors, e.g., Family and Other Group Problems	39	37	37	4
b. Group Action and Group Guidance	17	5	4	1
16. Decision Making Process	9	1	6	2
17. Current Events	7	7	--	--

SUMMARY OF TOTALS FOR THE COGNITIVE, AFFECTIVE, AND BEHAVIORAL DOMAINS (CONT.)

1960s

	<u>Goals Statements</u>	<u>Traditional Curriculum</u>	<u>Texts</u>	<u>Experimental Curriculum</u>
e. Political Value Orientation	7	1	--	--
III. ACTIVITY OR BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN				
a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Political Situations (Real or Contrived)	52	5	5	2
b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Political Situations	2	--	--	--
c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Political Situations	5	--	--	--
d. Evidence of Capable Political Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through e)	6	--	--	--
e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Political Activity (a through e)	3	--	--	--

NOTE: The raw score totals presented in Tables VIII, X, and XI have been greatly condensed and contracted by using summary statements such as those of textbooks (see Appendices I-III) and those lists described in Section E of this Chapter, which are syntheses of many documents. Consequently the raw scores for innovative curricula (Chapter IV) and for contemporary civic education (Chapter V) are much expanded since the original documents were "fed" into the taxonomy directly, rather than through using summaries.

F. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Ten years ago M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi indicated that:

The thrust of school experience is undoubtedly on the side of developing trust in the political system in general. Civic training in school abounds in rituals of system support and in glorification of the system in the formal curriculum. These rituals and curricula are not matched by a critical examination of the nation's shortcomings or the possible virtues of other political forms. Coupled with a moralistic, legalistic, prescriptive orientation to the study of government is the avoidance of conflict dimensions and controversial issues. A direct encounter with the realities of political life is thus averted or at least postponed. (Jennings and Niemi, 1966, 14)

This assertion is partially accurate; however, our survey of civic education in the United States during the 1960's does not entirely support it.

On the one hand, data illustrated in the summary civic education grid in this study agree with Jennings and Niemi, insofar as many of the higher knowledge and skills categories were not emphasized in the statements of goals or aims (objectives). Many of the statements also fall into those parts of the affective domain which indicate that educators were interested in encouraging student support of and loyalty to the political system. In addition, content or topical areas of study—such as the essentials of democracy, personal rights and liberties, government structure, formal institutions, and the historical background of democratic government—were also emphasized. There was comparable emphasis on instruction in critical thinking, judgment, and problem-solving stresses—knowing and appreciating that community problems exist and that social cooperation is necessary to resolve them.

Often ignored were "what" crucial areas of conflict existed, "why" they were present in American society, and "how" they could be resolved or ameliorated.

Political process, organizations, and participation, which were increasingly being studied by political scientists in colleges and universities during the 1960s, were

rarely mentioned in elementary and secondary school aims or goals (objectives).

On the other hand, and perhaps more encouraging, more students were taking courses in problems of democracy and international relations, and more were studying the relationship of government to the economy. Increased attention was also being given to understanding the cultures of the developing countries. New and experimental curricula projects in the social studies were omnipresent. Efforts were also underway to direct the attention of educators to the necessity of teaching the methodologies, structures, processes, and theories of political science and the social sciences. The major emphasis of civic education in the 1960s was slowly changing from a stress on teaching factual materials (while inculcating faith in the democratic system) to more emphasis on practical, realistic, independent, and creative thinking. As a matter of fact, the United States educational system as a whole was in a state of flux during this period; the teaching of courses and topics related to civic education was no exception. Just how much change has taken place, during the past decade, and what the value and nature of the changes are, will be the subject of the next two Chapters on innovative and current approaches to political education.

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IV. INDICES OF INNOVATIVE CURRICULA IN CONTEMPORARY CIVIC/POLITICAL EDUCATION:
THE 1970s

A. Introduction to the Curriculum Survey

Chapter III of this report presents the findings from a sample of elementary and secondary civic education curricula which are representative of recent trends in the "new social studies." We have selected twenty-four curriculum projects and/or reviews/summaries of several of these projects, particularly those in legal or law-related education. Each of these projects is briefly summarized below. They are mainly concerned with secondary education, in that only one-quarter of this number are primarily at the elementary or K to 12 levels. Nevertheless, these programs most clearly reflect what is innovative, new, or experimental in the field.

Even within this group of frontier political products, some are older and more established (or even more traditional) than others. In other words, even within this innovative sphere of political education we find a continuum from those programs primarily concerned with traditional, legal, or historical studies, patriotism, or the structure of government on the one hand, to those mainly involved with political systems analysis, public policy or decision making, conflict resolution, or democratic group relations (including the school as a political institution) on the other. Some of these programs have also become firmly established and respected parts of the social studies curriculum. They have been distributed by prominent publishing houses, have a healthy volume of sales, and are going into a second or later edition complete with multimedia packages, revisions, and recent updating. Other projects are still engaged in the throes of creativity and birthing, still seeking a national market for their wares while being fully convinced of their basic self worth and the inevitability of their later successes, despite an increasingly overcrowded market.

B. Major Features of Experimental Curricula

There are certain key themes, topics, techniques, and approaches which characterize innovative and experimental curricula in civic education.

Among these are the following:

I. Key Themes

The key themes of experimental curricula deal with the realities of political life and the political socialization process. The worth of a pluralistic, pragmatic, and reality-oriented approach is recognized by most of the innovative curricula. There is relatively less stress on the formal political structures and institutions of government and the departmental approach than is the case in the civic education pattern of the 1960s or even of more traditional approaches of the 1970s. The themes of contemporaneity, relevance, and applicability for the future also characterize these new curricula. All in all these curricula present a more accurate picture of the triumphs and the tragedies, the successes and failures, and the "good" and the "bad" in all of us, as well as in the nation as a whole. The United States is in fact portrayed as a civilization or country with roots in an historical tradition (although traditional historical study with its facts, dates, details of wars, etc., has also been revised to provide a present day focus)--but a complex tradition which is a mixed bag of idealism, realpolitik, liberalism, conservatism, elitism, democracy, and other characteristics of an unfinished experiment in republican self-governance. An avowed aim of several projects is to increase political efficacy, knowledge, interest, and one's sense of power and self worth, while reducing citizens' cynicism, ethnocentrism, and alienation. Based on the efforts of psychologists and political

scientists working in the area of political socialization, these new curricula often take the student where he is in his political development level and then present him with alternative topics of study and methods of learning so that he may reach a different level for understanding, knowing, feeling, or behaving in a political context.

2. Key Topics

As with its basic themes, the key topics of this new curriculum are also varied. Some of the principal components deal with the need for political action and participation (other than voting, political parties, or running for offices), compromise and conflict resolution, a revised list of the basic concepts of government (such as liberty, freedom, rights, dissent, conscience, legitimacy, toleration, power, equality, and justice, as well as the more traditional emphasis on law observance, duty, deference, patriotism, and loyalty), and interdisciplinary studies. Cross cultural/ethnic/minority group studies are also prominent. So is the new emphasis on decision-making, leadership, political roles, interest and pressure group activities, and current problems of political life, including such personal, family, group, community, regional, national, and international problems as powerlessness, self concept, conflicting loyalties, interpersonal relationships, conflict resolution, and the like. Even where historical studies provide the focus for new curricula, such concepts as political culture, current reality, power, sovereignty, subject versus citizenship roles, and the contemporary relevance of the material are brought out. Those factors deemed particularly and most probably relevant to responsible citizenship in one's current and future life in a democratic republic have been selected out for emphasis, special treatment, and recurrent or cyclical development within the new materials.

3. Key Techniques of Teaching/Curriculum Packaging

The new political curricula also are quite distinct from the older curricula for political education with respect to their format, type, and attention to verbal, visual, auditory, behavioral, psycho-motor, and other stimuli. Most use a multimedia approach with films, filmstrips, games, simulations, role playing exercises, handouts, worksheets, and other devices which engage the teacher and the learner in an active teaching learning environment. This is to be contrasted with the more traditional mode of political curricula, which consisted of a student text, a teacher's annotated text edition, a teacher's guide, a format organized externally by the content of the subject matter (e.g., national, state, and local government; and executive, legislative, or judicial powers) rather than by the core elements, concepts, processes, skills, attitudes or behaviors to be taught in an appropriate environment for democratic education.

The new curricula are further characterized by the presence of behavioral objectives; short, integrated units of study; and the inductive, inquiry, or critical-thinking method for problem solving or discovery learning. Basic schemes of curriculum organization and emphasis—dealing with core values, content areas, techniques or processes of political analysis—are typical of these curriculum bundles, packages, or units of study. Furthermore, the structures, procedures, and methods of political and social science disciplines are used as basic building blocks of the curriculum. Moreover, the cyclical, developmental, and sequential approach (Brunerian) underlies these curricula, as does stage development for skills, behaviors, and cognitive learning (Piaget) and values.

or moral education (Kohlberg). Taxonomic approaches to the cognitive, affective, and behavioral objectives of the course (Bloom) are also used for teaching, learning, and evaluating (in formative, process, and summative terms) the course of study.

4. Key Approaches to Learning

The other side of the teaching coin deals with the learner and the learning environment. The learner is no longer treated as a passive recipient of content which must be "covered" by the teacher through lectures and reading assignments. The emphasis is on independent thinking, reflective thinking, the "jurisprudential" approach, issues analysis, or the development of the "autonomous" individual who is not only able to cope, but to thrive in his personal, social, and political environment. The learner is actively involved as a participant in the decision-making, problem-solving, or communications processes. Although the learner is exposed to relatively more content and material involved with values, affects, and the behavioral domain, these new curricula primarily stress development of the learner's cognitive knowledge and skills at a higher order (e.g., generalization, analysis, understanding, synthesis, and evaluation) rather than at the lower-order recall or recognition levels.

5. Key Target Groups/Age and Ability Levels

The key target groups for the new social studies, history, and political education curricula are at the secondary level. Only a few projects aim at the elementary level, and even fewer treat politics from the K to 6, 9, or 12 levels. In most cases, the intended recipient is the average student; but a few aim at above-average students (e.g., Carnegie-

Mellon) or below average students (e.g., the Hartford, Connecticut and Carnegie-Mellon projects). The reading level of the materials is frequently at least a grade or two above the intended audience and certain projects (e.g., American Political Behavior and Harvard projects) have had to change their focus from the lower to the upper levels of secondary or junior high school. Occasionally, material meant for the average eighth grader became more useful for the above average eighth and ninth grade student and is now used primarily for the average eleventh or twelfth grade student.

Other projects have one ability level in mind during the developmental stage, but upon publication switch to another grade, age, ability, or reading level to suit the realities of school organization or the publications market. However, some few projects (e.g., The Lincoln-Filene and E. D. C. materials) pay attention to different ability levels within the same classroom, which is at once a most promising as well as realistic, difficult, and innovative approach. Trying to engage students from different ethnic, sex, ability, region, SES, and interest group backgrounds is a most challenging task, which these new materials do much more admirably than the more traditional approaches to political studies.

6. Sector Responsibilities: Home, School, and the Larger Community

The primary focus for these new civic education materials is on the student (in the school) who is looking out at the community--past, present, and/or future. However, the amount and type of what was once termed "non-academic" or "intellectually" based material (work, family, personal and community problems such as interpersonal relations, consumerism, ecology and the environment, and racism) is a new departure. These fugitive

subjects were not so long ago regarded by traditionalists as lacking academic respectability, as contrasted with more typical topics such as separation of powers, checks and balances, memorization of the Bill of Rights, or the steps for a bill becoming a law—much akin to the approach in other subjects, such as English or the classics where a sentence was parsed, diagramed, and dissected, or a Latin verb declined in its nominative, objective, past, present, future, imperfect, pluperfect, or irregular contexts. Much of this eighteenth century, classical, or even Medieval approach to political education has been discarded in these new materials which have redefined politics and political learning.

Today the new civic education recognizes the student as a political being (much as Aristotle did some 2500 years ago) who is involved in personal and group problems which have a political context, such as conflict resolution, decision making, affection, rectitude, deference, and the like. The school—even the classroom itself—is recognized as a political community or system involving power, authority, hierarchy, rights, status, role, and other fundamentals of politics. There is a movement out to study the family, social and community organizations, work, unions, and other governmental systems from the local to the international level, while using key goals and objectives, as well as teaching/learning strategies, to consolidate the curriculum. For example, the governing process, systems analysis, communications process, decision-making, or problem-solving techniques are used to study the realities of student political life, both in and out of school. Moreover, the community itself is brought into the school either through an analysis of its problems or through direct participation and involvement of its members. This is most evident in the case of law related curricula, for example, where

lawyers, judges, police, "truant" officers, parole supervisors, and other actors in the criminal justice system are involved in the process of political education.

7. Some Neglected Areas in the New Curricula

With all that is commendable in the new political curricula in American schools, there are certain areas of political life and social reality which have not made their way even into these pioneer projects. For example, despite the prevalence of national effort toward affirmative action and equal employment opportunity (on the basis of race, creed, national origin, sex, physical or emotional handicap, etc.) these new curricula seem deficient in this area. Insufficient attention is paid to women as a special case, ethnic groups other than blacks are largely ignored, and other aspects of the current scene receive little emphasis. Surprisingly little attention (only an average amount) is paid to foreign policy and defense, war and peace, and international relations, or comparative government, politics, or theory. Moreover, real behavioral modification (à la B. F. Skinner, John Dewey, and the Pragmatists) is not an obvious feature of these curricula. In other words, if part of one's definition of learning includes the modification of behavior due to experience, one will be disappointed with much of what happens (or does not happen) in these projects.

Not much emphasis is placed on actual, real, or potential behavior adjustment on the part of the teacher or student. Even the testing/evaluation components of these curricula (despite prior field testing and try-out in many instances) fail to account adequately for changes in the cognitive, affective, or behavioral components of learning.

Additionally, there is little stress on "futuristics," new situations, potential behaviors or proclivities, or other later applications of that which is learned in an innovative course. Rarely do we find any evidence of longitudinal change in student or teacher behavior as a result of the new curricula.

We have previously mentioned the inexplicable lack of basic political education for the earliest years at the preschool, nursery, or K-6 level. Regardless of our knowledge that one's ability level, value structure, and other basic life orientations are largely set in the earliest years, these new curricula are aimed at the later years, when they may well have minimal effect on democratic skills, values, and behaviors. Similarly, there are few links between research findings on learning theory, political socialization, and stage/developmental sequence. There are certain notable exceptions to this allegation (such as the Citizenship Decision Making, From Subject to Citizen, American Political Behavior, and Comparing Political Experiences programs); but the overall pattern for curriculum organization seems to follow the traditional pattern of teaching about foreign peoples early, American history at grades 5, 8, and 11, civics at grade 9, American government or Problems of Democracy at grade 12, and so forth. There is considerable evidence in the political socialization literature that the family, local community, and persons at all levels (from the policeman to the President) are more real to the student in his earlier years than are political abstractions.

Regardless of the worth of some elements in the expanding-communities approach (characteristic of both traditional and innovative materials), there is serious doubt about the introduction of complex crosscultural, international, or transnational material at an early age.

In other words, the rationale for introducing the study of international relations at the end of the spectrum (rather than somewhere toward the middle or later years of childhood or early adolescence) is as suspect as is the study of political parties, institutions, and complex processes prior to early adolescence. Reserving problem areas for the capstone years, moreover, is equally unrealistic when there are basic personal, family, group, and community problems which are real and relevant to the student even before he or she enters school--such as race, stereotyping, conflict, decisions, power, authority, rules, regulations, codes, status, role, etc.

The new social-studies approach to civic education at best reflects a compromise between the old and the new. Much of the new material is aimed at either supplementing the existent curriculum or replacing traditional courses in civics, American government, American history, Problems of Democracy, or International Relations. It is not truly social study in the sense of providing basic political components throughout the grade levels. For example, a decision-making, conflict resolution, pluralistic, multi-ethnic, family-related, environmental-ecological, or truly interdisciplinary and concept oriented political curriculum wedded to learning theory is lacking in both traditional and innovative curriculum. This defect of linking content, substance, process, context, and environment with the learner becomes obvious when we look at the evaluation and measurement of outcomes for the learner in these curricula. Here the breakdown between theory and practice (praxis) is most obvious. The behavioral, attitudinal, and cognitive objectives are often not measured or even measurable, owing to defects in the evaluation instruments, curriculum, the teaching-learning process, or because the average student is just not capable of learning what the curriculum developer expects him

to be capable of learning. For example, in the EDC "From Subject to Citizen materials," it is expected that students of different grade and ability levels will be equally capable of handling the basic content of the course and of performing special feats of mental prestidigitation such as extrapolation, synthesis, and creative expression. Field testing and evaluation revealed that this goal was not realistic and that the material was better received by older and more able students (see Bogatz, Farnen, and Kurfman, 1966). To date this curriculum (although somewhat modified on the basis of field testing) does not provide evaluation instruments for teachers to measure the educational goals and objectives addressed in the course. Consequently, we are left with a situation where some students do and others do not achieve mastery of the material and objectives--yet it is on the traditional level of the self-fulfilling prophecy. The teacher and some of the students are able to master the basic curriculum goals; and the rest of the class are left to fend for themselves, defeated by the "establishment," the "system," or "them" once again. This situation is not atypical and requires restatement of goals, different types of materials for different types of learners, and improved measurement procedures which are better linked with the revised objectives of the project.

C. Indices of Contemporary Civic Education Curricula: Results, Sources, and Procedures Used to Survey Innovative Materials

In order to summarize curricular innovations in civic education since 1967, it was necessary to examine as many new social studies projects as possible in order to determine which were mainly concerned

with politics and government, as well as which were most representative of the field. Most of the fifty-five innovative curricula surveyed for possible inclusion in this study were supported by grants from the USOE, LEAA, or NSF since the 1960s. Of this number, twenty-four were selected as being most representative of those materials which covered the entire span of grades in elementary and secondary education, and which were most clearly political in their thrust and/or nationwide in their scope, design, or current applicability. All of the key content and process areas typical of contemporary innovations in political education are reflected in these materials. For example, interdisciplinary approaches (stressing both social science concepts and methods and political controversy and values), international relations, political history, political behavior, citizenship decision-making, contemporary problems, political systems analysis, and a variety of other content areas were clearly represented by the efforts of these curriculum projects.

If we look at the total universe of innovative social studies over the past decade at the national, state, and local level, we find that there are over one hundred major projects concerned with history, the social sciences (including economics and political science), family and multi-ethnic studies, environmental/ecological issues, family-related education, moral/ethics/values education, global perspectives/international problems, law-related and "free enterprise" education.

As a matter of fact, the actual impact of a given curriculum project may go far beyond the efforts of the few major projects which are focused on a given area. For example, there are only about five major law related project centers which have had a national focus for their efforts since the mid-1960s. However there are more than four hundred (400) law related projects in existence throughout the nation at the local, state, regional, or national level. These projects have received their major impetus from millions of dollars in federal funds (e.g., from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, NEH, or USOE); but the significant financial contributions (also in the millions) of school districts, colleges and universities, bar associations, and private foundations cannot be overestimated (see Gross, 1974 and Henning, 1975).

Or, if we look at the political science activities of the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government in New York as another example; we find thousands of teachers, political scientists, formal and informal political leaders, and other educators participating in annual seminars (for three to four weeks on the average) which deal with practical politics, constitutional government, the party system, and other features of the governing process. These seminars are run in over half the states in the country. Over the past ten years the Taft Institute budget for these activities has gone from about \$150,000 to over \$750,000 per year--a figure far in excess of the total anticipated expenditures by the USOE for 1977 in the area of citizen education. Therefore, if we were to add together all of the national, regional, state, and local curriculum projects in social studies education, the total figure would surely be in the thousands (see Sutton, 1976; and Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975). Consequently, it is no surprise that most teachers and state departments of education report that they are involved in implementing

one of the national projects, a law related project, or some other form of experimentation, such as a mini-course approach to social/political studies (Gross, 1977). The ferment from these innovations has been truly "revolutionary," in that it now appears (in 1977) that the traditional curriculum pattern of social studies/history in the schools has been broken. The prevailing organization (with us since 1917) has been broken so much that it is now difficult to generalize about "the social studies" in the United States. There exists instead a three-culture phenomenon with the traditional, experimental, and blended (or intermediate) pattern being typical in one state, one region, or even one school or school district or another within a given educational setting. The particulars of these developments, as well as their implications for the future, will be discussed more fully in Chapters V and VI of this report. However, the importance of treating experimental curricula as a separate case in this study is underscored by these developments.

A Few Additional Generalizations About Innovative Political Curricula

Some of the principal themes, approaches, and generalizations about experimental and innovative curricula in politics have been presented in the initial part of this section. A few others seem to be appropriate for mention prior to our description of the methodology used and the results of our taxonomic approach to these curriculum projects.

Most of the new political studies materials have a contemporary focus which is either present in the materials or present with teacher modification. They also provide a cultural, racial, and/or ethnic focus and deal with value conflicts. Flexibility of presentation and packaging, combined with learning activities for the student, seem to be two other key features, as is active involvement of the student and teacher in the course or unit of study.

About half of the projects do not use or suggest a multi-media approach, with certain notable exceptions (e.g., the Utah State, Tufts, Minnesota, Indiana University, and Carnegie-Mellon projects).

These projects are also characterized as being about equally divided among those which are inter- or multi- disciplinary and those which focus on a given body of content or course (e.g., civics, government, or problems) or a subfield of politics (e.g., urban studies, public issues, or law). Nearly all have a student text and teacher's guide, some few have tests or a student workbook, and about half use non-print media materials. As we mentioned previously there is no set rule for these projects' temporal formats, in that some are multi-year, one-year, one-semester, or multi-unit, and several others are supplementary in nature (see Sanders and Tanck, 1970 and Haley, 1972).

Other general descriptive characteristics may be obtained from two fairly complete summaries of some fifty projects concerned with political science in the "new social studies" (Adelson and Crosby, 1971; and Turner, 1971). Adelson and Crosby (1971, 7) found that the nine American government projects they surveyed were characterized as follows:

- a) Curriculum Use - Complete curriculum: 2; Self-contained course: 4; Supplementary units: 4;
- b) Length of Use - Full-year: 2; One-semester: 2; Variable: 5;
- c) Content Perspective - Issues: 5; Political behavior: 2; Political systems: 2;
- d) Content Organization - Topics and themes: 2; Concepts: 4; Problems and Issues: 3;
- e) Student Ability Level - Average and below: 2; Average and above: 5; Above average: 2;

f) Cost Per Student Per Year - Under \$1.00: 4; \$1.00-\$2.00: 2; Over \$2.00: 2.

Turner's (1971, 11-26) survey of forty-nine projects useful for civics, government, and problems of democracy courses found that fourteen of the projects were interdisciplinary. Of these, eight curricula primarily emphasized the concepts and methods of the social sciences; and two focussed on social and political controversies and values. (The other four were not categorized.)

This same study identified twenty materials packages which used a discipline other than political science as an organizer of social science concepts and four which organized course content through an area studies/geography or cultural approach.

Eleven projects were listed as dealing primarily with political science content (all of which were surveyed in preparing this report). Turner also found that only eight of the projects had prepared a K to 12 curriculum, ten had prepared elementary material (nine of which also prepared secondary materials), and thirty-three had prepared secondary curriculum materials (nine of which had also prepared elementary materials).

Other still valid generalizations emerge from the Turner study, which is the most complete and current work in the area of political materials analysis (with the possible exception of the Social Science Education Consortium's Curriculum Materials Analysis System through 1971 and the SSEC's Social Studies Curriculum Materials Data Book with annual supplements since 1971).

Turner analyzed these curricula from the perspective of political science as ". . . the systematic study of social processes through which valued resources are authoritatively allocated" (Turner, 1971, 21). This study helps students to ". . . gain the capacity to use concepts, the ability to make valid generalizations, and the skills to diagnose significant political problems." She said, furthermore, that "each of these attributes is necessary to select appropriate and equitable solutions from available alternatives." (Ibid.)

The cognitive and affective goals of political science instruction also endorsed in Turner's survey include: a) Awareness of public issues, policy decisions, political rules, and the tensions between the new and old, the tried and the unproven, and conformism versus deviation; b) Knowledge of: conflict resolution, political systems, and legitimacy; and c) Appreciation for: political variety, citizenship, law, tolerance, crosscultural or transnational perspectives, and freedom of choice. (Adapted from California State Department of Education, 1967, 4-12)

Certain projects fill the bill for one or more of the above mentioned political science and political studies desiderata. For example, the Harvard and Utah projects stress public issues, values, and conflict. Policy/decision-making, conflict resolution, law, and freedom of choice are emphasized in materials from the Law In American Society, UCLA, and Educational Research Council of America (Greater Cleveland) projects, and from the Constitutional Rights Foundation, which also deals with rights and responsibilities, citizenship, and political change. Furthermore, the areas of public versus private concerns, political systems analysis, and legitimacy receive attention in Carnegie-Mellon's Comparative Political Systems package and the University of Minnesota materials. The Indiana and Tufts curricula expose students to the political rules and the governing process, citizenship, and tolerance, while the Amherst, Carnegie-Mellon, and American Sociological Association materials focus on tension, change, innovation, and their opposites. Moreover, the Carnegie-Mellon, Minnesota, and World Law Fund projects deal with cross- and transnational approaches to understanding American institutions and values.

Most of these materials are also designed for average students, whereas some few others aim at disadvantaged, inner-city, "slow learners," and/or able youth. Rarely does a project provide (as does The University of Minnesota

curriculum) for different reading levels. It is quite surprising that more of these projects have not obtained more pedagogical mileage out of their curriculum efforts by broadening the intended audience through expanding the scope and sequence of the project materials to include more grades and different ability and interest groups.

Other generalizations about these new social/political studies curricula worthy of note include the following:

- a) American political behavior, which is broader than the more traditional term "American government," is a key focus for many of these projects. It expands on formal/institutional study and stresses political processes, behaviors, policy, and decision-making.
- b) Constitutional law, the judicial process, and other facets of the jurisprudential approach in law-related curricula are adequately covered by representative curricula in this quite dynamic area of study.
- c) Political theory and its history receive minimal emphasis in these curricula; but comparative government (especially the USSR, China, India, Japan, and the United Kingdom) is better represented, with some attention also given to often neglected areas (e.g., somewhat more to Africa, but less to the other Americas—including Canada and Mexico, our important trading partners and nearest neighbors).
- d) Two other contemporary areas also receiving scant attention in these materials are international relations, foreign policy, war and peace, transnational, and multi-ethnic studies. Some few curricula are targeted toward the international dimension; but the allocation of educational resources to this area is both small and diminishing, whereas multi-ethnic studies are on the rise, especially in more recent years.

e) The entire sweep of new social/political studies curricula taken as a whole is indeed impressive for its extensive coverage of political content; but as Turner says, it " . . . may not be very different from older, more traditional content" (Turner, 1971, 25). In the area of educational process, technique, or method, however, (particularly with respect to cognitive skills and understandings and/or affective and behavioral goals), the new socio-politico curricula have the edge on older materials through their treatment of social science structure, data and source material for organization, manipulation, analysis, evaluation, generalization, synthesis, and extrapolation, and the values and behaviors associated with political activity, participation, and involvement in critical thinking, decision-making, leadership, and the policy process. These new curricula, then, are not so different in their "discovery" of new content in the social/political world, but rather in their approaches to the field, which encourage higher-order learning, active involvement of teacher and student, and concern for important present realities, rather than for the arcane or conventional myths of the past.

Brief Descriptions of the Twenty-four Innovative Curricula

With all this said about major themes, patterns, and processes in the new social/political studies, let us now continue our search for some of the more basic core content; knowledge, skills, values, and behaviors in political studies represented by these innovative curricula. The twenty-four curriculum projects included the following:

1. Citizenship Decision Making (part of APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education Project Materials), by Richard Remy et al. (Columbus, Ohio: Mershon Center, Ohio State University, 1976): , grades 4-6: four units of

instructional materials; twenty-four lessons of forty minutes duration on the average, from one to three class days per lesson; interdisciplinary content concerned with cognitive and behavioral objectives, decision making process, active learning, political environment of the school, rules, social resources, scarcity, conflict, well being, enlightenment, respect, etc. Reading levels: multiple; availability: from project, ongoing.

2. Intergroup Relations Curriculum, by John S. Gibson et al. (Medford, Mass.: Lincoln-Filene Center, Tufts University, 1970): grades K-6; an interdisciplinary approach with a political science/core dealing with democratic human relations, governing process, decision and policy making, poverty and welfare, stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, freedom, equality, dissent, duties and responsibilities, and human behavior, positive self-concept, and the socialization process in an open, inquiry-oriented classroom, stressing values and affective domain. Reading levels: multiple; availability: from project, now defunct.

3. Taba (Contra Costa) Curriculum Development Project - San Francisco State by Norman Wallace et al. (Menlo Park, Calif.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969-73): grades K-7, social studies; behavioral objectives stressed in an interdisciplinary and cross cultural framework; critical and "autonomous" thinking encouraged in the study of concepts such as justice, power, freedom, and equality, ethnicity, causality, conflict, change, interdependence, social control and the socialization process--including families, neighborhoods, communities, states, and cultures across all three domains. Reading levels: multiple; availability: commercially published, ongoing project.

4. The Social Sciences: Concepts and Values, by Paul Brandwein (San Francisco, Calif.: Marcourt, Brace, and World, 1970): grades K-9; "discovery" and cognitive learning stressed, with emphasis on concepts such as responsibility, duty, rights, freedom, equality, justice, power, authority, legitimacy, individualism, law, representation, participation, conflict resolution, and the socialization process. Reading levels: multiple; availability: commercially published, ongoing project.
5. Hartford Programmed Materials, by Irving Schein (Hartford, Conn.: Hartford Board of Education, 1969): grades K-12 and underachievers; focus on cognitive domain, including citizenship, duty, rights, law and rules, conscience, sovereignty, power, leadership, legitimacy, freedom and equality, conflict resolution, development, change, justice, dissent, and socialization. Reading levels: multiple; availability: from project, ongoing.
6. Concepts and Inquiry; The Price of Freedom; Analyzing Politics; and The Federal System (Educational Research Council of America - Greater Cleveland Project), by Raymond English (Boston, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon, 1970-73): grades K-12; an interdisciplinary, inquiry-based, and multi-media approach stressing the cognitive domain and concepts such as obligation, duty, obedience, legitimacy, patriotism, loyalty, participation, self-government, sovereignty, freedom, equality, law and justice, political economy, conflict and international peace, crossnational and comparative government and political theory, "practical and prudent" judgment; human relations, leadership, and the contemporary scene. Reading level: for 10th grade, 9th grade materials; availability: commercially published, ongoing project.

7. Project Social Studies; Value Conflicts and Policy Decisions; Our Political System, by Edith West (Minneapolis, Minn.: Green Publishing Co., 1963-68): grades K-12; a multi-media, multiple-reading level, inquiry-based, and interdisciplinary/cross-cultural social studies curriculum project stressing the cognitive domain and some affective goals such as dissent, equality, power, freedom, authority, duty, conscience, justice, conflict, legitimacy, human dignity, participation, representation, public problems, decision making and leadership, and contemporary perspectives on change, development, modernization, stability, technology, etc. Reading levels: multiple; availability: commercially published, ongoing project.
8. From Subject to Citizen (Educational Development Center, Cambridge, Mass.) by Nona Plessner Lyons (Chicago, Ill.: Denoyer-Geppert Co. and Columbus, Ohio: KDI Instructional Systems, 1968-70): grades 8-10: a "discovery" and inquiry based, structure of discipline, sequential development, and multi-media course; interdisciplinary orientation focusing on key concepts such as political culture, power, and historical background; other key content areas which are mainly cognitive deal with duty, treason, legitimacy, dissent, law, conflict, compromise, development, change, and comparative studies. Reading levels: multiple; availability: commercially published, ongoing project.
9. American Political Behavior (Indiana University - Social Studies Development Center), by Howard Mehlinger and John Patrick (Boston, Mass.: Ginn and Co., 1972 and 1977): grades 9-12; an interdisciplinary, multi-media, inquiry-based course stressing the higher-order cognitive skills, but not to the exclusion of affective and behavioral objectives concerned with political

socialization, empiricism, individual and group political behavior, political interest and participation, efficacy, toleration and pluralism, and aimed at decreasing ethnocentrism and political cynicism and alienation. Culture, status, role, class, recruitment, conflict, and other behavioral science concepts are thoroughly treated. Reading level: 11th grade; availability: commercially published, now defunct.

10. Basic Concepts in History and the Social Sciences (Amherst Project), by Edwin Rozwenc (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1968): grades 10-12; a paperback series focusing on historical backgrounds (key periods are progressive era, New Deal, populist period, Civil War and slavery, and Jacksonian age, as well as gilded age, cold war, containment, and imperial periods of U. S. history.) Reading level: multiple; availability: commercially published, now defunct.
11. The Amherst Project; New Dimensions in American History; Discovering American History by Richard H. Brown and Van R. Halsey, general editors (Menlo Park, Calif.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.; New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston; and Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1968-73): grades 9-12; a multiple, short unit approach stressing historical background, foundations, and basic concepts through the discovery/inquiry methods. Mostly cognitive emphasis, with some stress on morality, ethics, and values (affective) and on key concepts/content areas dealing with duty, legitimacy, conscience, obligations, allegiance, rights, equality, sovereignty, freedom, dissent, license, law, justice, church and state, the work ethic, property, militarism, peace and war, imperialism, minorities, welfare, leadership, and science/technology. Reading levels: 12th grade or below; availability: commercially published, ongoing project.

12. Comparative Political Systems; Comparative Economic Systems; Shaping of Western Society; Tradition and Change in Four Societies; A New History of the United States; Introduction to Behavioral Science; The Humanities in Three Cities (Carnegie-Mellon Project), by Edwin Fenton (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1972): grades 9-12; a multi-media, interdisciplinary project, with one or two semester courses using a discovery, inquiry, "independent thinking," and scientific method/structure of disciplines approach stressing society, culture, political processes and systems, and themes such as alienation, socialization, and modernization. Other basic concepts are: responsibility, duty, dissent, equality, representation, law, justice, leadership, and social problems. Key emphasis is also placed on comparative ideology and the crosscultural approach. Reading levels: 11th grade; availability: commercially published, ongoing project.
13. A Curriculum Focused on Thinking Reflectively About Public Issues; Analysis of Public Issues/Decision Making in A Democracy; Teaching Public Issues in the High School; Democracy, Pluralism, and the Social Studies (Utah State and Harvard University Projects), by Donald W. Oliver, James P. Shaver, and Harold Berlak (Boston, Mass.: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1966-71): grades 9-12; a higher-order cognitive, affective, and behavioral curriculum using the multi-media approach, behavioral objectives, curriculum "bundles," "interludes," case studies for average and above average students. Value clarification, inquiry, Socratic dialogue, critical thinking, and problem-solving through the "jurisprudential," "reflective" thinking, and "frame of reference" approach are the mainstays of this public issues curriculum focus. Key themes, concepts, and/or

approaches treat value conflict, controversy, "diverseness," and "perceptual sets" involving political morality, ethics, language, intelligent and rational decision-making, political participation and action, democracy and individualism, and other key topics such as socialism.

Reading levels: 10th grade; availability: commercially published, ongoing project.

14. Episodes in Social Inquiry; Inquiries in Sociology; and Readings in Sociology (Sociological Resources for the Social Studies), by Robert Angell, et al. (Boston, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971): grades 9-12; a multi-media, inquiry-based curriculum using short episodes, texts, units, booklets, and other materials. Values and cognitive skills and knowledge are stressed, with key concepts and topics of study dealing with: equality of opportunity, civil liberties, participation, welfare, poverty, industrialization, urbanization, religion, social organizations, conflict, stratification, culture, race and ethnicity, stereotyping, roles, the family, discrimination, juvenile delinquency, crime mobility, group process, leadership, science, population, and social change. An interdisciplinary approach using the sociological/social science method is used to analyze and evaluate contemporary society. Reading levels: ~~8th-11th~~ grades; availability: commercially published, project now defunct.

15. Public Issues Series (Harvard University Social Studies Project), by Donald W. Oliver and Fred Neumann (Middletown, Conn. and Columbus, Ohio: American Education Publishers, 1970): grades 9-12; an interdisciplinary, multi-unit approach to public issues and controversy. Uses the same basic approaches as in #13 above to the "prescriptive, descriptive, and analytical" study of the following concepts, topics, and content:

consent, due process, legitimacy, conscience, justice, dissent, freedom, equality, privacy, status, revolution, federalism, rights, and socialization interest and participation, comparative government/political theory, cross/intercultural studies, poverty, welfare, race, science, population, and technology, and public problems, leadership, change, and conflict resolution. Decision making, education, development, value dilemmas, ethics, and the classification and justification of value stances through free and open discussion, process, or dialogue are other foci for this contemporary/current affairs oriented curriculum (cognitive, affective, and behavioral). Reading levels: 9th grade; availability: commercially published, project now defunct.

16. Lincoln Filene Center Social Studies Program; Current Affairs and the Social Studies; Ideology and World Affairs (Newsweek Educational Program), by John S. Gibson (Medford, Mass.: Tufts University, 1970/71): grades 7-12; a unit/case study approach stressing the basic structure of political science as a discipline through the "governing process" model of political systems analysis and policy/decision making. The "discovery" method is used for treatment of topics such as foreign policy, nationalism, Communism, consumerism, NATO, police and the law, prejudice, poverty, welfare, urban planning, environment, technology, gun control, leadership, and civil rights/disobedience. Process-type objectives expose students to materials dealing with dissent, protest, duty, participation, conflict, due process, and leadership. A realistic orientation in the materials--combined with an engaging contemporary focus on public problems and an attempt to increase rational understanding, political efficacy, and political/social security--makes this higher-order cognitive and affective/behavioral curriculum a useful model for teaching about the political

process, law, ideology, world affairs, and current public problems.

Reading levels: 8th grade; availability: project now defunct.

17. Comparing Political Experiences (Indiana University High School Political Science Curriculum Project), by Judith A. Gillespie and John J. Patrick

(Washington, D. C.: American Political Science Association, 1974):

grade 12; along with #1 above, this micro-processes political curriculum is part of the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education project described in Chapter I of this report. This is, perhaps, the most fully developed one-year political education curriculum--with the possible exception of its companion course in American Political Behavior (See #9 above). This multi-media curriculum deals with higher order cognitions, attitudes, and behaviors. Its key content and process emphases include political participation, political action, local government, comparative government, social/political science methods, problem-solving, group actions, decision-making, and political systems analysis. Some of its key themes treat school, work, and community political life; elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant political systems; and political roles such as supporter, advocate, and organizer. Other basic concepts of the curriculum are influence, wealth, ideology and political maintenance, change, development, and conflict. This is an inquiry and action based project which not only deals with current public issues such as ERA, busing, ecology, unions, OPEC, etc., but also with the school system as a political community with a communications network, leadership roles, and a governing process. The diffusion system for this project includes school try out and feedback, institutes for key decision-makers, a network of consultants, and built-in evaluation procedures

stressing student achievement, political competence, and mastery of behavioral, knowledge, skill, and valuative objectives, including self-fulfillment, interpersonal relations, value judgments, and skill development. Reading levels: unknown; availability: January, 1979, from commercial publisher, sample materials from project.

18. World Law Fund/Institute for World Order Materials, by Betty Riordan (New York: Institute for World Order, 1969-77): grades 11-12; a supplementary, multi-media, and interdisciplinary curriculum directed toward knowledge, skills, values, and behaviors crucial to key topics such as conflict resolution, war prevention, ecology, economic well-being, and decision-making through the study of defense, foreign policy, international relations, and comparative/crosscultural and transnational studies, including "futuristics" and alternative scenarios for the future. Reading levels: multiple secondary; availability: from IWO; school program was discontinued in early 1977.
19. New Dimensions and Headline Series, by James Becker et al. (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1965 to present): grades 9-12; this multi-media, interdisciplinary project is a supplementary program and includes a game, "Dangerous Parallel" (Glenview, Ill.: Scott Foresman, 1969); and the earlier Great Decisions series by James Becker et al. (Boston, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon, 1965). The concentration is on cognitive goals stressing foreign policy, war and peace, international relations and organizations, decision-making, and current developments regarding peace, law, change, security, development, modernization, stability, conflict, violence, and revolution. Reading levels: multiple secondary; availability: from FPA project, some materials defunct.

20. The Handbook of Legal Education Materials, by the Colorado Legal Education Program (Boulder and Denver, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium and Colorado Bar Association, 1976): grades K-12; a summary and critique of some eighty-five curriculum materials packages and multi-media resource kits in legal education. The primary emphasis in the curricula surveyed in this study are on basic concepts such as justice, freedom, equality, dissent, responsibility, rights, law, due process, judicial process, property, order, and both decision making and social problems, including current events/public issues such as poverty, welfare, drugs, race, education, housing, employment, and consumer rights. The process goals include higher-order cognitive skills and understandings, with some emphasis on values and somewhat less on behavior. (This process is referred to in materials as "honest inquiry" or "reasoned judgement." Other aspects of the curricula emphasize sanctions, law enforcement, criminal law, judicial administration, law-breaking, and conflict management. Change, toleration, respect for law and the reduction in alienation and concomitant increase in efficacy are other goals. Most curricula are aimed at the secondary student. Reading levels: not determined; availability: various commercial publishers and projects.
21. Law Related Education in America, by Joel F. Henning et al. (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1975): grades K-12; presents results of a survey of 200 legal education projects by the staff director of the American Bar Association's Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship. (Also see the Committee's Directory of Law-Related Educational Activities, edited by Norman Gross, Chicago, Ill.: American Bar Association, 1974, Second Edition, Working Notes, No. 6, which is a

survey of 250 law related projects.) This survey (mainly of LEAA supported projects) also revealed that law related curricula are mainly designed for secondary education, utilize multi-media approaches, and stress cognitive goals as well as affective and behavioral objectives. The key content areas are liberty, rights, and responsible citizenship, and basic legal concepts such as property, due process, equality, and justice. Urban, criminal, street, constitutional, tort, consumer, and juvenile law are also represented to varying degrees, as are analytical ability, value/conflict resolution, and the Socratic method. Drug and environmental law, school law and government, and polling and interview techniques are less well reflected in the curricula than is the case study method for example. Reading levels: various; availability:

from commercial publishers; national, local, and statewide projects; and the ERIC document retrieval system.

22. Your Rights and Responsibilities As An American Citizen; Conflict, Politics, and Freedom; Voices for Justice, by Charles N. Quigley and Richard P. Longaker (Lexington, Mass.: Ginn and Co., 1967); A Case Book, Lesson Plans, A Curriculum, and A Guide for Teacher Education (Santa Monica, Calif.: Law in A Free Society, 1972-73): (grades K-12; materials produced by the UCLA Committee on Civic Education and the LIFS/LEAA Statewide and National project in California. This is a multi-media, open-inquiry, and reality-oriented project providing behavioral objectives and an evaluation scheme. The key concepts are authority, diversity, freedom, justice, participation, privacy, property, and responsibility. Nearly 100,000 students and 1,200 teachers in grades K to 12 in fifty school systems are involved in this six year project, which has a

dissemination and diffusion network. Reading levels: multiple; availability: from commercial publishers and LIFS projects.

23. Justice in Urban America, Trailmarks of Liberty series; Law in American Society Journal, by Robert H. Ratcliffe (Boston, Mass.: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1971): grades 4-12. Supported by state and LEAA funds, this project focuses on constitutional, civil, consumer, landlord/tenant, and urban law. Particular topics include "law in a new land," "great cases of the Supreme Court," and "vital issues of the Constitution." Cognitive knowledge, understandings, and skills, as well as values and behaviors, are also stressed." It is an inquiry-based curriculum which treats the structure of the discipline of law through case studies. Reading levels: multiple; availability: from publisher and National Center for Law Focused Education, Chicago, Ill.
24. Bill of Rights, by Vivian Monroe. (New York: Benzinger Bros., 1968): grades 7-12; part of the curriculum materials produced by the Constitutional Rights Foundation of California. Other publications include the semi-annual Bill of Rights Newsletter and Education and Participation: A Development Guide for Secondary School Programs in Law and Public Affairs. This curriculum is focused on the bill of rights, rights and responsibilities, legal processes, administration of justice, police, juries, change, freedom, crime, violence, dissent, youth, and juvenile delinquency. It includes cognitive, valuative, and some behavioral objectives and experiences (e.g., simulation games). The CRG project involves 1,000 teachers and leaders and 16,000 students in the San Francisco and Los Angeles area, as well as a Nationwide LEAP project with offices in California, Pennsylvania, and Missouri. Reading levels: multiple; availability: from commercial publisher and CRF headquarters for the Law, Education, and Participation Project in Los Angeles.

A TAXONOMIC APPROACH TO THE CONTENT AND PROCESS OBJECTIVES OF INNOVATIVE CIVIC EDUCATION MATERIALS

Much the same procedure for analyzing these twenty-four innovative political education curricula was followed as was used in our analysis of goals statements, traditional curricula, and textbook summaries for the 1950s and 1960s (see pages 148 to 159 above). In addition to a content/document analysis of representative materials received from the projects or publishers of project materials, several other sources for comparative analysis of the materials were used when they were available. These additional sources include the following:

- a) Curriculum Materials Analysis System (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., 1968-70) for the SRSS, UCLA/Committee on Civic Education, Carnegie-Mellon University, Harvard University, Indiana University, and San Francisco State/Taba projects.
- b) Norris M. Sanders and Marlin L. Tanck, "A Critical Appraisal of Twenty-six National Social Studies Projects," Social Education (April 1970, Vol. 34, No. 4) 383-470, for the EDC, Greater Cleveland, Carnegie-Mellon, University of Minnesota, Taba, Amherst, Indiana University, SRSS, Harvard, Law in American Society, and Tufts University Projects.
- c) Frances Haley et al., "Introduction to Project Materials Analysis," Social Education (November 1972, Vol. 36, No. 7) 718-771, for the Amherst College; UCLA, Carnegie-Mellon, Educational Research Council/Greater Cleveland, Harvard University, Indiana University, Law in American Society, University of Minnesota, San Francisco State/Taba, SRSS, Tufts University, and Utah State University Projects.
- d) Nancy C. Adelson and Sandra G. Crosby, The American Government Information Unit (Berkeley, Calif.: Far West Laboratory For Educational Research and Development, 1971) for the Utah State, Indiana University, SRSS, Harvard

University, Carnegie-Mellon University, Tufts University, Educational Research Council/Greater Cleveland, and The Amherst Projects.

- e) Mary Jane Turner, Materials for Civics) Government and Problems of Democracy (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium, 1971) for the Amherst, Constitutional Rights Foundation, UCLA, Utah State, Carnegie-Mellon, Hartford, Harvard, Indiana University, Foreign Policy Association, Law in America Society, Tufts University, Educational Research Council/Greater Cleveland, Educational Development Center, SRSS, San Francisco State/Taba, and World Law Fund projects.
- f) Social Studies Curriculum Materials Data Book (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium, 1971-76) for nearly all of the curriculum materials selected for this survey, with certain exceptions such as the legal education summary materials described in items #20 and #21 above in this Chapter of the report.

These sources (some of which also utilized a taxonomic approach) and the project materials were used to classify these innovative curricula according to key content areas and domains (cognitive, affective, and/or behavioral). Both raw scores (see Table XII) and scale scores (see Table XIII) were calculated. Definitions previously used for the content and domain areas for the 1960s were also found to be useable, if expanded, for these innovative curricula materials. No new categories in the content or domain areas had to be added.

TABLE XII

A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGES

B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS

TAXONOMY OF INNOVATIVE CIVIC EDUCATION CURRICULA: THE 1970s
(Raw Scores and Percentage Distributions)

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGES					B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS				
	a. Recall of Specific Terms and Facts	b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgments	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	45	39	54	49	59	49	53	58	54	55
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	40	34	40	46	54	46	48	52	49	50
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	42	36	51	46	56	46	50	55	51	52
3. Historical Background of Governments	46	40	55	50	60	50	54	59	55	56
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	63	57	72	67	77	67	71	76	72	73
5. Federal Constitution	42	36	51	46	56	46	50	55	51	52
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	46	40	55	50	60	50	54	59	55	56
6. Federal Government	39	33	49	43	53	43	47	52	48	49
a. Legislature	31	25	40	35	45	35	39	44	40	41
b. Executive	29	23	38	33	43	33	37	42	38	39
c. Judiciary	36	30	45	40	50	40	44	49	45	46
d. Bureaucracy	29	23	38	33	43	33	37	42	39	39
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., State & Local)	48	42	57	52	62	52	56	61	57	58
a. Public Opinion	27	21	36	31	41	31	35	40	35	37
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	36	30	45	40	50	40	44	49	45	46
c. Political Action	42	36	51	46	56	46	50	55	51	52
d. Political Parties	32	26	41	36	46	36	40	45	41	42
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	36	30	45	40	50	40	44	49	45	46
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	31	25	40	35	45	35	39	44	40	41
a. Foreign Relations	33	27	42	37	47	37	41	46	42	43
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	29	23	38	33	43	33	37	42	38	39
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	41	35	50	45	55	45	49	54	50	51
12. International Relations & Organizations	40	34	49	44	54	44	48	53	49	50
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	40	34	49	44	54	44	48	53	49	50
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Militarism, etc.	31	25	40	35	45	35	39	44	40	41
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	42	36	51	46	56	46	50	55	51	52
c. Institutional Studies	38	32	47	42	52	42	46	51	47	48
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	34	28	43	38	48	38	42	47	43	44
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	47	41	56	51	61	51	55	60	56	57
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	53	47	62	57	67	57	61	66	62	63
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	46	40	55	50	60	50	54	59	55	56
b. Group Action & Guidance	38	32	47	42	52	42	46	51	47	48
16. Decision Making Process	56	50	65	60	70	60	64	69	65	66
17. Current Events	46	40	55	50	60	50	54	59	55	56
TOTALS	1354	1150	1660	1490	1830	1490	1626	1727	1694	1727
%	47.64	39.4	57.0	51.1	62.8	51.1	55.8	61.6	57.0	59.1

TABLE XII (Cont.)

TAXONOMY OF INNOVATIVE CIVIC EDUCATION CURRICULA: THE 1970s

(Raw Scores and Percentage Distributions)

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	a. Receptivity	b. Responsiveness	c. Valuation	d. Conceptualization	e. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Precipitatives (a through e)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through e)	TOTALS:	%
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	3633	5547	49	56	53	38	41	32	960	3.29		
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	3133	5024	44	51	48	33	35	27	860	2.95		
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	3335	5244	46	53	50	35	38	29	900	3.09		
3. Historical Background of Governments	3739	5643	50	57	54	33	42	33	980	3.36		
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	5456	7365	67	74	71	55	59	50	1320	4.53		
5. Federal Constitution	3335	5244	46	53	50	35	38	29	1900	3.09		
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	3739	5643	50	57	54	39	42	33	980	3.36		
6. Federal Government	3032	4941	43	50	47	32	35	26	840	2.88		
a. Legislature	2324	4133	35	42	39	24	27	18	680	2.33		
b. Executive	2022	3931	33	40	37	22	25	16	640	2.19		
c. Judiciary	2729	4632	40	47	44	24	32	23	780	2.67		
d. Bureaucracy	2022	3931	33	40	37	22	25	16	640	2.19		
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	3941	5850	52	59	56	41	44	35	1020	3.50		
a. Public Opinion	1820	3729	31	38	35	20	23	14	500	2.06		
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	2729	4632	40	47	44	29	32	22	720	2.67		
c. Political Action	3335	5244	46	53	50	35	38	29	900	3.09		
d. Political Parties	2325	4234	35	43	40	25	28	19	700	2.40		
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	2729	4632	40	47	44	29	32	23	780	2.67		
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	2724	4623	35	42	39	24	27	18	580	2.33		
a. Foreign Relations	2426	4325	37	44	41	26	29	20	720	2.47		
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	2022	3931	33	40	37	22	25	16	640	2.19		
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	3224	5133	46	52	49	34	37	28	880	3.02		
12. International Relations & Organizations	3133	5042	44	51	48	33	35	27	860	2.95		
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	3133	5042	44	51	48	33	35	27	860	2.95		
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.	2224	4133	35	42	39	24	27	18	680	2.33		
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	3335	5244	46	53	50	35	38	29	900	3.09		
c. Institutional Studies	2931	4840	42	49	46	31	34	25	820	2.81		
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	2527	4435	38	45	42	27	30	21	740	2.54		
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	3940	5749	57	59	55	40	43	34	1000	3.43		
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	4446	6355	57	64	61	46	49	40	1120	3.84		
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	3739	5648	50	57	54	39	42	33	980	3.36		
b. Group Action & Guidance	2931	4840	42	49	46	31	34	25	820	2.81		
16. Decision Making Process	4749	6656	60	67	64	49	52	43	1180	4.05		
17. Current Events	3739	5648	50	57	54	39	42	33	980	3.36		
TOTALS:	1048115	167445	115	1728	1626	1116	1218	912	29,120			
%	35.9	35.8	35.1	5.93	5.52	3.83	4.18	3.13			100%	

TABLE XIII
TAXONOMY OF INNOVATIVE
CURRICULA: 1970s

I. COGNITIVE DOMAIN
A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGES B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS

(Scale Scores and Percentage Distributions)

Key to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
- 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
- 3 = Frequent/Obsvious Emphasis
- 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
- 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION

	a. Recall of Specific Terms and Facts	b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgment	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	2.0	1.5	3.0	2.5	3.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
2. Essentials of Dem. Citizenship (a. Basic Civic Interests & Values)	2.0	1.0	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5
3. Historical Background of Governments	2.0	1.5	3.0	2.5	3.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	4.0	3.0	5.5	4.5	5.5	4.5	5.0	5.5	5.5	5.5
5. Federal Constitution (a. Personal Rights and Liberties)	2.0	1.5	2.5	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.5	3.0	2.5	2.5
6. Federal Government (a. Legislature b. Executive c. Judiciary d. Bureaucracy)	1.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	3.0	3.0
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local) (a. Public Opinion b. Pressure Groups & Politics c. Political Action d. Political Parties)	2.5	2.0	3.5	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.5	3.5
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	1.0	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.0
9. Defense & Foreign Policy (a. Foreign Relations)	1.0	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.0
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	0.5	0.5	1.0	0.5	1.0	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	1.5	1.5	2.5	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
12. International Relations & Organizations	1.5	1.0	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory (a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Militarism, etc. b. Cross or Intercultural Studies c. Institutional Studies)	1.0	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
14. Methodology of Political Sci. (a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.)	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving (a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems b. Group Action & Guidance)	3.0	2.0	4.0	3.5	4.5	3.5	4.0	4.5	4.0	4.0
16. Decision Making Process	1.5	1.0	2.0	1.5	2.5	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.0
17. Current Events	3.0	2.5	4.5	3.5	5.0	3.5	4.5	5.0	4.5	4.5
TOTALS:	2.0	1.5	3.0	2.5	3.5	2.5	3.0	3.5	3.0	3.0
Z:	4.5	3.2	6.0	5.2	7.1	5.1	5.9	6.9	6.2	6.4

TABLE XIII (Cont.)

II. AFFECTIVE DOMAIN III. POLITICAL ACTIVITY OR OF POLITICS BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN

TAXONOMY OF INNOVATIVE CURRICULA: 1970s

(Raw Scores and Percentage Distributions)

Key to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
- 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
- 3 = Frequent/Obvious Emphasis
- 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
- 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	A. Receptivity	B. Responsiveness	C. Valuation	D. Conceptualization	E. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through c)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through c)	Totals: %	Z
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Defiance)	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	1.5	2.0	1.0	48.5	3.9
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	1.0	1.0	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	37.5	3.0
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	1.0	1.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	1.5	2.0	1.0	42.0	3.4
3. Historical Background of Governments	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.5	2.5	3.5	3.0	1.5	2.0	1.0	49.0	3.9
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	2.5	2.5	5.5	4.0	4.5	5.5	2.5	3.0	1.5	1.5	85.0	6.8
5. Federal Constitution	1.0	1.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	41.5	3.3
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.5	2.5	3.5	3.0	1.5	2.0	1.0	49.5	3.9
6. Federal Government	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	35.5	2.9
a. Legislature	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	17.5	1.4
b. Executive	0.5	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	15.0	1.2
c. Judiciary	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	1.5	1.0	1.0	0.5	27.0	2.2
d. Bureaucracy	0.5	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	16.0	1.3
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	1.5	1.5	3.5	2.5	3.0	3.5	3.0	1.5	2.0	1.0	55.0	4.4
a. Public Opinion		0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		9.0	0.7
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	0.5	29.0	2.3
c. Political Action	1.0	1.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	42.0	3.4
d. Political Parties	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	18.5	1.5
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	1.5	1.0	1.0	0.5	28.5	2.3
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	17.0	1.4
a. Foreign Relations	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.0	0.5	22.0	1.8
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	0.5	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	14.5	1.2
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	1.0	1.0	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	1.0	1.5	1.0	39.5	3.2
12. International Relations & Organizations	1.0	1.0	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	37.0	2.9
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	1.0	1.0	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	37.0	2.9
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	17.0	1.4
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	1.0	1.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	41.5	3.3
c. Institutional Studies	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	0.5	32.0	2.6
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	0.5	1.0	0.5	22.5	1.8
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	1.5	1.5	3.5	2.5	2.5	3.5	3.0	1.5	2.0	1.0	51.0	4.1
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	2.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	3.5	4.0	4.0	2.0	2.5	1.5	65.5	5.2
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.5	2.5	3.5	3.0	1.5	2.0	1.0	49.5	4.0
b. Group Action & Guidance	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	0.5	32.0	2.6
16. Decision Making Process	2.0	2.0	4.5	3.5	3.5	4.5	4.5	2.0	2.5	1.5	71.0	5.7
17. Current Events	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.5	2.5	3.5	3.0	1.5	2.0	1.0	49.5	4.0
TOTALS:	35.5	38.5	78.5	61.5	63.0	82.0	74.5	38.5	47.0	25.5	1247.5	

Z: 2.8 3.1 6.2 4.8 5.1 6.5 6.0 3.0 3.8 2.0

100

As we can see from examining Tables XII and XIII, the full range of content/ domains was utilized, but to varying degrees. The most emphasized content categories in the new curricula are the foundations and basic concepts, decision-making process, and critical thinking categories. As for the principal domains of innovative civic education, we find that higher order knowledge (recognition of theories and generalizations) and understandings and skills (ability to analyze problems), middle level affective valuation, and lower order behaviors (evidence of involvement, capability, and action in situations and intention or tendency to act capably) are most heavily stressed. The least emphasized content areas are state and federal government structures and institutions, and public opinion. . The most infrequently mentioned domain areas are lower order cognitions (recognition of trends, conventions, and classifications), lower-order affects (receptivity, responsiveness, and both lower and higher order behaviors (future capable activity and covert and overt activity, a-e).

The taxonomic grid for the 1960s (see Chapter III, pages 148-159 above) revealed that the civic education curricula for the 1960s placed emphasis on the content areas of essentials of democratic citizenship and basic civic interests and values, historical backgrounds, personal rights and liberties, government and the economy, problem areas, and cross or intercultural and international studies. In the 1960s, the key domain areas were lower-order knowledges—such as recall of specific facts and terms—and lower-order understandings and skills—such as ability to comprehend and interpret data, as well as lower order affects and behaviors (e.g., receptivity and evidence of present involvement, capability, and action).

Conclusions from the 1970s Innovative Curriculum Taxonomy

These comparisons reveal several shifts of emphasis from the sixties to the seventies in civic education:

- a) Innovative curricula more fully use the broad range of knowledge, skills, values, and behaviors in civic education.
- b) Innovative curricula place greater emphasis on higher order cognitions and mid-range affects, while showing a similar level of lower-order behavioral emphasis, but a higher order emphasis on certain behavioral components.
- c) The content emphasis in the innovative curricula is on basic political concepts, the process of decision and policy making, and the critical-thinking areas, including problem solving.
- d) Other content areas in the innovative civics curricula, receiving significantly more emphasis than was the case a decade ago, include the areas of current events; interdisciplinary and crosscultural studies; political/social science methodology; comparative government; institutional studies; political theory; group actions, political problems, processes organizations, and participation; and federal government.
- e) Much less relative emphasis is found in the seventies on patriotism, loyalty, and deference; economics; essentials of democratic citizenship; the historical backgrounds of governments; international relations and organizations; and political theory.
- f) Both the 1960s conventional and 1970s innovative curricula place about the same relative stress on foundations and basic concepts, the federal Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and foreign relations. Critical thinking, judgment, and problem-solving are also prominent in both curriculum taxonomies; but the significance of this area for the 1970s period can be fully appreciated only through an examination of the civic processes/domains in the field, where higher-order skills, understandings, and abilities were more fully

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V. INDICES OF CONTEMPORARY CIVIC/POLITICAL EDUCATION IN ITS CONVENTIONAL MODE:
THE 1970s

The Political, Historical and Social Education Scene Today

The National Center for Education Statistics (Osterndorf and Horn, 1976, 1-13 and 22) has prepared a report on course offerings, enrollments and practices in public secondary schools for the 1972-73 school year. This report indicated that there were approximately 22,600 elementary schools (grades K-6) and 22,737 secondary schools (grades 7-12). In all there were 18,577,000 pupils enrolled in the secondary schools of the United States in 1973, with the largest enrollment (3,685,000) in grade 9; and the smallest (2,413,000) in grade 7. Most high schools had an enrollment of between 100-299 pupils (4,150) or 500-999 pupils (7,171); but 1,237 schools had enrollments of less than 100 students; and 3,092 schools, of more than 1,500.

The schools of the nation continued to increase in their retention rate, with some 75% of those enrolling at grade 5 in 1965 graduating from high school in 1973 (87% had entered grade 11 in 1971). From 1961 to 1973, secondary school enrollments also increased by over 58%, but the impending drop in enrollments was already foretold by relatively smaller class sizes in grades 7 and 8 (over a million less than either grades 8 or 9).

American high schools offered more than 2,100 different courses in the 1970s. The bulk of the schools continued to offer core courses in English, social studies, mathematics, science, and health/physical education. However, the number of new courses being offered dramatically increased at the expense of the more traditional courses; and advanced, remedial, college-level, and personal-interest courses, as well as new methods of instruction, increased the variety of offerings in the high schools. This DHEW report consolidates these course offerings into two basic lists of either 429 or 135 titles for purposes of

more condensed treatment. Typically, it was found that the larger the school, the greater the probability that a larger number of the basic 429 courses (both traditional and optional) were offered. For example, specialized study in American government was available in greater proportion through courses in the U. S. Constitution, problems of democracy, state government, basic American law, and community civics in those schools with an enrollment over 500.

Although increasing since 1961, the number of courses in non-Western cultures and languages (also usually offered in larger and urban schools) was relatively insignificant; but general courses in world affairs/international relations showed more than a fourfold increase, to 6.2% of the schools in 1972-73 compared with 1.4% in 1960-61. Although the number of schools offering world history dropped by 20% in this same period, newer courses in Western civilization and Latin American studies picked up this slack and contributed to the variety of course offerings. Specialized offerings in geography, anthropology, world cultures, and the like were also on the increase in the 1960-1973 period. Courses relating to social and ethnic problems (e.g., American Indian, Afro-American, racial and minority problems, criminology, etc.) also increased dramatically. In 1960-61, 19.4% of schools offered a sociology/social problems course; while in 1972-73, 34% offered a course in sociology/social organization. About 5% of the schools also offered courses in drugs, alcohol and tobacco (often required by state law), and 8% of schools had a Black history/Afro-American studies offering. Typically, the larger urban school systems more frequently offered the more specialized courses in social problems, although American Indian studies, sociology/social organization, and criminology were equally available regardless of school category, size, type, or location. These more specialized courses were also more frequently

offered at the upper grades; but an increasing number were being introduced at the junior high school level as well.

The principal course offerings in high schools during the 1970s were English (24 million pupils enrolled), followed in order by courses in social studies/sciences, health and physical education, math, and natural sciences. Big city schools tended to offer more occupational courses; and in these schools, the proportion of students enrolling in English and social studies dropped in comparison with the rest of the country. There was no such effect, however, on enrollments in math, health/physical education, and certain other basic courses. Trends in

other social studies/history course offerings revealed the following patterns: U. S. history enrollment in grades 9-12 decreased from 24.3% in 1960-61 to 21.0% in 1972-73; enrollments in consumer education and environmental studies increased notably; and student enrollment in Latin American studies was about 5.1% where offered, as compared with 16.0% in non-Western civilization/history where offered. Although the number of students taking international relations increased from 1960-61, the relative percent of high schoolers taking such courses did not change. Enrollments in social and ethnic problems increased by 200%, from 289,408 in 1960-61 to 870,135 in 1972-73, with a resulting 6.5% of all grade 9-12 students enrolled in such courses. Afro-American studies/Black history accounted for 5.4% of students in schools offering these courses; and American Indian problems and history also accounted for a large percentage of students in those schools where such study was available. Courses on drugs, alcohol, and tobacco were frequently required and thus accounted for 40.5% of the student population where offered, with a total of 350,000 enrollees nationally.

Total enrollment in all subjects for 1972-73 was 124 million students, up from 75 million in 1961. However, the social science enrollment held its own over this period—unlike English, which increased, or business studies, which decreased. Virtually all schools offered courses in social studies, with U. S. and world history available in grades 9-12 in 40% of the schools. However, the number of schools offering the traditional pattern of social studies/history courses had decreased in the last decade. For example, the number offering U. S. history fell during this period from 73.0% in 1960-61 to 53.3% in 1972-73. Of course, much (if not all) of this decline in enrollments was picked up by students registered in optional social studies/history courses.

Social studies/history continued to rank second only to English in enrollments in grades 9-12, with slightly over 100% of total student population enrolled owing to simultaneous enrollment in two half-year courses or in several courses in the academic year. Within the field, history and government courses had the largest enrollments. Several other courses also increased, either in terms of the number of students enrolled or the number of courses available for study. For example, economics increased by 38.8% in the number of schools and 62.2% in the number of students in this period. The respective increases for sociology/social problems were 130.8% for schools and 200.7% for students. (The nature of the sociology course has also shifted, from marriage and the family to an emphasis on criminology, race, and urban problems.) Size of school was also positively correlated with the number of nontraditional, specialized, and optional social studies courses which were available; but the size of the school had no effect on the more traditional offerings. An exception to this rule is that many smaller schools (100-999 students) more frequently offered (72.3%) a course in conservation education.

Since 45 states require U. S. history for graduation, it is no surprise that 4,500,363 pupils in grades 7-12 (24% of all students) were enrolled in such courses in 1972-73. However, this was an 8% decrease in the number of students compared with 1960-61 enrollments. On the average, about 9.0% of all 7th and 8th grade students were enrolled in U. S. history, and 15.2% of 9th grade students in U. S. history. Different states had above average enrollments in such courses, with from 13.0% to 16.4% of 7th and 8th grade students enrolled in U. S. history in Nevada, Utah, Mississippi, Montana, Delaware, and the District of Columbia; and from 19.0% to 38.5% in Texas, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Maryland, and New Jersey.

World history in grades 9-12 had the second highest enrollment in the social studies, but decreases in student enrollments from 18% in 1960-61 to 12% in 1972-73 were registered. Again, different state patterns were observed, with Pennsylvania and Texas having the highest grades 7-8 and 9-12 enrollment percentages, respectively. Only 5% of all students in grades 7-12 were enrolled in a state history course, representing a decline in such courses and enrollments in recent years. State history was most popular in Utah and Alabama. Other miscellaneous history courses, however, have increased both in number and enrollments in the last decade, although not in proportion to the overall increase of 58% in enrollments during this same period. About 9% of the secondary school population is enrolled in geography courses, a decrease since 1960-61; but the number of specialized courses in this field has also helped to make up for this deficiency.

Civics and government instruction accounted for 12.8% of student enrollments in grades 7-12 in 1972-73. American government was the most popular course, with 40% of the nation's schools offering the course, and over

one million students enrolled. This course is usually offered at the 12th grade in 60.3% of the schools. It is required for graduation in 23.5% of the schools. Four states (South Dakota, Michigan, Iowa, and Idaho) led the nation in enrollments. Problems of democracy was also usually offered in grade 12 and had an enrollment of 325,000 students—but its enrollments decreased from 21.8% of 12th graders to 11.4% in this time frame. Community civics was offered in 4,000 schools, with an enrollment of over 500,000 students; this course was usually offered in grade 9, but about one-third of the schools offered the course in grades 10-12. By contrast, enrollments in U. S. Constitution, basic American law, and state government courses showed notable increases. Other social studies (in addition to economics and social problems) also increased, with certain states showing different patterns of area studies offerings; e.g. New York had the largest overall enrollments in area studies; Minnesota, in Soviet area studies, and California, in Latin American studies.

As a result of this study, the authors of this report concluded that experimentation, new courses, new methods of instruction, proliferation and experimentation, core, "mini" and interdisciplinary courses and approaches were the hallmarks of education in the social studies and other subject areas today. Graduation requirements have been relaxed, and elective courses have achieved greater prominence. A drift away from the traditional and basic courses of study (which existed for the last sixty years) is more than a trend; educational pluralism and variety have become new patterns to be contended with when explaining the contemporary educational scene. What the back-to-basic-skills movement and the portent of rapidly decreasing school population and enrollments (-17% and -15% for 14 and 17 year olds and grades 9 and 12, respectively,

by 1983) will do to accentuate or retard these trends is yet to be seen. However, for the present, there is no doubt but that the social studies, including political education, are in a state of ferment, flux, change, and transition to something new and different.

The State of Social Studies in 1977: Constructive Variety or Destructive Proliferation?

To help us evaluate just where these trends are taking us, a prominent social studies educator has recently published an article summarizing his impressions and some new facts about the status of social studies in the United States (Gross, 1977, 194-200 and 205). Dr. Richard Gross of Stanford University recently completed a survey of thirty-six state departments of education (almost three-fourths of the states). Gross found that the pattern of "proliferation" described above was a "devilish" development producing "utter havoc" in the form of "the ubiquitous mini-course--which has left a trail of confusion that can never be statistically resolved!" (Gross, 1977, 195)

Gross found in his study that there were many variations in the role of social studies in the school curriculum at the state and local levels. For example, a few states reported reductions in the number of social studies consultants/supervisors between 1970 and 1975; but eighteen others either reported no change in such personnel (or the continued absence of them), while thirteen indicated increases in such personnel at all levels. In other states, universities and colleges may play either a minor or an important part in curriculum innovation. In still other states (or school districts within the same state), the viability of the social studies program may be threatened by fund reductions for curriculum materials, despite an overall national increase of 39% in total expenditures for textbooks between 1971 and 1975. The major conclusion to be

drawn from these data is that there is no uniform social studies curriculum pattern and that, even within a given state, the curriculum varies.

Despite these variations, both within and between states, we are able to draw certain limited generalizations about the status of social studies in the United States which will supplement the NCES data summarized above.

First, the social studies seem to be better supported by administrators at the secondary level than at the elementary level (about three-fourths of the respondents to the Gross survey indicated this to be the case).

Second, between 1961 and 1973 total pupil enrollment for grades 7-12 in the public schools increased by 58%; but enrollments in civics and senior problems/problems of democracy decreased by 39% and 22%, respectively.

Third, enrollments in both world history and world geography increased by 5% and 24%, respectively, but far less than the overall increase in enrollments.

Fourth, U. S. government and history both increased more rapidly (67% and 74%, respectively) than the overall growth rate in enrollments, but were not as spectacular as the growth in economics (102%), sociology (175%) or psychology (323%).

Fifth, in 1961 political studies courses (civics, problems, and government) represented 31% of the total social studies enrollment in grades 9 through 12; but twelve years later, political studies enrollments constituted only 21% of such enrollments. In other words, whereas history and social studies enrollments grew by 54% in this period (just 4% less than the overall 58% overall growth for grades 7-12 from 1962-73), the overall growth rate for political subjects was only 8%. U. S. government, alone among political subjects, maintained a respectable rate of growth (67%) exceeding the combined growth rate (62%) for all history, government, and other social science subjects for this period.

One caveat in interpreting the above enrollment figures is that students in many states (e.g., Virginia, California, and New York) may take more than one social studies course in a given year; whereas in other states (e.g., New Hampshire, Florida, Pennsylvania, and Indiana) this is not the usual pattern.

The Gross report comments on this "invasion" of the social studies by the social sciences (particularly noting the phenomenal growth of psychology at the secondary and college/university levels). This report also claims that overall social studies enrollment has not kept pace with the overall growth of pupil enrollments (Gross, 1977, 196)--a claim not supported by the evidence. As a matter of fact, except for four subjects (two of them political), the overall growth rate of the social studies has outstripped general enrollment patterns by 8%; history and other social sciences (excluding political science courses) have exactly paralleled the overall growth rate (54%). Political science (excluding U. S. government), world history, and world geography are mainly responsible for slowing the overall rate of growth for the social studies to only 8% over the national average. As a matter of fact, most of the overall growth in the social studies can be explained by the growth of the single most popular and the three least popular courses in 1961; namely, U. S. history, economics, sociology, and psychology, as well as the third most popular course in 1961, U. S. government, which was then far behind world history, but which nearly drew abreast of that subject in 1973 in terms of total enrollment. In sum, the single most popular social studies course is still American history; the most popular civic education course is American government. The least popular civic education courses are civics and problems of democracy; world history and geography are becoming relatively less popular as social studies

offerings, despite the fact that world history still commands a sizeable enrollment--roughly equal to that in American government.

Another interesting comparison is the percentage of schools offering a certain history, political, or social studies course against the percentage of enrollment in the schools offering the courses. For example, although 45% of the schools offered U. S. government in 1975, only 16% of the school enrollment was in that course. For civics, 21% of the schools offered a course, and 17% were enrolled; whereas for the problems course, a 20% offering produced only an 11% enrollment. Some of the new interdisciplinary course offerings, such as ethnic or area studies, showed an offering of 10% and 14%, respectively, but enrollments of 17% and 5-14%, respectively; whereas the increasingly popular courses in law-related studies (which are now offered in 14% of the schools) had 7% of the student enrollment. Even in the case of the most predominant social studies offering, American history, 32% of the schools offered the course in grades 7-8, and 53% in grades 9-12; yet only 33% and 27% of the students, respectively, were enrolled in these courses. Clearly, many students are not even exposed to this basic course. Or in the case of geography, which is offered in 45% of the schools, the school enrollment is only 14%. Thus we see that the mere fact that a school offers a course is no guarantee that many students will be enrolled in it.

Intra-state patterns of social studies offerings over the period from 1970 to 1975 also make for an interesting study. In New Hampshire, overall pupil enrollments and social studies enrollments in grades 7-12 remained fairly constant from 1970 through 1975. In Florida, social studies in grades 7-9 showed a healthy proportional increase; but social studies at the senior high level lost ground. The situation in Wisconsin was one of accelerated growth in grades 7-12 from 1970-75, with a 32% increase noted (however, students may enroll for

more than one social studies course per term in Wisconsin). In Virginia, appreciable enrollment losses were registered in grades 7 and 8; but increases at the senior high school level were significant. Pennsylvania showed a typical pattern of losses in world history, geography, and senior problems (and also in economics, which was atypical of national patterns) and concomitant increases in ethnic and environmental studies, anthropology, government, psychology, sociology, state history and government, and U. S. history. In Indiana, California, New York, and Texas, significant decreases in social studies enrollments were also noted.

Insofar as alterations in social studies requirements are concerned, the picture is also bleak during the 1970s. Although most states have not changed their requirements from 1970-75, four have decreased their requirements, four have shifted them--generally by way of reducing them--and only one indicated an increase.

A survey of 81 school districts in 49 states also indicated that most districts retained the same requirements from 1970-75, while 21 decreased them and only eight increased them.

But if this picture is bleak, the elementary social studies scene is even darker by comparison. Elementary school teachers in Montana, California, Colorado, and Florida, for example, are reported to be "backing away" from the area, stressing the "basics," teaching fewer hours of social studies each week, and ignoring subjects which are not prominent (e.g., social studies) in statewide assessment programs. For these reasons, in Florida, for example, several recent studies indicated that K-5 teachers (especially the younger teachers) were not positively oriented toward the social studies and most did not regularly teach this area in their classes. This may be the most startling trend detected in the Gross report, in the light of what has been said previously in this study about the importance of the early years in the cognitive, emotional, and ethical/moral development of the student.

Teaching Climate, Methods, and Use of Innovative Social Studies Curricula

Other findings from the Gross report indicate that most social studies teachers feel quite free to discuss controversial issues in the classroom at both the elementary and secondary levels. Teachers also report widespread use of inquiry, concepts, broad field, and simulation-gaming approaches in their classes. This development is attributed to the influence of new curriculum projects in both the elementary and secondary schools. However, direct impact of the new social studies on textbook selection, teacher training, and employment practices seems to be either minimal or mixed. This is also true with respect to the minimal use of the new projects themselves, or to the lack of teachers' familiarity with even the most prominent of the new courses of social study.

Teachers are also unfamiliar with the professional social studies literature which, in most cases, has little influence on them. Only a small fraction of their number belongs to a social studies organization or uses a social studies journal. Consequently, many observers of the social studies in situ doubt the prevalence of problem-solving, action research, discovery, case studies, and role-playing in the classroom, despite testimony from teachers and the incorporation of such devices and techniques in textbooks, curriculum guides, and inservice education. This patchwork-quilt pattern in the social studies, characterized by deficiencies in scope and sequence, in articulation between elementary and secondary schools, and in encouragement of local autonomy through state curriculum vagueness, may be counterproductive to the consideration of a national curriculum core or framework, or of guidelines for teaching and learning key social values, competencies, and knowledge. On balance, however, we must try to combine the merits of individualism and local control of the schools with the virtues of national organization and unity so that neither curriculum anarchy nor "Big Brotherism" will predominate in the citizen education partnership.

Some Key Trends In Social Studies During The 1970's

In addition to the trends noted previously, the following major developments seem to be most characteristic of contemporary social education:

1. Increased use of electives, area and ethnic studies, mini-courses, and more provision for options among required courses.
2. Fewer required courses, more local options and curriculum revision, and greater anarchy, balkanization, and fragmentation in the field.
3. Increased emphasis on basics, values, law and citizenship, economics and free enterprise, consumer and career education, and state and local history.
4. Emphasis on new social studies, performance objectives, and need for articulation between elementary and secondary education.
5. Decline in elementary social studies and in history enrollments, with greater parental and public concern.
6. Reduced funding, proliferation of alternative educational programs, inadequate training and leadership, and small rural schools.
7. Lack of purpose, direction, or an elan vital for social studies educators, who show only the barest rudiments of a common professional interest--the kind derived from similar educational backgrounds and shared experiences in teaching the same subjects--and who reveal no common conception as to what should be taught, to whom, when, how, and with what effect in a democratic society (Gross, 1977, 196-200 and 205).

Some Contemporary Attitudes of Students and Teachers about Civics, Government, and Social/Political Studies

One study conducted in the early 1970s was based on a national (but not representative) sample of 1580 white, middle-class, college-bound seniors with an active interest in social studies. Between 41% and 66% of these students agreed with ten common criticisms often levelled at civics and government courses, such as stress on formalism, lack of a focus on real political behavior, lack of a comparative political systems approach, ignoring controversy, ignoring new social science findings, fuzziness, too much nonpolitical material, unrealistic approaches to politics and political participation, lack of value confrontation, insufficient new information, and failure to encourage critical thinking (Remy, October 1972, 590-592).

Over half of these students had a mixed view of their political education experience, while 19% and 24% were either very unfavorable or very favorable toward this experience. Instead of what they learned, these students would prefer to study political behavior, values, and problems (including experiences in thinking about, understanding, analyzing, and valuing them) as well as, to a lesser extent, political facts and participation. It is also significant that these students had been exposed to the traditional political education curriculum, in that three-fourths of them had taken at least one senior-level government or (more often) tenth-grade civics course; and one-fourth had been exposed to two or more such courses (usually ninth grade civics or problems).

Despite this modest exposure to school based political education, these same students indicated that their primary sources for political information and ideas were (in rank order) newspapers, magazines, and television, followed by teachers and school, parents, and friends. But it is doubtful that the mass media can help students to develop the political knowledge, skills, and

attitudes which they want, and which schools seem best equipped to provide. However, present day civics and government courses are redundant. They do not seem to provide students with as much new knowledge as they learned in science, mathematics, literature courses, or even world history courses, although more new knowledge was gained from them than from American history courses (Remy, 1972, 592-594).

Students in the Remy study were also asked about topics which they wanted to spend "a lot of time studying." Between 62% and 92% identified (in rank order) war and peace, Congress, race, courts and law, poverty, student protest, international topics, the presidency, pollution, state and local governments, elections and political parties, and local politics as key topics. Between 31% and 50% also identified (in rank order) European, Asian, and Latin American politics as three other areas of interest. These same students least preferred to study from a single textbook or series of readings. They preferred a single text with audio visual materials, or separate units (in a single course), or separate episodes. A realistic mode of defending one's real choices with groups of fellow students, discussing in class how one makes choices in different situations, or participating in making choices about what to study or classroom activities were preferred over defending fictional choices or reading about choices made by political leaders. Again, these students preferred to participate either in political activity within the school, while evaluating the consequences of such activity through discussions in class; or in classroom activity involving leadership of groups and discussions which may affect student learning. They also preferred, though at a lower level of interest, to act in political situations in class and to discuss the consequences of such activity, and to discuss in class the consequences of different actions by political leaders. Least preferred was reading books about consequences of different actions by political leaders.

This survey indicates that this special group of middle-class, white, college bound youth respond similarly to the criticisms of traditional political education which the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education levelled in 1971 and which were described above in Chapter II (Pages 18-21) of this report. Evidence of student dissatisfaction with unrealistic, bland, formalized, unfocused, noncomparative, impractical, uncritical, and redundant political studies courses is widespread and well documented. Students want to become involved in real political situations and to analyze politics critically.

They are interested in contemporary problem areas, as well as world and national politics. Furthermore, they want to be involved, active learners, rather than merely passive recipients of information.

As to whether noncollege-bound, rural, or inner city youth would agree with these charges and propose these methods of teaching and learning, one cannot say in the absence of better evidence. However, the results of other political socialization research indicates that these groups have a quite different set of basic political needs, wants, and problems. Any one approach to political education, whether old or new, is likely to fail for some and succeed for others (Remy, 1972, 595-597). Another more recent study of urban high school youth (cited in Cross, 1977, 200) sheds some light on this problem. This survey revealed that these students also find the social studies to be less interesting and less important than other school subjects. These students take social studies more for the higher grades to be "earned" than for the importance of the knowledge learned. Consequently, it would appear some urban youth are today (as was the group surveyed in 1971) less than happy with their instruction in political and social studies. On a more optimistic note, these four generalizations about the overall lack of appeal and effect for social studies courses are somewhat modified below with respect to political studies courses in the mid-1970s (see Chapter VI, Pages 288-289, below).

Still another survey of elementary school teachers (Remy, 1977, 5) indicated teacher displeasure with the use of a single, large textbook for political education. Three thousand elementary schools in Ohio were sampled and 778 (22.6%) forms were returned. Most teachers preferred brief, flexible materials that would allow students to be actively involved in group decision-making and problem-solving in areas such as the environment, population, and minorities. Rather than merely operating during the summer, these teachers wanted an in-service program in which they could be involved as collaborators in material development and testing. Less interesting to these teachers were intergroup relations materials, teachers' guides on political processes, graduate work, nonclassroom and classroom learning guides, new unbiased materials, or a new political studies textbook. Apparently, then, many of these teachers want to be actively involved in ongoing political education projects which deal with significant social problems and which involve students as participants in the decision making process. Fortunately for those with such interests, the Marshon Center at Ohio State University has charged its Citizenship Development Program with the task of producing citizenship decision-making materials to fulfill these felt needs.

Background Information on Basic Sources Used For Conventional Political Education Taxonomy: The 1970s

With the basic information on political education presented above in mind, the task at hand was to identify a basic list of representative sources which would provide an adequate sample of contemporary civic education in its more conventional mode. After a review of some basic and general sources describing the contemporary scene (see Part A, Sources and Bibliography for Chapter V below), it was decided to include the seventy representative documents, books, statements, and other materials which would most accurately reflect current curriculum guides, methods books, goals statements, and textbooks in the area of elementary and secondary political studies. These sources were subdivided into the following categories: twelve political education goals statements, twenty-four textbooks (nine elementary, including three multiple volume projects, and the remainder junior and senior high texts), nineteen social studies methods books, and fifteen curriculum guides. (See Sources and Bibliography for Chapter V, Parts B-E below, for a complete listing of sources used in each category.)

Before presenting the results of our taxonomic approach in tabular form, a few words of further introduction on each of these categories of materials seems to be in order.

A. Basic and General Sources

A variety of material was examined to ascertain the broad dimensions of just what social education means today, and of what part political education plays in the educational system in general and the social studies in particular. For example, it was necessary to see what had changed in the elementary social studies curriculum in the

last few years. Consequently, we examined general treatments of social studies curriculum patterns (e.g., Joyce, 1971; Allen and Seifman, 1971; Hoover and Hollingsworth, 1970; and Wright, 1970) to look for the predominant patterns. We found, for example, that the classic expanding-committees pattern was still dominant in the elementary school. However, the goals and objectives of elementary social studies, as well as how they are to be achieved by the teacher and the class, now vary considerably from school system to school system, so that much of the uniformity seen in the 1960s has been shattered.

Similarly, at the secondary level, the relationship between the social studies and the social sciences, the role of history, and the treatment of controversial issues are each part of different definitions both of the subject area and of citizen education. They are thus tied to the goals, objectives, methods, and materials of political education. For example, John U. Michaelis relates the social studies to general social competence, learning, education, and living. Other authors refer to social study as an activity or process. Still others limit the field to "methodological inquiry into social problems," values, and controversial issues. Or, if we look at general approaches to this field, we find at least the following five key approaches as part of a rationale for the social studies today: subject centered citizen education; emergent-needs, reflective, and discipline-based approaches. (On these points see Raymond H. Muessig, "Social Studies," in Allen and Seifman, 1971, 431-443.)

Since it was imperative in a study of this sort that the researchers be aware of the basic terminology, of differing formats for,

and conceptions of civic education, a general review of the relevant literature was undertaken. To review in any detail exactly what was learned from this study would require an unavailable luxury of space and time; therefore, we have here and below merely referred to some highlights resulting from this analysis. For example, a parallel study on the taxonomy of social purposes of public schools (Dera, 1973, 177-180) contained a summary of fifty-two basic statements of social philosophy or goals from thirty-one representative school districts in the United States. This summary revealed that the school districts involved in this summary primarily conceived of the schools as teaching democratic processes, methods, content, and objects. The word democracy in its various forms is so widespread in these statements as to warrant its treatment as being commonplace in the educational institution. Much the same is also true of the term "good citizenship," so that the extent to which the schools promote "good," "purposeful," or "democratic" ideals or "way of life" is a criterion by which they can be evaluated and held accountable to the citizenry. It seems clear, then, that in the 1970s as in the 1960s and earlier, the fundamental social purpose of the public schools is to promote effective democratic citizenship.

Looking at yet another source of information about current conceptions about civic education, we have examined statements by federal cabinet secretaries and commissioners of education (e.g., Bell, 1976) to ascertain just what they conceive of as citizen education and who is responsible for it. Two things seem clear from a review of such statements.

The first is that public officials look for these conceptions and definitions of citizen education in the writings

of others (such as the National Council for the Social Studies, the National Assessment Project, Law Related Education Projects, or The Council of Chief State School Officers). In this same respect, many of the goals statements prepared by public officials who are speaking to a national audience may be based on other statements which were produced from ten to twenty-five years in the past, or which may even be rooted in classic ideals of civic participation found in the Athenian citizen's oath to the ancient Greek city state, or based on a formulation of citizenship espoused by one of the founding fathers such as Jefferson, Madison, or Washington.

The second clear theme of these national statements is that they are based on the broadest and most abstract principles underlying American society, such as participation, rights, obligations, duty, humanism, democracy, republicanism, or the necessity to be educated, to work, to contribute, to obey the law, and to vote (for self and societal realization and fulfillment). Seldom do we find that these statements have any specific referents, or that they endorse any particular brand of civic education; that is, these statements tend to be nonpartisan, conflict-free, and noncontroversial. The prominent theme of these statements is to seek consensus and to provide security and order (in the midst of chaos) with hope for everyone. Necessarily, then, these well-meaning pronouncements must be both bland and unenlightening.

Nevertheless, they do perform a valuable task in reminding their readers and listeners of what the American school system is really about. For this worthy service such statements, however abstract, are to be appreciated.

Also as a result of this review of some recent literature on civic education, we have had an opportunity to see in actual practice (and in the reality of the public schools) just what effect the new social studies movement is having on the school curriculum. As cases in point, an examination of current state statutes, policy statements, administrative regulations, and curriculum practices reveals that certain elements of the new social studies, particularly law-related education, are making their way into the curriculum and becoming essential elements of school instruction. However, a look at state statutes and regulations (see Sutton, 1976) from the perspective of goals and curriculum objectives shows that some forces of traditionalism are still stronger than some forces for change in contemporary American society. For example, North Dakota state statutes require the teaching of the state and U.S. constitutions, and specifically state that "each teacher must provide moral instruction tending to impress upon the minds of pupils the importance of truthfulness, temperance, purity, public spirit, patriotism, international peace, respect for honest labor, obedience to parents, and deference to old age" (Sutton, 1976, 35). North Carolina law requires instruction in "Americanism," U.S. and state government, "and the free enterprise system at the high school level, its history, theory, foundation, and the manner in which it is actually practiced" (Sutton, 1976, 34).

Similarly, New Jersey requires state and community civics, and study in the elementary school of "the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship as they relate to community and national welfare," with the purpose of "producing the highest type of patriotic citizenship." The state of Nevada requires "patriotic exercises" through

instruction in citizenship and physical training. The state of Georgia requires study on constitutions and "American institutions and ideals" as well as "the teaching of Americanism." California not only requires the study of American and state history and government, but also of "problems of morality" which are linked to physical education and health instruction (Sutton, 1976, 6, 11, 29, and 31). Here we can see the importance which several states place on deportment, patriotism, loyalty, and nonpolitical good citizenship roles. The clear linking of Americanism, free enterprise capitalism, and anti-communism is also evident in state laws and regulations. Therefore, these important aspects of citizen education have also not changed much in the last decade. Good citizenship, like law-related or free-enterprise education, is perfectly compatible with the current emphasis on reading, writing, and arithmetic, if it is covered in terms of "responsibility" (rather than rights) as the fourth "r".

Our review of the current literature relating to civic education also helped us to assess the impact of other social studies subjects-- such as economics--on civic education. Economics may be taught as a decision making process (see Calderwood and Ferish, 1974) in which goal-setting and policy-making are parts of the governing process. We also examined "fugitive" materials which are used in the public schools to provide realistic training experiences for participating in presidential elections, for studying futuristics, and for examining literature, and myriad of issues focussing on such topics as conservation, special studies of Congress, ethnic minorities, communism, consumerism, juvenile problems, and the like. It soon became clear that there was no dearth of material available for nearly every civic interest

or every public taste. (See, for example, Calderwood and Ferish, 1974; Banks, 1976; Brennan, 1969; Estey and Potter, 1973; Falk, 1976; Polsby, 1968; Riekes and Mahe, 1975; and Robb and Sobel, 1968.)

To illustrate this point, let us consider one special book on the U.S. Constitution, which presents a "clause-by-clause" analysis of that document in the guise of an "inquiry-oriented" and "relevant" curriculum

(Dorf, Teacher's Guide, 1977, 1-14). Despite many admonitions that students must be involved in a classroom with a participatory, democratic climate, this text bluntly tells the teacher, "Who decides what is relevant and what is not? You do!" The author then goes on to draw an analogy between a high school football coach and a teacher, stating neither should poll students on "strategy." He adds, "Your students - even those not much interested in football - will see that the very question is absurd." He then proceeds to caution teachers about falling prey to the "mea culpa" obsession, saying that "Our way (the American way) is not perfect," but that "perpetual fault - finding and eternal nit-picking" do little to improve it. As an "antidote" to this posture, he suggests that the teacher "compare conditions in our country with areas in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. . . and even many parts of Europe," with their "Berlin walls, or mined and barbed-wire boundaries." Shifting the focus in this 1977 teacher's guide, "our growing problem is to keep from being flooded by illegal immigrants from across the Mexican and Canadian borders and by way of the Caribbean - and in such numbers that we cannot properly absorb them in our society" (Dorf, Teacher's Guide, 1977, 9). This textbook author is not faulted for his views anymore than were the advocates of the "America, we are the greatest" philosophy of the 1960s. Neither is a uniform "party line" in political education proposed; but rather a more balanced, "sic et non!" civics curriculum with a political point and counterpoint is suggested as being a more worthy goal for a pluralistic, democratic society. Moreover, these

excerpts from an "up-to-date" civic education text are representative of strong chauvinistic, provincial, intolerant, and anti-democratic attitudes which still pervade the teaching of the social studies. With all the "enlightened," "objective," and "scientific" treatment of politics in certain curriculum projects, there are countervailing curriculum forces at work, trying to offset these legions of innovation by voicing their pathological obsession to turn the social studies into a vehicle for indoctrination rather than for a more open educational system.

Other basic sources consulted shed further light on conflicting claims to the "majority position" of contemporary civic education. For example, a survey conducted in conjunction with the USOE Conference on Citizen Education in Kansas City, Missouri (see Analysis of Data - Participants' Delphi, 1976), indicated that a group of some 400 representatives from many sectors of American society (but mostly from the educational and governmental sectors) had widely differing conceptions of what citizen education is or should be. A certain amount of consensus on desirable civic attitudes (e.g., concern for the common good, tolerance, willingness to participate, positive self-esteem, knowledge seeking, responsibility, loyalty, communicativeness, analytic approach, decision-making capacity, etc.) was recorded, as well as on the responsibilities of certain societal sectors (e.g., home, school, church, labor, media, etc.) for fostering such attitudes. Tentative definitions of citizen education were also proposed. These definitions contained key words and phrases, such as the primacy of the home and school in training for one's rights and responsibilities. Others stressed decision-making, conflict resolution, dealing with authority, the ability and inclination to question, and the necessity of participation in a democratic polity. Some emphasized personality characteristics such as honesty; love; empathy; compassion;

integrity; and truth for oneself, one's family, and the society as a whole. Still others focussed on problem-solving, loyalty, justice, and/or citizen action as it relates to the state.

An open-ended Participant's Questionnaire was also distributed at the Kansas City Conference. One question asked: "What is your personal conception of an ideal core curriculum for enhancing citizen education at the educational level with which you were most familiar?" Ninety questionnaires were returned. Appendix IV contains a verbatim citation of all responses and non-responses, without editing. That is, all responses are reproduced exactly as they appeared including errors in spelling and grammar. The code on the left of a reply enables us to refer back to a specific questionnaire in the files of the Citizen Education Office in Washington, D. C. Responses were categorized according to the main lines of thought that emerged. The categorization of responses required a number of "judgment calls;" some can as readily be subsumed under one category as another. The constructs which emerged were the following, according to their emphasis on:

- a) self-development (cognitive and affective) - N = 11
- b) content (knowledge and concepts) - N = 14.
- c) process (skills and approaches) - N = 19
- d) action (participation, to include decision-making) - N = 14
- e) combinations of the above - N = 2
- f) multidisciplinary approach - N = 4
- g) integration of into all courses - N = 6
- h) other comments - N = 5
- i) no response - N = 14
- j) undecided - N = 8
- k) opposed - N = 5

We should also note in passing, that we are dealing with two types of processes:

a) that process by which teachers and administrators can better provide citizen education, and b) that process which enhances a person's ability to cope as a citizen. These are not the same. The first process is teacher/administrator-oriented, in terms of skills needed to do a better job of teaching. The second is citizen-process oriented, in terms of skills needed to cope as a citizen. On the basis of a review of these responses, and permitting us to editorialize it all, we would have to say that the quality of the responses indicates how desperately we need some further serious, systematic consideration of the core-curriculum concept, whether to vote it "up" or "down."

Our survey also took us to other "off-beat" and fugitive sources for citizen education, such as public-interest lobbies and voluntary organizations. The United States probably has more voluntary organizations per capita than any other modern industrialized nation. In the single area of energy policy-making, an impressive number of national groups--such as the Nader organizations, The League of Women Voters, The Sierra Club, Consumers Union, Consumer Federation of America, and Americans for Energy Independence--have exerted major influence over the past several years both through political activity and public educational campaigns.

All of these nonformal educational organizations, like those other less formal inputs described previously, impact on the citizen through the family, school, mass media, church, job, or peer group. Consequently, we have decided that our sample of school-based materials for civic education represents the perspective of the inhabitant of a school (teacher, pupil, administrator, parent, etc.) looking out at the community, nation, and world. The perspective

of a citizen looking from the outside in at the school is far more difficult to assess as to nature and extent. For instance, it is clear that the average American high school senior has spent more hours before the television set than he has in school or in any other activity, with the exception of sleeping. However, we have yet to determine the effect of television on our youth's tolerance for violence, or the effect of the "flickering blue parent" on child-rearing practices or popular perceptions of political issues. It was widely reported that the "tube" news and campaign coverage in 1976 did not focus on issues, but rather treated the election as a sports event - a horse race, to be exact. In conclusion, then, our review of contemporary political studies in America is a partial view which accounts for other nonformal educational influences only partially and incompletely. Such influences might well become the subject for a separate study on the political socialization of youth and adults in the contemporary United States.

B. Political Social Studies/Curriculum Guides and Materials

The fifteen curriculum guides and other materials represent a broad spectrum of educational sources from several states and localities. Nearly all of these curricula are traditional in nature, in that they do not vary appreciably from state and local guides previously issued during the last twenty-five years. However, the guides do reflect some of the major concerns of the new social studies, in that inquiry, process, and behavioral goals of education are frequently interwoven with the more familiar foci represented by phrases such as "effective democratic citizenship." Certain of the guides (e.g. Fenton, 1967; Providence Social Studies Curriculum Project, 1968; Choosing a President, 1968, 1969; Civic Literacy for Global Interdependence, 1976; and Teachers Guide to the Eleventh Grade Course on Area Studies, 1968) are either transitional documents representing decade-old social studies projects, or fairly new restatements of familiar curriculum goals such as international education. The sources consulted for this survey however, also represent other areas of citizen education (including history, citizenship, voting, decision-making, and area studies) during the 1970s (e.g., Citizenship: An Interdisciplinary Study. . . ., 1973; Civic Literacy for Global Interdependence, 1976; and K-12 Course Goals in Social Science, 1974).

C. Political/Social Goals Statements and Objectives

The twelve goals documents also represent a wide range of statements on the state, national, and professional levels. The content areas again represent either all phases of social studies, history, and citizenship instruction, or specialized areas of study such as international education. These documents come from professional organizations, state departments of education, political socialization research articles, and educational sources. The most widely distributed and most popular of these goals statements were produced by the national assessment project, The Council of Chief State School Officers, and two NCSS reports on social studies and civic education.

D. Political/Social Studies Instructional Methods and Materials

Again, our selection of teaching methods books reflect elementary and secondary instruction, as well as key areas of emphasis such as ethnic studies, the international dimension, inquiry processes, contemporary problems, and values education. This group of materials is quite representative of the substance which is used to train teachers as to how and what to teach in history and political/social studies classes. Some of the books mirror current concerns more than others; but nearly all accurately portray the major trends underway in the new social studies, as well as traditional concerns of this subject area.

E. Political/Social Studies Textual Materials

This final group of representative inputs into the social studies curriculum contains elementary and secondary textbooks in social studies, civics, American government, problems of democracy, world history, constitutional government, and American studies. Once more we have selected both traditional

and well-established, but innovative, political-education materials for our taxonomy. Within this group of sources, some are more innovative than others. Examples are "Man, A course of Study" at the elementary level, and American Political Behavior at the secondary level. However, even within the traditional civics curriculum we find evidence of innovation (e.g., see Jantzen and Hackson, 1977); and Magruder's American Government combines elements of the classical structural/institutional approach to government with policy/decision making approaches. Consequently, our selection process, like many textbooks themselves, was eclectic and is descriptive of the current scene in political education.

CIVIC EDUCATION TAXONOMIES FOR THE 1970s: METHODS, CURRICULA, GOALS AND TEXTBOOKS

Methods Books

The complete raw scores, scale scores, and percentage distributions for the nineteen teaching methods books are presented in Tables XIV and XV. These tables illustrate that the content areas most emphasized in social studies methods books are the inquiry skills of critical thinking, judgment, and problem-solving, and the area of decision-making processes. Also of consequence are patriotism, political loyalties, and essentials of democratic citizenship. Foundations and basic concepts of government and cross/intercultural studies are also well represented. Recall and lower order political knowledge and values are also stressed, with less attention being paid to higher-order understandings, skills, and behaviors. It is significant that these books cover the broad range of cognitive, affective, and behavioral objectives, although to varying degrees.

TABLE XIV
CIVIC EDUCATION METHODS CROSS : 1970s

I. COGNITIVE DOMAIN

Raw Scores and Distributions by Z

A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGES

B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGES					B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS				
	a. Recall of Specific Terms and Facts	b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgments	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	26	25	27	26	22	28	19	18	16	11
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	41	25	28	21	21	21	17	16	15	9
3. Historical Background of Governments	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	21	19	19	18	13	17	14	13	10	6
5. Federal Constitution a. Personal Rights and Liberties	3	2	2							
6. Federal Government a. Legislature	6	5	6	4	5	5	5	3	3	
b. Executive	2	2	2							
c. Judiciary	2	2	2							
d. Bureaucracy										
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local) a. Public Opinion	1									
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	13	12	13	12	13	10	10	10	9	4
c. Political Action	6	6	6	6	5	4	3	4	3	3
d. Political Parties	12	11	12	13	12	9	8	9	9	5
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	
9. Defense & Foreign Policy a. Foreign Relations	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.										
12. International Relations & Organizations	7	6	6	6	6	5	6	3	2	2
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Capitalism, etc.	11	8	9	6	7	7	4	4	4	4
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2
c. Institutional Studies	24	20	19	18	16	17	13	12	12	9
14. Methodology of Political Sci. a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	44	37	35	32	32	33	28	28	25	24
b. Group Action & Guidance	4	4	6	5	6	5	6	6	5	5
16. Decision Making Process	64	55	55	51	44	50	41	40	38	30
17. Current Events	11	10	11	10	11	11	12	11	11	11
TOTALS	10	9	10	9	10	10	11	10	10	10
	53	45	45	43	41	39	34	34	33	24
	380	318	327	294	279	283	244	222	171	
Z:	68	57	59	53	50	51	44	41	39	31

TABLE XIV (Cont.) * CIVIC EDUCATION METHODS BOOKS: 1970s

Raw Scores and Distributions by %

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	a. Receptivity	b. Responsiveness	c. Valuation	d. Conceptualization	e. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through e)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through e)	TOTALS:	%
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	30	30	29	27	29	25	23	21	19	23	474	8.5
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	28	28	27	25	25	25	22	16	13	15	438	7.8
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values												
3. Historical Background of Governments											18	.3
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	18	18	17	15	18	15	13	10	12	14	300	5.3
5. Federal Constitution												
a. Personal Rights and Liberties												.1
6. Federal Government											6	.1
a. Legislature											6	.1
b. Executive											6	.1
c. Judiciary											6	.1
d. Bureaucracy											6	.1
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	22	.4
a. Public Opinion	12	12	12	12	10	10	10	7	9	9	209	3.7
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	66	1.2
c. Political Action	12	12	12	12	12	11	10	9	9	9	207	3.7
d. Political Parties												
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	42	.8
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	42	.8
a. Foreign Relations	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	42	.8
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.												
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	6	6	5	5	6	5			5	5	100	1.8
12. International Relations & Organizations	6	6	6	3	5	6		4	4	4	113	2.0
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	42	.8
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.												
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	21	21	20	20	21	19	17	13	16	18	345	6.2
c. Institutional Studies	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	42	.8
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	24	24	23	23	22	21	21	18	19	21	534	9.5
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	108	1.9
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	53	53	52	51	51	51	50	49	49	49	977	17.5
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	30	30	29	29	31	23	23	16	17	19	356	6.3
b. Group Action & Guidance	11	11	11	11	11	9	9	8	8	8	196	3.5
16. Decision Making Process	48	49	47	47	48	47	44	39	42	45	847	15.2
17. Current Events												
TOTALS:	318	320	310	307	316	286	269	232	241	255	5587	
%	57	57	55	54	55	51	48	41	43	46		100

TABLE XV

CIVIC EDUCATION METHODS BOOKS: 1970s

Raw Scores and Distributions by Z

Key to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
- 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
- 3 = Frequent/Obsvious Emphasis
- 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
- 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGES					B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS				
	a. Recall of Specific Terms and Facts	b. Recognition of Cognitions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgments	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Reference)	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	1
2. Essentials of Dem. Citizenship	4	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values										
3. Historical Background of Governments										
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
5. Federal Constitution										
a. Personal Rights and Liberties										
6. Federal Government										
a. Legislature										
b. Executive										
c. Judiciary										
d. Bureaucracy										
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)										
a. Public Opinion	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
c. Political Action	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
d. Political Parties										
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	1		1							
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	1	1								
a. Foreign Relations										
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.										
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12. International Relations & Organizations	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	1									
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Paritarianism, etc.										
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
c. Institutional Studies	1			1						
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
b. Group Action & Guidance	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16. Decision Making Process	5	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	2
17. Current Events										
TOTALS:	38	29	32	29	26	27	25	25	23	20
%	7.1	5.5	5.9	5.3	5.2	5.0	4.8	4.6	4.3	3.6

II. AFFECTIVE DOMAIN III. POLITICAL ACTIVITY OR BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN

TABLE XV (Cont.)

CIVIC EDUCATION METHODS BOOKS: 1970s

Raw Scores and Distributions by Z

Raw to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
- 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
- 3 = Frequent/Obsvious Emphasis
- 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
- 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	1. Receptivity	2. Responsiveness	3. Valuation	4. Conceptualization	5. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through c)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through e)	TOTALS:	Z
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	48	8.5
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	45	8.0
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values												
3. Historical Background of Governments												
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	36	6.4
5. Federal Constitution											3	.5
a. Personal Rights and Liberties											9	1.6
6. Federal Government												
a. Legislature												
b. Executive												
c. Judiciary												
d. Bureaucracy												
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)												
a. Public Opinion	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	4.1
b. Pressure Groups & Politics									1	1	12	2.1
c. Political Action	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	3.7
d. Political Parties												
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation											2	.4
9. Defense & Foreign Policy											2	.4
a. Foreign Relations												
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.												
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	3.5
12. International Relations & Organizations	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	3.5
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory											1	.2
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.												
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	37	6.6
c. Institutional Studies												
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	51	9.1
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	3.5
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	85	15.1
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	34	6.0
b. Group Action & Guidance	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	3.5
16. Decision Making Process	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	75	13.3
17. Current Events												
TOTALS:	30	30	30	29	27	26	26	26	25	26	564	
%:	53.3	53	52	4.8	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.4	4.6			100

Curriculum Guides

The summaries of scale and raw scores and percentage distributions for curriculum guides is presented in Tables XVI and XVII. We can see that recall, recognition, and selection and lower order skills/understandings are stressed in curriculum statements. Both the valuative and activity domains are far less well represented than was true for methods books. As in the case of methods, the key content areas were once again inquiry processes, decision making, and foundations and basic concepts. Also of some significance were patriotism, essentials of democratic citizenship, comparative government and political theory, and personal rights and liberties. Group problems were also stressed in these guides to a relatively high degree.

Goals Statements

The twelve basic goals statements summarized in Tables XVIII and XIX (raw scores, scale scores, and percentage distributions) illustrate that the most emphasized content areas are once again critical thinking, decision making, and group problems. Also of consequence were current events, international relations, foundations and basic concepts, intercultural studies, group action, methodology, and government and the economy. As for the other major continuum, we find that least emphasized are lower order knowledges and most emphasized are middle and higher order values and lower order behaviors. Most of the other categories are equally well represented in these goals, with some varying emphasis.

TABLE XVI
CIVIC EDUCATION CURRICULUM OBJECTIVES: 1970s

Raw Scores and Distributions by X

A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE					B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS				
	a. Recall of Specific Terms and Facts	b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgments	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	36	19	22	4	10	23	21	20	5	13
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	46	30	30	16	17	33	23	29	8	15
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values										
3. Historical Background of Governments	9	4	4	3	3	3	3	3		
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	54	38	40	20	20	40	34	37	11	23
5. Federal Constitution	7	6	5	3	3	2	1	2	1	1
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	33	23	19	12	12	21	13	18	11	12
6. Federal Government	13	8	12	2	2	8	7	9	2	8
a. Legislature	7	6	6	3	3	3	1	2		3
b. Executive	12	10	11	3	3	8	6	7		7
c. Judiciary	7	6	6	3	3	3	1	2		3
d. Bureaucracy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	18	13	11	5	6	13	11	13	7	10
a. Public Opinion	12	6	9	1	3	7	6	6		4
b. Pressure Groups & Lobbyists	15	8	11	2	2	9	8	8	1	4
c. Political Action	18	10	14	5	2	11	15	12	1	11
d. Political Parties	24	15	21	4	1	20	20	17	1	9
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	5	4	3	2	2	1				
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	7	5	4	3	3	2	1	2	1	
a. Foreign Relations	10	8	6	3	3	4	1	4	3	
10. State Governments: Structures & Functions	18	14	12	7	7	8	7	8	4	5
11. Local Governments: Structures & Functions	10	9	7	5	5	7	4	6	5	4
12. International Relations & Organizations	21	15	19	5	5	14	10	12	5	
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	23	18	19	7	7	19	15	15	1	
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Militarism, etc.	16	15	8	5	5	14	4	6	2	9
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	11	4	4	1	1	5	5	4	1	1
c. Institutional Studies										
14. Methodology of Political Science	9	7	7	6	5	5	2	3	2	2
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	14	12	5	4	3	10	2	9	3	6
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	60	49	40	28	22	48	31	37	26	19
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	32	33	1	11	11	31	16	29	5	9
b. Group Action & Guidance	17	4	5	4	4	6	5	6		6
16. Decision Making Process	53	42	42	24	14	42	27	35	8	22
17. Current Events										
TOTALS:	612	447	433	207	189	421	302	351	115	205

Σ: 137 100 97 46 42 94 68 79 26 46

200

TABLE XVI (Cont.)
CIVIC EDUCATION CURRICULUM GUIDES: 1970s

II. AFFECTIVE DOMAIN III. POLITICAL ACTIVITY OR BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN

Raw Scores and Distributions by %

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	a. Receptivity	b. Responsiveness	c. Valuation	d. Conceptualization	e. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable/Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through e)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through e)	TOTALS:	%
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	10	10	10	10	10	8	5	5	1		244	5.5
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	11	11	11	12	12	9	6	5	1	1	324	7.2
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values												
3. Historical Background of Governments											31	.7
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	9	9	9	10	10	17	12	10	3	3	409	9.2
5. Federal Constitution	1	1	1	1	1	1					37	.8
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	13	13	13	13	13	11	9	9	4	4	281	6.3
6. Federal Government	1	1	1	1	1	5	4	4			89	2.0
a. Legislature											34	.8
b. Executive						4	4	4			79	1.8
c. Judiciary											34	.8
d. Bureaucracy											9	.2
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	3	3	4	4	4	8	6	6			145	3.2
a. Public Opinion						5	5	5			69	1.5
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	1	1	1	1	1	7	6	6			92	2.1
c. Political Action	1	1	1	1	1	12	11	11			139	3.1
d. Political Parties						4	4	4			144	3.2
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation											18	.4
9. Defense & Foreign Policy											26	.6
a. Foreign Relations	1	1	1	1	1						47	1.1
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3			107	2.4
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	5	5	5	5	5		3	3	3	3	99	2.2
12. International Relations & Organizations	5	5	6	6	5	3					131	2.9
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	16	16	16	16	16	3	6	6	3	3	215	4.8
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.											84	1.9
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	5	5	5	5	5	5	4		4		75	1.7
c. Institutional Studies												
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	2	2	2	2	2						60	1.3
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	5	5	5	5	5						92	2.1
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	17	17	17	17	17	20	18	23	19	3	532	11.9
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	14	14	14	14	14	3	9	9	7	3	310	6.9
b. Group Action & Guidance	4	4	4	4	4	2	5	3	5	3	97	2.2
16. Decision Making Process	9	9	9	10	10	14	14	19	7	2	412	9.2
17. Current Events												
TOTALS:	135	135	137	140	140	146	134	137	57	25	4467	

%: 30 30 31 31 31 32 30 31 13 .6 100

TABLE XVII
CIVIC EDUCATION CURRICULUM GUIDES: 1970s

I. COGNITIVE DOMAIN

Raw Scores and Distributions by Z

- Scale Scores:
- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
 - 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
 - 3 = Frequent/Obvious Emphasis
 - 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
 - 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE					B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS				
	a. Recall of Specific Facts and Facts	b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgments	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	4	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	1	2
3. Historical Background of Governments	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	5	4	4	2	2	4	3	4	1	2
5. Federal Constitution a. Personal Rights and Liberties	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6. Federal Government a. Legislature	3	3	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1
b. Executive	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
c. Judiciary	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
d. Bureaucracy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local) a. Public Opinion	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	1	1	1		1	1	1	1		
c. Political Action	2	1	1		1	1	1	1		
d. Political Parties	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1		
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	2	2	2	1		2	2	2		
9. Defense & Foreign Policy a. Foreign Relations	1	1	1	1	1				1	1
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12. International Relations & Organizations	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1		
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2		
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1		
c. Institutional Studies	1	1	1			1	1	1		
14. Methodology of Political Sci. a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Govt., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	5	5	4	3	2	4	3	4	3	2
b. Group Action & Guidance	3	3	3	1	1	3	2	3	1	1
16. Decision Making Process	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
17. Current Events	5	4	4	3	3	4	3	3	1	2
TOTALS:	62	53	49	31	29	47	34	42	15	26

Z 112 96 89 56 52 85 61 75.27 4.7

Raw Scores and Distributions by Z

Key to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
- 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
- 3 = Frequent/Obsvious Emphasis
- 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
- 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION											TOTALS:	Z
	a. Receptivity	b. Responsiveness	c. Valuation	1. Conceptualization	2. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (& through)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (& through)		
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			26	4.7
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			33	6.0
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values												
3. Historical Background of Governments											8	1.4
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	42	7.6
5. Federal Constitution											7	1.3
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	2	2	2	2	2	1					28	5.1
6. Federal Government						1	1	1			12	2.2
a. Legislature											7	1.3
b. Executive						1	1	1			12	2.2
c. Judiciary											6	1.1
d. Bureaucracy												
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			22	4.0
a. Public Opinion						1	1	1			11	2.0
b. Pressure Groups & Politics						1	1	1			11	2.0
c. Political Action						1	1	1			14	2.5
d. Political Parties						1	1	1			17	3.1
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation											3	.5
9. Defense & Foreign Policy											5	.9
a. Foreign Relations											8	1.4
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.						1	1	1			15	2.7
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	19	3.4
12. International Relations & Organizations	1	1	1	1	1	1					19	3.4
13. Cooperative Govt. & Political Theory	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	29	5.2
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		20	3.6
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies											6	1.1
c. Institutional Studies												
14. Methodology of Political Sci.											7	1.3
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psych., Anthro., etc.	1	1	1	1	1						15	2.7
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	54	9.8
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	35	6.5
b. Group Action & Guidance	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	19	3.4
16. Decision Making Process	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1		42	7.6
17. Current Events												
TOTALS:	16	18	17	18	18	21	20	19	9	6	553	
Z:	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.5	3.4	1.5	1.1		100

TABLE XVIII
CIVIC EDUCATION GOALS: 1970s

A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING & SKILLS

Raw Scores and Distributions by %

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE					B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING & SKILLS				
	a. Recall of Specific Terms and Facts	b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgments	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	13	15	18	24	23	24	24	23	21	24
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	14	16	19	25	24	25	25	24	22	25
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	15	17	20	26	25	26	26	25	23	26
3. Historical Background of Governments	15	17	20	26	25	26	26	25	23	26
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	24	26	29	35	34	35	35	34	22	35
5. Federal Constitution	11	13	16	22	21	22	22	21	19	22
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	14	16	19	25	24	25	25	24	22	25
6. Federal Government	12	14	17	23	22	23	23	22	20	23
a. Legislature	11	13	16	22	21	22	22	21	19	22
b. Executive	9	11	14	20	19	20	20	19	17	20
c. Judiciary	11	13	16	22	21	22	22	21	19	22
d. Bureaucracy	10	12	15	21	20	21	21	20	18	21
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	11	13	16	22	21	22	22	21	19	22
a. Public Opinion	10	12	15	21	20	21	21	20	18	21
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	10	12	15	21	20	21	21	20	18	21
c. Political Action	14	16	19	25	24	25	25	24	22	25
d. Political Parties	9	11	14	20	19	20	20	19	17	20
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	16	18	21	27	26	27	27	26	24	27
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	12	14	17	23	22	23	23	22	20	23
a. Foreign Relations	12	14	17	23	22	23	23	22	20	23
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	14	16	19	25	24	25	25	24	22	25
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	15	17	20	26	25	26	26	25	23	26
12. International Relations & Organizations	21	23	26	32	31	32	32	31	29	32
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	14	16	19	25	24	25	25	24	22	25
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.	11	13	16	22	21	22	22	21	19	22
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	18	20	23	29	28	29	29	28	26	29
c. Institutional Studies	10	12	15	21	20	21	21	20	18	21
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	17	19	22	28	27	28	28	27	25	28
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	20	22	25	31	30	31	31	30	28	31
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	30	32	35	41	40	41	41	40	38	41
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	25	27	30	36	35	36	36	35	33	36
b. Group Action & Guidance	18	20	23	29	28	29	29	28	26	29
16. Decision Making Process	28	30	33	39	38	39	39	38	36	39
Current Events	22	24	27	33	32	33	33	32	30	33
TOTALS:	516	584	696	890	856	890	890	856	778	890

7: 3.1 3.5 4.2 5.3 5.1 5.3 5.3 5.1 4.6 5.3

TABLE XVIII (Cont.)
CIVIC EDUCATION GOALS: 1970s

BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN

Raw Scores and Distributions by Z

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION		a. Receptivity	b. Responsiveness	c. Valuation	d. Conceptualization	e. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through e)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through e)	TOTALS:	%
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)		1821	3315	26			28	28	22	25	25	450	2.7
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship		1922	3416	27			29	29	23	26	26	470	2.8
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values		2023	3517	28			30	30	24	27	27	490	2.9
3. Historical Background of Governments		2023	3517	28			30	30	24	27	27	490	2.9
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership		2922	4426	37			39	39	33	36	36	650	3.9
5. Federal Constitution		1619	3113	24			26	26	20	23	23	410	2.4
a. Personal Rights and Liberties		1922	3416	27			29	29	23	26	26	470	2.8
6. Federal Government		1720	3214	25			27	27	21	24	24	430	2.6
a. Legislature		1619	2113	24			26	26	20	23	23	390	2.3
b. Executive		1417	2911	22			24	24	18	21	21	370	2.2
c. Judiciary		1619	3113	24			26	26	20	23	23	410	2.4
d. Bureaucracy		1518	3012	23			25	25	19	22	22	390	2.3
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)		1619	3113	24			26	26	20	23	23	410	2.4
a. Public Opinion		1518	3012	23			25	25	19	22	22	390	2.3
b. Pressure Groups & Politics		1518	3012	23			25	25	19	22	22	430	2.6
c. Political Action		1922	3416	27			29	29	23	26	26	470	2.8
d. Political Parties		1417	2911	22			24	24	18	21	21	370	2.2
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation		2124	3618	29			31	31	25	28	28	510	3.0
9. Defense & Foreign Policy		1720	3214	25			27	27	21	24	24	430	2.6
a. Foreign Relations		1720	3214	25			27	27	21	24	24	430	2.6
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.		1922	3416	27			29	29	23	26	26	470	2.8
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.		2023	3517	28			30	30	24	27	27	490	2.9
12. International Relations & Organizations		2629	4123	34			36	36	30	33	33	610	3.6
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory		1922	3416	27			29	29	23	26	26	499	3.0
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.		1619	3113	24			26	26	20	23	23	410	2.4
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies		2326	3820	31			33	33	27	30	30	550	3.3
c. Institutional Studies		1518	3012	23			25	25	19	22	22	390	2.3
14. Methodology of Political Sci.		2225	3719	30			32	32	26	29	29	530	3.2
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.		2528	4022	33			35	35	29	32	32	590	3.5
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving		3538	5032	43			45	45	39	42	42	790	4.7
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems		3033	4527	38			40	40	34	37	37	690	4.0
b. Group Action & Guidance		2326	3820	31			33	33	27	30	30	550	3.3
16. Decision Making Process		3336	4830	41			43	43	37	40	40	750	4.5
17. Current Events		3730	4224	35			37	37	31	34	34	650	3.9
TOTALS:		696778	119654958				1026	1026	822	924	924	16,780	
		%:	42	46	71	35	57	61	61	49	55	55	

CIVIC EDUCATION GOALS: 1970s A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING & SKILLS

Scale Scores and Distributions by %

Key to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
- 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
- 3 = Frequent/Obvious Emphasis
- 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
- 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION

	a. Recall of Specific Terms and Facts	b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgments	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
3. Historical Background of Governments	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	2.0	2.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0
5. Federal Constitution	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
6. Federal Government	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0
a. Legislature	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0
b. Executive	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
c. Judiciary	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0
d. Bureaucracy	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0
a. Public Opinion	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
c. Political Action	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
d. Political Parties	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	1.5	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0
a. Foreign Relations	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
12. International Relations & Organizations	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Militarism, etc.	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
b. Cross of Intercultural Studies	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.5
c. Institutional Studies	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.5
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	2.5	2.5	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.5
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	2.0	2.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.0
b. Group Action & Guidance	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.5
16. Decision Making Process	2.0	2.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
17. Current Events	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
TOTALS:	43	48	56	71.5	72	71.5	72	72	65	72

%: 3.0 3.5 4.1 5.2 5.2 5.2 5.2 4.7 5.2

TABLE XIX (Cont.)
CIVIC EDUCATION GOALS: 1970s

Scale Scores and Distributions by Z

Key to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
- 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
- 3 = Frequent/Obvious Emphasis
- 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
- 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN					BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN					TOTALS:	%
	a. Receptivity	b. Responsiveness	c. Valuation	d. Conceptualization	e. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through e)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through e)		
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	1.5	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	38	2.7
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	1.5	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	39	2.8
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	1.5	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	39.5	2.9
3. Historical Background of Governments	1.5	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	39.5	2.9
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	2.5	2.0	3.5	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	52.5	3.8
5. Federal Constitution	1.5	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	35	2.5
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	1.5	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	39	2.8
6. Federal Government	1.5	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	35	2.5
a. Legislature	1.5	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	35	2.5
b. Executive	1.0	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	30	2.2
c. Judiciary	1.5	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	35	2.5
d. Bureaucracy	1.0	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	31	2.2
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	1.5	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	35	2.5
a. Public Opinion	1.0	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	31	2.2
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	1.0	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	31	2.2
c. Political Action	1.5	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	39	2.8
d. Political Parties	1.0	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	31	2.2
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	1.5	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	43	3.1
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	1.5	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	35	2.5
a. Foreign Relations	1.5	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	35	2.5
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	1.5	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	39	2.8
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	1.5	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	39	2.8
12. International Relations & Organizations	2.0	2.5	3.5	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	51	3.7
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	1.5	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	39	2.8
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.	1.5	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	32	2.3
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	46	3.3
c. Institutional Studies	1.0	1.5	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	31	2.2
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	45	3.3
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	2.0	2.5	3.5	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	48	3.5
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	3.0	3.0	4.0	2.5	3.5	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.5	3.5	66	4.8
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	2.5	2.5	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	57	4.1
b. Group Action & Guidance	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	46	3.3
16. Decision Making: Process	2.5	3.0	4.0	2.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.5	3.5	60.5	4.4
17. Current Events	3.0	2.5	3.5	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	53	3.8
TOTALS:	66.5	65	100	48	82	84.5	84.5	66.5	75	77	1382	
	4.1	4.7	7.2	3.5	5.9	6.1	6.1	4.8	5.4	5.6		100

Textbooks

The twenty-four elementary and secondary textbooks yielded the results presented for scale and raw scores and percentage distributions in Tables XX and XXI. Civic education textbooks stress lower order knowledges, particularly recall, and middle range affects, namely valuation. Lower order behaviors are also stressed as are higher order knowledges and lower order skills and understandings. The remainder of the cognitive, affective, and behavioral categories are fairly evenly distributed with the exception of three valuative areas which are less well represented in the textbooks.

THE MASTER GRID OF POLITICAL GOALS, METHODS, CURRICULA, AND TEXTBOOKS: THE 1970s

A master grid of average distributions is presented in Table XXII. This taxonomy is a rough summary of all four major inputs (goals, methods books, curriculum guides, and textbooks) for our taxonomic description of political education in the 1970s. The principal cognitive, affective, and behavioral categories in the master grid are lower order knowledges (recall, recognition, and selection) and lower order skills (ability to comprehend and interpret). Middle range skills and values are also stressed, as are some higher order knowledges, lower order skills, and lower-order behaviors. All of the other categories are fairly equally represented and are spread across all dimensions.

As for the content areas of civic education, we find seven topics to be most emphasized in the four separate sources of inputs used for this taxonomy. Interdisciplinary studies, critical thinking, decision making, foundations and basic concepts, patriotism/loyalty, essentials of democratic citizenship, and personal rights and liberties are the most frequently mentioned topics in these four source types. At a slightly lower or midrange level are eleven other topics and at a still lower level are fifteen other content areas, all of which may be seen by consulting Table XXII.

TABLE XX
TAXONOMY OF
POLITICAL EDUCATION TEXTBOOKS: 1970s

A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGES

B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS

RAW SCORES AND DISTRIBUTIONS BY %

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGES					B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS & SKILLS				
	a. Recall of Specific Terms and Facts	b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgments	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	70	56	63	59	66	65	59	59	55	57
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	63	49	56	52	59	58	52	52	48	50
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	77	63	70	66	73	72	66	66	62	64
3. Historical Background of Governments	83	69	75	72	79	78	72	72	68	70
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	91	77	84	80	87	86	80	80	76	78
5. Federal Constitution	79	65	72	68	75	74	68	68	64	66
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	78	64	71	67	74	73	67	67	63	65
6. Federal Governments	74	60	67	63	70	69	63	63	59	61
a. Legislature	70	56	63	59	66	65	59	59	55	57
b. Executive	67	53	60	56	63	62	56	56	52	54
c. Judiciary	65	52	59	55	62	61	55	55	51	53
d. Bureaucracy	63	49	56	52	59	58	52	52	48	50
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	73	59	66	62	69	68	62	62	58	60
a. Public Opinion	63	49	56	52	59	58	52	52	48	50
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	62	48	55	51	58	57	51	51	47	49
c. Political Action	62	55	62	58	65	64	58	58	54	56
d. Political Parties	63	54	61	57	64	63	57	57	53	55
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	86	72	79	75	82	81	75	75	71	73
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	62	48	55	51	58	57	51	51	47	49
a. Foreign Relations	56	42	49	45	52	51	45	45	41	43
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	60	46	53	49	56	55	49	49	45	47
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	73	59	66	62	69	68	62	62	58	60
12. International Relations & Organizations	63	49	56	52	59	58	52	52	48	50
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	63	49	56	52	59	58	52	52	48	50
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Militarism, etc.	59	45	52	48	55	54	48	48	44	46
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	74	60	67	63	67	66	63	63	59	61
c. Institutional Studies	64	50	57	53	60	59	53	53	49	51
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	68	54	61	57	64	63	57	57	53	55
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Law, Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	72	58	65	61	68	67	61	61	57	59
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	70	56	63	79	86	85	79	79	75	77
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	84	70	77	73	80	79	73	73	69	71
b. Group Action & Guidance	59	45	52	48	55	54	48	48	44	46
15. Decision Making Process	73	59	66	62	69	68	62	62	58	60
17. Current Events	58	44	51	47	54	53	47	47	43	45
TOTALS:	2364	1904	2142	2006	2244	2210	2006	2006	1874	1938

%: 6.0 4.8 5.4 5.0 5.7 5.6 5.0 5.0 4.7 4.9

TABLE XX (Cont.)
TAXONOMY OF
POLITICAL EDUCATION TEXTBOOKS: 1970s

II. AFFECTIVE DOMAIN III. POLITICAL ACTIVITY OR
OF POLITICS BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN

RAW SCORES AND DISTRIBUTIONS BY ?

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION						A. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	B. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	C. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	D. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through e)	E. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through e)	TOTALS:	%
	A. Receptivity	B. Responsiveness	C. Valuation	D. Conceptualization	E. Value Orientation							
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	38	39	72	45	60	63	61	60	59	59	1165	3.0
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	31	32	65	38	53	56	54	53	52	52	1025	2.6
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	45	46	79	52	67	70	68	67	66	66	1305	3.3
3. Historical Background of Governments	51	52	85	58	73	76	74	73	72	72	1425	3.6
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	59	60	93	66	81	84	82	81	80	80	1585	4.1
5. Federal Constitution	47	48	81	54	69	72	70	69	68	68	1345	3.4
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	46	47	80	53	68	71	69	68	67	67	1325	3.3
6. Federal Government:	42	43	76	49	54	67	65	64	63	63	1245	3.2
a. Legislature	38	39	72	45	60	63	61	60	59	59	1165	2.9
b. Executive	35	36	69	42	47	60	58	57	56	56	1095	2.7
c. Judiciary	30	31	60	41	46	59	57	56	55	55	1075	2.7
d. Bureaucracy	21	22	65	38	53	56	54	53	52	52	1025	2.6
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	41	42	75	48	63	66	64	63	62	62	1225	3.1
a. Public Opinion	31	32	65	38	53	56	54	53	52	52	1025	2.6
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	30	31	64	37	52	55	53	52	51	51	1005	2.5
c. Political Action	17	18	71	44	59	62	60	59	58	58	1135	2.8
d. Political Parties	36	37	70	43	58	61	59	58	57	57	1115	2.8
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	54	55	88	61	76	79	77	76	75	75	1485	3.8
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	30	31	64	37	52	55	53	52	51	51	1005	2.5
a. Foreign Relations	24	25	58	31	46	49	47	46	45	45	885	2.2
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	28	29	62	35	50	53	51	50	49	49	965	2.4
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	41	42	75	48	63	66	64	63	62	62	1225	3.1
12. International Relations & Organizations	31	32	65	38	53	56	54	53	52	52	1025	2.6
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	31	32	65	38	53	56	54	53	52	52	1025	2.6
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.	27	28	61	34	49	52	50	49	48	48	945	2.4
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	42	43	76	49	64	67	65	64	63	63	1245	3.1
c. Institutional Studies	32	33	66	39	54	57	55	54	53	53	1045	2.6
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	36	37	70	43	58	61	59	58	57	57	1115	2.8
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	40	41	74	47	62	65	63	62	61	61	1205	3.0
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	52	53	92	55	80	83	81	80	79	79	1565	4.0
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	52	53	86	59	74	77	75	74	73	73	1445	3.6
b. Group Action & Guidance	27	28	61	34	49	52	50	49	48	48	945	2.4
16. Decision Making Process	41	42	75	48	63	66	64	63	62	62	1225	3.1
17. Current Events	26	27	60	33	48	51	49	48	47	47	925	2.4
TOTALS:	1293	1327	2448	1531	1932	2142	2074	2040	2006	2006	39,560	
Z:	32	33	62	38	50	54	52	52	51	51		100

TABLE XXI
TAXONOMY OF POLITICAL EDUCATION TEXTBOOKS: 1970s
A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING & SKILLS

SCALE SCORES AND DISTRIBUTIONS BY %

Key to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
- 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
- 3 = Frequent/Obvious Emphasis
- 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
- 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION

	a. Recall of Specific Terms and Facts	b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgments	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.5
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
a. Basic Civic Interests, & Values	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5
3. Historical Background of Governments	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	4.0	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0
5. Federal Constitution	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.0
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.0
6. Federal Government	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
a. Legislature	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.5
b. Executive	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.5
c. Judiciary	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
d. Bureaucracy	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
a. Public Opinion	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
c. Political Action	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.5
d. Political Parties	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.5
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
a. Foreign Relations	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
12. International Relations & Organizations	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Militarism, etc.	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
c. Institutional Studies	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	3.0	2.5	3.5	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
b. Group Action & Guidance	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
16. Decision Making Process	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
a. Current Events	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
TOTALS:	9.7	7.8	9.0	8.25	9.35	9.35	8.25	8.25	7.75	8.1

7: 6.0 4.8 5.5 5.1 5.7 5.7 5.1 5.1 4.7 5.0

TABLE XXI

TAXONOMY OF POLITICAL
EDUCATION TEXTBOOKS: 1970s

BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN

SCALE SCORES AND DISTRIBUTIONS BY %

Key to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
 3 = Frequent/Obvious Emphasis
 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION						BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN					TOTALS:	%
	a. Receptivity	b. Responsiveness	c. Valuation	d. Conceptualization	e. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through e)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through e)		
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	49.0	3.0
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	40.0	2.4
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	55.5	3.4
3. Historical Background of Governments	2.0	2.0	3.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	58.5	3.6
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	2.5	2.5	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	65.0	4.0
5. Federal Constitution	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	56.0	3.5
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	56.0	3.5
6. Federal Government	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	51.0	3.1
a. Legislature	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	49.0	3.1
b. Executive	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	47.0	3.0
c. Judiciary	1.5	1.5	3.0	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	44.0	2.7
d. Bureaucracy	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	40.0	2.4
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	48.5	3.0
a. Public Opinion	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	40.0	2.4
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	40.0	2.4
c. Political Action	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	48.5	3.0
d. Political Parties	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	47.5	3.0
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	2.0	2.0	3.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	59.5	3.7
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	40.0	2.4
a. Foreign Relations	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	38.0	2.3
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	39.0	2.4
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	45.0	2.8
12. International Relations & Organizations	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	42.5	2.6
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	40.0	2.4
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	50.0	3.1
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.5	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	51.5	3.1
c. Institutional Studies	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	40.0	2.4
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	44.0	2.7
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	50.0	3.0
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	2.5	2.5	4.0	2.5	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	61.5	3.8
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	2.0	2.0	3.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	59.0	3.6
b. Group Action & Guidance	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	38.5	2.4
16. Decision Making Process	1.5	1.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	50.0	3.0
17. Current Events	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	38.5	2.4
TOTALS:	50.5	50.5	99.0	52.5	80.5	94.0	82.5	81.5	81.5	81.5	1622.5	

GRAND TOTAL AND MEAN SCALE SCORES FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM GUIDES, GOALS, TEXTS AND METHODS

A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE B. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING & SKILLS

Scale Scores and Distributions by %

Key to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
- 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
- 3 = Frequent/Obvious Emphasis
- 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
- 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION

	a. Recall of Specific Terms and Facts	b. Recognition of Conventions, Trends, and Classifications	c. Selection of Appropriate Criteria for Judgments	d. Recognition of the Methodology of Political Science	e. Recognition of the Theories and Generalizations in Political Science	a. Ability to Comprehend and Interpret Data	b. Ability to Apply Theories and Knowledge to Public Problems	c. Ability to Analyze Problems	d. Ability to Synthesize Info.	e. Ability to Evaluate Situations, Problems, and Info.
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	2.5	1.9	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.5	2.1	2.1	1.8	1.9
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	2.9	2.1	2.5	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.0	2.3	1.8	1.8
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.3
3. Historical Background of Governments	1.8	1.8	1.8	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	3.3	2.8	3.0	2.4	2.6	3.1	2.6	2.9	1.8	2.0
5. Federal Constitution	1.6	1.5	1.8	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.5	2.0	2.0	2.5
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.3	1.6	2.3	1.8	2.0
6. Federal Government	2.0	1.5	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.0	1.8	2.3	2.0	1.8
a. Legislature	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.3	1.8	1.8
b. Executive	1.6	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.6
c. Judiciary	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.6	1.8	2.3	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.6
d. Bureaucracy	1.8	1.5	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.3	1.8	2.5	1.6	1.8
a. Public Opinion	1.6	1.3	1.6	1.5	1.9	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.4
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	1.6	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.4
c. Political Action	1.8	1.4	1.8	1.8	2.0	1.8	1.9	1.6	1.6	1.6
d. Political Parties	2.0	1.6	1.8	1.6	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.6
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	1.8	1.8	1.6	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	1.3	1.3	1.6	1.6	1.8	2.3	2.0	2.5	2.3	2.5
a. Foreign Relations	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	2.0	1.6	1.5	2.0
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6
12. International Relations & Organizations	1.9	1.8	2.8	1.6	1.8	1.9	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.8
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	1.6	1.8	2.0	1.6	1.8	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.3
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.5
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	1.9	1.8	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.0	1.8	1.6	1.8
c. Institutional Studies	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.5	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	2.4	1.9	2.1	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.7	2.3	2.5
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	2.0	1.5	1.8	2.3	1.9	1.9	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.8
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	3.9	3.8	3.9	3.4	3.3	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.0	2.9
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.0	2.1	2.6	2.3	2.5	1.9	2.0
b. Group Action & Guidance	1.8	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.9	1.6	1.6	1.8
15. Decision Making Process	3.8	3.3	3.8	3.1	3.3	2.5	2.9	2.9	2.4	2.4
16. Current Events	2.3	2.0	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3
MEAN TOTALS:	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.9

%: 6.8 5.8 6.1 5.3 5.3 6.1 5.3 5.6 4.1 4.8

Scale Scores and Distributions by Z

Key to Scale Scores:

- 1 = Little/Minor Emphasis
- 2 = Some/Occasional Emphasis
- 3 = Frequent/Obvious Emphasis
- 4 = Intensive/Significant Emphasis
- 5 = Dominant/Extensive Emphasis

CONTENT DOMAIN OF CIVIC EDUCATION	I. AFFECTIVE DOMAIN					II. POLITICAL ACTIVITY/ BEHAVIORAL DOMAIN					MEAN TOTALS:	Z
	a. Receptivity	b. Responsiveness	c. Valuation	d. Conceptualization	e. Value Orientation	a. Evidence of Present Involvement, Capability and Action in Situations (Real or Contrived)	b. Evidence of Intention or Tendency to Act Capably in Situations	c. Evidence of Future Capable Activity in Situations	d. Evidence of Capable Activity Stimulated by Cognitive and/or Affective Proclivities (a through e)	e. Evidence of Covert and Overt Activity (a through e)		
1. Patriotism & Political Loyalties (Deference)	1.8	1.9	2.5	1.7	2.1	2.0	2.0	1.6	2.1	2.1	2.0	4.7
2. Essentials of Demo. Citizenship	1.6	1.8	2.4	1.5	1.7	1.9	1.9	1.7	2.0	2.5	2.4	4.8
a. Basic Civic Interests & Values	1.8	2.0	3.0	1.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4	1.6
3. Historical Background of Governments	1.8	2.0	3.2	2.0	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.0
4. Foundations & Basic Concepts of Government, Individualism, Democracy, Federalism, Power, Authority, Leadership	2.0	1.9	2.6	2.0	2.2	2.5	2.4	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.4	5.4
5. Federal Constitution	1.8	1.8	2.7	1.5	2.5	2.5	3.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.5	1.9
a. Personal Rights and Liberties	1.8	2.0	2.6	1.7	1.5	2.1	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.1	3.2
6. Federal Government	1.8	1.8	2.7	1.5	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.7	2.2	2.2	1.9	1.9
a. Legislature	1.5	1.5	2.6	1.5	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.9	1.7
b. Executive	1.3	1.5	2.7	1.5	2.0	1.8	2.7	1.7	2.2	2.2	1.8	1.9
c. Judiciary	1.5	1.5	2.7	1.2	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.9	1.4
d. Bureaucracy	1.0	1.5	2.5	1.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.7	2.0	2.2	1.8	1.1
7. Political Processes, Organizations, & Participation (Fed., St., & Local)	1.3	1.3	2.1	1.3	1.8	2.0	1.8	1.7	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.4
a. Public Opinion	1.0	1.2	2.0	1.1	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.4	2.5	1.7	1.5	2.6
b. Pressure Groups & Politics	1.0	1.3	2.5	1.2	2.0	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.7	2.0	1.5	2.1
c. Political Action	1.3	1.5	2.3	1.5	2.2	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.7	3.0
d. Political Parties	1.3	1.5	2.7	1.5	2.2	1.8	1.8	1.7	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.0
8. Government & the Economy: Taxation	1.2	2.0	3.2	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.4	1.9
9. Defense & Foreign Policy	1.3	1.3	2.5	1.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.7	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.5
a. Foreign Relations	1.3	1.3	2.5	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.7	2.0	2.0	1.7	1.6
10. State Governments: Structures & Func.	1.3	1.5	2.2	1.2	2.0	1.5	1.8	1.7	2.0	2.0	1.7	2.0
11. Local Governments: Structures & Func.	1.3	1.3	1.9	1.2	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.6	3.1
12. International Relations & Organizations	1.4	1.5	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.7	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	1.7	3.3
13. Comparative Govt. & Political Theory	1.5	1.3	2.1	1.7	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.9	2.6
a. Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Parliamentarianism, etc.	1.2	1.2	1.8	1.1	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.7	2.0	1.5	3.0
b. Cross or Intercultural Studies	2.0	2.0	2.6	1.8	1.7	2.7	2.5	2.1	2.3	2.3	2.0	3.5
c. Institutional Studies	1.0	1.3	2.7	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.7	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.1
14. Methodology of Political Sci.	1.8	2.2	2.6	1.8	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	4.1
a. Interdisciplinary Studies: Soc., Econ., Psyc., Anthro., etc.	1.4	1.5	2.1	1.5	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.9	3.1
15. Critical Thinking, Judgment, and Problem Solving	2.5	2.6	3.7	3.0	3.1	3.4	3.4	3.0	3.1	2.9	3.3	8.3
a. Personal, Economic, Social, Family, & Other Group Problems	2.4	2.4	3.1	2.3	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	5.0
b. Group Action & Guidance	1.3	1.3	1.9	1.2	1.6	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	3.1
16. Decision Making Process	1.8	2.4	3.0	2.3	2.7	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.5	3.3	2.9	7.0
17. Current Events	2.0	1.5	3.0	1.7	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.3	1.5
MEAN TOTALS:	1.5	1.7	2.6	1.6	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.0	2.3	2.2		
Z:	4.0	4.1	5.5	4.0	5.0	5.1	4.9	4.5	4.1	4.1		100

Conclusions

When comparing these results with our taxonomic approach to civic education for the 1960s and for innovative curricula for the 1960s and 1970s, several concluding observations may be made. Among these are the following:

1. The 1960s stressed lower order knowledge (recall and recognition), lower-order (ability to comprehend and interpret) and higher-order (ability to evaluate) skills, and both lower-order affects (receptivity and responsiveness) and lower-order behaviors (present involvement, etc.). Innovative curricula for the 1960s and 1970s more uniformly stressed all aspects of cognition, affects, and behaviors, while stressing higher-order skills, knowledge, and values, yet lower-order behaviors. The traditional curriculum composite for the 1970s was more like the innovative curriculum distribution for cognitions, values, and behaviors in terms of a more uniform spread; but lower order knowledges, skills, and behaviors and middle range values were stressed in these sources.
2. The content areas given greatest weight in the 1960s were basic civic interests and values/citizenship essentials, historical backgrounds, foundations and basic concepts, personal rights and liberties/Constitution, government and economics, international relations, intercultural studies, critical thinking, and group problems. The innovative curricula for the 1960s and 1970s were also more uniform in their emphasis on all topical areas, with stress on decision-making, critical thinking, political processes, current events, problem-solving, interdisciplinary and intercultural studies, personal rights/Constitution, foundations and basic concepts, and historical backgrounds. The traditional curricula for the 1970s were much like the innovative curricula stressing decision-making, critical thinking, etc.

problems, methodology, personal rights/ Constitution, foundations and basic concepts, citizenship essentials, and patriotism/political loyalty.

3. In sum, we can see a shift from the 1960s to a greater emphasis on critical thinking, decision-making, methodology and group action, interdisciplinary studies, and foundations/basic concepts in the 1970s. This shift is away from basic civic interests and values, historical background, international relations, and government and the economy. However, the new relative emphasis on critical thinking/decision-making/basic concepts is one of degree rather than kind; the curricula for the 1970s (both innovative and traditional) more uniformly stress all content areas, with certain topics (e.g. decision-making) being more emphasized and others (e.g., problems) relatively less. In the cognitive, affective, and behavioral domains we also find more uniformity of stress in the 1970s (for both traditional and innovative curricula); but lower-order processes are less stressed than middle or higher-order skills, understandings, values, and behaviors. The most dramatic shift, as a matter of fact, from the 1960s to the 1970s is the lesser reliance on lower-order processes and the trend toward higher-order skill, value, and behavioral development.
4. The results of this taxonomic approach to civic education in the 1970s provide a more varied picture of more conventional curricula for the 1970s than was originally supposed. That is, it was hypothesized that greater reliance on patriotism, loyalty, historical background, structures/institutions, and lower-order processes would be evident in the standard curriculum fare offered in American schools. However, this is clearly not the case. The new social studies movement seems to be having a much broader effect than was originally supposed. Furthermore, some the

charges levelled in 1971 by the APSA/PSEP Committee no longer have the force or sting they did when applied to the traditional curricula of the 1960s. Much of that criticism has been blunted by quick revisions of social studies materials, both traditional and innovative, so that the "stuff" with which to teach the new social studies is there for the teacher and student to use if they so choose.

5. We shall say more about new goals for civic education in the 1980s and 1990s in the next section of this report. However, at this stage let us merely say that, despite the traditionalism of many state statutes and regulations and the abstract nature of many political goals statements, the conventional curriculum in the 1970s is quite contemporary in its methods and content. The Gross report, cited previously in this section, questioned where teachers were getting the materials to teach the new social studies, since they were unfamiliar with major social studies projects. This survey indicates that teachers are in fact being exposed to the new social studies through goals statements, methods, training, curriculum guides, and textbooks. Consequently, it is no surprise that teachers can respond positively when asked about their involvement and familiarity with new social studies materials and methods. The new social studies are firmly entrenched in the American schools today through a not so quiet or subtle revolution. That revolution is so far advanced (with certain notable exceptions discussed previously) that it is paradoxically hidden by being so obvious; it only becomes evident to the observer who can put aside many of the charges so frequently levelled against the dominant forces of "traditionalism" in current civic education. For instance, most of the non-project material developed in law related citizen education and nearly all of the material developed in environmental education over the last decade is based on the new social studies; yet teachers using these materials may well not recall any specific major project name, if asked to do so.

6. Finally, this survey of political materials for the 1970s. should not be interpreted as saying that the curriculum revolution is over; far from it. Instead, we are merely saying that some of the dragons of traditionalism have been slain in the 1960s and 1970s. That there are many new challenges to be dealt with by curriculum innovators of the future (e.g., the democratization of the school and the development of balanced and reasoned loyalty/patriotism) almost goes without saying. Innovation is but one of several such topics dealt with in the next, concluding chapter of this report.

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VI. MAJOR THEMES, PRINCIPAL INTERPRETATIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The final chapter of this report presents some of the major themes and principal interpretations as well as several important conclusions and policy recommendations stemming from our study of civic education in the Bicentennial Year of the American democratic republic. In this portion of the study we shall also present some background information on the contemporary political and educational scene against which to display these findings, which are useful for curriculum developers, lay persons, bureaucrats, teachers, professional educators or political scientists and other readers of this report.

Consumers of this information, much like the authors themselves, are most likely committed to the American political system and to its viability and improvement. The whole society, including its educational institutions, are responsible for producing an effective, participant-oriented, and supportive citizenry in pluralistic America during the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The cultural and educational pluralism previously described in this report is a strength and a weakness of the United States as it approaches its millennium in the year 2000. The principal question remaining is whether or not the political and educational systems can function effectively within the context of the contemporary tensions of citizenship, to which we have repeatedly referred during our effort to produce these indices of civic/citizen education. We have also discussed the great variety in the U. S. political education system which is as variegated and complex as the political system which it supports. Yet we have also uncovered and extracted some underlying

foundation stones which support this societal superstructure. Our major theme in this section of the report, as throughout the study, is the theme of unity in diversity--with all the dynamism, conflicts, synergism, and uncertainties which this phrase evokes. Once again, let us look at some of the present and immediate realities which may be both enlightening and confounding to some readers; they like the rest of us, are often pre-possessed with a desire for a measure of simplicity and certainty in these troubled times--an era producing what several prominent political educators have called a "crisis" in American citizenship and in its educational components.

* The Current Scene: Some Elements of Significance for Citizen Education

In a recent study, R. Freeman Butts (Butts, 1976) discerned four major themes of American civic education in its 200 year history. The first of these is the revolutionary (1776-1826) ideal of harmony, unity, and homogeneity, and the uniform development (through the public schools) of literacy, liberty, loyalty, morality, and an elite of rational citizen-leaders who revered the Constitution and worshipped the charismatic spirit of George Washington--"first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." The second theme emerged during the post-revolutionary period (1826-1876) and, while it accepted the basic civic virtues of the founding fathers, it took on features of the Protestant ethic and capitalism, including hard work, diligence, obedience, sacrifice, thrift, honesty, and progress through individual effort, the fear of God, and devotion to an undefined ideal of liberty. This period (although also having undercurrents best characterized as being Jeffersonian, pluralistic, and democratic in nature) was much like the preceding era in its

Federalist, traditional, and conservative devotion to property, class distinctions, and obedience to legal authority. The now classic division between politics and education (not accepted by followers of Jefferson and Jackson or the Democratic-Republicans) took a firm hold at this time, especially for devotees of Horace Mann's "practical" views on the subject, deriving from his years of experience as secretary to the Massachusetts state board of education. Constitution worship and devotion to separation of powers/ checks and balances also became hallmarks of "political education"

(Mann's own phrase) as did the objective of assimilation of the immigrant and working class child into the schools of America, which were then divided into black and white common schools in North and South alike.

The third and fourth major themes of U. S. civic education are "progressive modernization" (1876-1926) and the "reform movement" (1926-1976). During the progressive period, the established tradition of loyalty and devotion to God, country, and its WASP leadership remained solid; yet the demands of new times required an intense devotion to new American ideals--expansion, manifest destiny, empire, exporting democracy, as well as fear of that which was foreign, alien, and unfamiliar, (such as socialism, communism, revolution, and other "un-American" doctrines). The now familiar loyalty oaths, public pledges of allegiance, and singing of a national anthem then took root. Horatio Alger became the new symbol of unrestricted, free-enterprise, industrial capitalism and its accomplishments--made possible by freedom from governmental interference. At the same time, the "huckrakers" and progressive reformers cried for governmental reform and regulation, as well as more humane treatment of prisoners,

children, women, and the exploited consumer and American in general. This drive toward Americanization required greater study of American history, less of civil government, with the emphasis (like that on classical studies) on teaching the structure, method, and thought processes of history--the critical-thinking, problem-solving, inquiry process, or "mental discipline" of that era. Community civics, the social studies, and problems of democracy, as well as history (as was mentioned in Chapter I of this study) also emerged then,

as did interdisciplinary approaches to achieving "social efficiency," "participation," "well being," and "relevance." The democratization of the schools, attention to both community and world concerns, and a withdrawal from formal constitutional study were other themes of the progressive reform period. The spiral and cyclical study of expanding communities, history, civics, and geography also became a dominant pattern at this time, however; but it fostered its antithesis in the form of a multi-generational reform movement which extends to the present day.

The new reformers of the 1930s espoused a new social welfare, collective responsibility, and the philosophy of mutual interdependence through the social studies and social science curriculum. The basic reform of American life and education, rather than its maintenance, became the new themes of education for democracy. Improved self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility are familiar objectives of this era. Social justice, political activity, social understanding, civic tolerance, resource conservation, applied science, law and order, consumer economics, duty and politics, loyalty to democracy, and both critical judgment and world citizenship became particular elements of

this "new radicalism." At the same time, a devotion to improved democracy at home and anti-communism abroad returned once again, to the neglect of the study of political power, influence, decision making (and even liberty) which, together with an emphasis on political participation and the new structure-of-disciplines approach were competing goals. . . . Onto this disarrayed scene, the new social studies movement arrived in the 1960s; its influence lasts until the present day.

In 200 years of civics in America, Butts sees that the need for "social cohesion and unity" through a "new" civic education movement was met by either "liberal reformers" to mold "a new social integration" or "social harmony" (in the Revolutionary or Progressive eras, the New Deal, and the New Frontier/Great Society periods), or by "conservative forces" promoting Americanism and resisting "alien" influences (such as during the 19th and early 20th century immigrant waves, the "Red Scares" of the 1920s and 1950s, and the World War and Cold War periods of the present century). He does not, perhaps wisely, predict which direction the civics pendulum will swing in the remainder of the century--towards a new radicalism or back to a thermidorian period of reaction and consolidation.

The American Public and Its Schools

The American public frequently wants schools to be "doing more," not less than that for which they are usually responsible. In the area of citizenship education, for example, five of the top ten goals and concerns of a representative group of 100 community leaders, employers, parents, and other adults, teachers, and students in selected school districts in Massachusetts dealt with areas such as conservation of natural resources, respect for personal dignity, development of moral values, knowledge about American government, and understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. (The other major concerns were job finding, work experience, reading and writing, and parenting.) At the bottom of the list of

respondents' concerns were physical fitness and both American and world history. (Massachusetts Educational Assessment Program, "Citizen Attitudes Toward Education," 1974-1975, 16-22).

In a similar listing of sixty goals statements the Massachusetts assessment program revealed that one-third of the goals pertained to citizen education, social studies, and history. Examples of goals receiving more than 70% support were problem-solving, self-respect, and personal dignity. Those having over 60% support were "respecting and working with other ethnic group members" and "distinguishing fact from opinion." Over 50% endorsed "understanding and obeying laws," values education, and the welfare of others. Over 40% gave high ratings to goals relating to television and newspaper analysis, equality of opportunity, conflicting beliefs, planning, conservation, population, and energy. Over 30% identified goals such as pollution, governmental functions, the economic system, and governmental improvement as being important. Fewer than 30% (16-25%) ranked community involvement, ethnic group contributions, knowledge of ethical/social values of past and present cultures, and study of past civilizations as being important. In sum, these respondents most highly rated the development of individual and social attributes (such as ethical and moral values, self-confidence, reliance, knowledge and respect) rather than factual information or basic academic skills. (Massachusetts Educational Assessment Program, "Public Response to Educational Goals," 1974-1975, 16-23).

A national survey of 1,549 adults by the Gallup Poll in the spring of 1976 also provides some insight into the public's educational views. Nearly 40% of this sample gave the schools a rating of "D," "Fail," or "Don't

Know" or "No Answer," whereas 42% gave the schools an "A" or "B" rating. The American public perceived the public schools as suffering from certain major problems, among the top four being lack of discipline, integration/segregation/busing, lack of proper financial support, and a poor curriculum. Thirty-eight to 51% of respondents wanted more teaching of basic skills, more discipline, better meeting of individual student's needs, improved parent/school relations, more emphasis on moral development and career development, and better opportunities for teachers to be kept up to date. The public was also in favor (77%) of courses to help parents help their children in school (and 51% were willing to pay for it through higher taxes). An overwhelming number (90%) also indicated a willingness to serve on a citizen advisory committee for the school board and 47% identified school discipline as a desirable area in which to serve, as contrasted with 19% in education for citizenship (Gallup, 1976).

As with the Massachusetts assessment results, this Gallup Poll found that the public most wanted children to learn to think for themselves (26%), to get along with others (23%), to be willing to get along with others (23%), to accept responsibility (21%), to have high moral standards (13%), and to be eager to learn (11%). Both schools and parents were held responsible by from 12% to 32% of the public for neglecting to promote moral standards, responsibility, thinking for oneself, and eagerness to learn. Teachers' qualities found most desirable were effective/desirable communication, discipline, inspiration, morality, love, dedication, friendliness, and dress. Respondents also wanted more career education, were against dropping the school-leaving age, and had mixed emotions about teacher's unions; but they approved of extension of

teacher bargaining. If the ax had to fall on school personnel, these taxpayers were much more in favor of eliminating administrators and counselors than they were for cuts in teacher pay or numbers.

Contradictory as it may be, the public wants to keep things much as they are in the schools, yet they also favor reduced taxes as school populations decrease, but silent on concomitant staff reductions.

Curiously enough, perhaps from fear of added costs, the public is not in favor of live-in boarding schools for problem children; and they are evenly split on public child-care centers. The group was in favor of a standard national test for graduation and a diploma. Juvenile courts also came in for rough treatment, in that 41% of the sample believe they are doing a poor job; and only 37% credit these courts with doing a fair job. An even larger number (59%) linked the so-called "decline" in national test scores with a decline in educational quality as a causal factor. (Gallup, 1976).

Recent Citizenship/Social Studies Assessment Results and Civic Education Today

Also shedding some light on the current status of civic education are results from a bicentennial national assessment of citizenship and social studies in the spring of 1976 (National Assessment, 1976 and 1977). This survey of 5,000 students aged 13 and 17 showed some strengths and weaknesses in the American civic education system. For example, high scores (over 69% correct) were registered for students who knew that the President, judges, and army generals always have to obey the law, that the Congress or the President cannot stop the mass media from criticizing the government in violation of freedom of the press, that

Congress cannot establish a national church by law, and that all people should have the right to vote regardless of income or sex.

Large numbers also maintained that race should have no bearing on choosing a friend or buying a house, and that one's abilities and skills should determine whether or not one gets a job. About half of the students realized that each state has two senators and that representatives are apportioned by population. Yet only 16% to 22% of the two age groups recognized that Congress could cut off funds to block a presidential war,

35% believe that the President can appoint Congressmen, and 32% of seventeen year olds do not think it important to vote in all elections, or to vote if it appears that their candidate is not going to win.

About the same number (37%) would either call someone in authority or try to stop the conflict, if they saw students fighting in a school hallway.

The functions of courts, the scope of presidential powers, local government activities, and rights of an accused were recognized by a majority or more of the students. The study also found that thirteen and seventeen year olds basically respond similarly to social and political attitudinal statements and that these results change very little in high school. Some consistent black, white, and regional variations were noted; but high levels of parental education and residence in affluent urban and suburban areas proved to be the significant variables in explaining high assessment results.

Most importantly, however, students who discussed political issues in their classes at a moderate or frequent level (at both age levels) scored well above those who rarely did so. At age seventeen, students who have more "frequently" studied how to acquire and analyze information about political issues also scored well above

their counterparts who answered "not much." Thus, students who discussed politics did better than those who did not; and those who had studied politics the most did much better than those who had not (National Assessment, 1976, and 1977).

In summary, the following significant results were obtained in the latest citizenship assessment:

Social Attitudes - Most students opposed discrimination based on sex, race, religion, and politics; Females more often than males opposed sex discrimination in hiring; and black students were more often opposed both to racial and sexual discrimination. Thirteen-year-old blacks were more in favor of job discrimination based on political affiliation, perhaps because blacks played such a significant role in putting a Democratic administration in the White House that they believe they deserve special consideration. (Indeed, in recent years blacks in the federal bureaucracy in Washington, D. C., have been employed at a much higher proportion than their national percentage of 12% of the population, though not in high-level federal posts.) Overall it was found that females generally outperform males on democratic attitudinal items; yet more frequent class discussion and study of political issues has only a slight positive effect on such attitudes. In general, racial trust is high; but blacks do not trust blacks (or whites) as much as whites do--perhaps because of an impaired self-image and the influence of stereotyping, crime statistics, or the realities of living in the inner city where crime is so high. Lower levels of trust in blacks were consistently recorded by Southeastern whites; significant numbers of Southeasterners did not approve of having black friends or teachers.

Political Attitudes - Many of the findings on political attitudes have been presented above, but a few remain to be summarized here. Most students believe that "one person, one vote" should be the rule, regardless of educational differences among voters. Students were overwhelmingly against having only one political party (although blacks more often agreed with this proposition, perhaps owing to their traditional Democratic party loyalty). In general, interest in politics was higher in the Southeast and among blacks; two-thirds of the students said they were involved in school reform efforts in one or more of the following areas: rules, facilities, courses, extracurricular activity, and/or decision making processes. Changes in decision making (13 year olds - 53%) and changing school rules (17 year olds - 55%) were most frequently mentioned; but over two-thirds of each age group indicated they had done two or more of the five options either individually or in a group. Blacks were significantly more active than whites at both age levels; and Westerners were much more active than Northeasterners at age seventeen. (This exercise is a two-edged sword, in that increased black activity may be in response to greater awareness of discriminatory school practices, whereas Western student activity may reflect increased school openness.)

It was also found that, to the extent that students acquired, discussed, and analyzed political information and issues in their classes, their mean test scores also tended to be significantly higher.

Political Knowledge - In line with what was indicated about courts and rights previously, most students were aware of their Constitutional rights, but the Fifth Amendment was not widely understood. Moreover, fewer than half the students knew that Congress could revise income tax

rates. Although we know that local governments are studied more frequently by younger students, awareness of local functions was higher at age seventeen than at thirteen. Between one-half and three-fourths of both age groups also knew that it was legal to start a new political party in the United States. However, understanding of the functions of the United Nations is not widespread; younger and Southeastern students frequently know more about the U. N. than do older students from other regions. Finally, most students not only know that laws can be changed but know several ways to get such laws changed. In this latter exercise group performance varied widely, in that females scored higher than males and blacks; and low-parental-education groups scored significantly lower, as did rural and Southeastern students.

Political Education - The linkage between course work and political knowledge mentioned previously is one of the most useful findings of this national assessment survey. Additionally, this survey gathered evidence indicating that most students found their schools to be open and comfortable places where they were "encouraged to make up their own minds" (89% of both age groups), where "teachers try to get students to speak freely and openly in class" (82% to 90% of both age groups), where "students can feel free to disagree openly with their teachers" (75% to 82% of both age groups), and where "teachers respect our opinions and encourage us to express them" (85% of both age levels). From 69% of thirteen year olds to 72% of seventeen year olds also said they helped decide about school affairs, more often in the West, less so in the Southeast. Older students much more frequently (61% to 63%) discuss government, politics, international and global issues

and problems in their classes than do younger students (46% to 48%). Most remarkable is the fact that ninety-one percent of the seventeen-year-olds said that they had not only taken a political education course in the last three years, but in eight out of ten cases these courses had increased their interest in government, public affairs, or politics. These students also believed that these courses were relevant, accurate, and up-to-date about race, demonstrations, poverty, war and peace (93%), and the way politics actually work (90%); and that they provided knowledge needed for effective political participation (71%). In addition, 42% of the students disagreed with a statement which said that political-education courses do not provide new ideas about politics, and that students already know much of what is taught. Two-thirds of the students (males, more so than females) indicated that they had learned how to acquire information about political issues in these classes and that they had studied how to analyze values and alternatives for political issues. The national assessment report concluded as follows:

Among 17-year-olds, those who admitted that they had studied politics very little were 10 points below the national level. Those who studied politics a good deal were 9 points above. These figures . . . showed strong evidence that course work in class related to politics was an important factor in higher levels of performance. (National Assessment, 1976, 31)

Some Tentative Conclusions - In the light of all of these results some of the previous conclusions about civic education (drawn from the APSA/PSEP, Remy, and other studies) must be modified somewhat--at least with respect to their applicability to the present. If what was said about civic education was true some ten, or even five, years ago, then the picture has been altered somewhat. The IEA study indicated that classroom climate was a key feature in the promotion of democratic attitudes and

political knowledge. The national assessment findings corroborate this conclusion. Moreover, the extent to which critical thinking, problem-solving, judgment, and the inquiry process have "infiltrated" both the traditional and innovative classroom is well documented by our civic education indices and taxonomies.

While not treating the direct linkage between democratic orientations and classroom climate, the national assessment results do indicate that the political ambience of American schools in the 1970s is very free and open. The relatively high levels of performance of American youth on the IEA instruments in 1971 may thus be associated with the increasing participatory characteristics of American schools in recent years. Certainly the political socialization research of the 1960s gave no indication of such levels of student participation in school decision-making.

We must conclude that many criticisms of the schools are either unjustified, or that the students are really not capable of judging what is realistic, relevant, accurate, new, or controversial. At any rate, the American civic education system has had a boost in its public image as a result of these findings, which indicate that it is not doing such a bad job at all. True, the findings indicate that some of the students, who will be voting within a year, have some minor gaps in their knowledge, and that certain groups have different patterns of attitudes than are desired or expected. However, in reality, when it comes to political pay-offs in the form of a governmental job, why should not blacks say that they believe party loyalty should be considered as a factor? After all, very few Republicans are actually appointed to posts in Democratic administrations and vice versa. Similarly, why should blacks not want a single

party system which will benefit them, since their antagonism to the Republicans is so long standing and virulent?

Such findings reveal some key uniformities and variations in attitudes, knowledge, and behavior. However, some of the realities of political life may run counter to that which is taught as gospel in government courses-- such as the need for a two party system, civil service objectivity and non-partisanship, and other sacred cows of politics. Again, if blacks can be so much above the national average in their anti-discriminatory beliefs, then why are they not entitled to different opinions about other political attitudes? Instead, curriculum reformers and other interested observers might well concern themselves with hidden WASP biases in national assessment instruments, as well as with low relative performance levels of the inner-city, low-income, and low-parental-education groups. Some bright and significant findings, then, have helped to burn off some of the gloomy fog which has surrounded civic education for the last decade. Perhaps now that this has happened, we can have an even closer look at the subject while deciding whether we have actually created a new Prometheus, rather than the Frankenstein we have been told that we spawned. Such results, if they do nothing more, make the subject of political education more interesting and open today. Moreover, the political and educational systems might thrive on some positive reinforcement and a deserving "pat on the back" now and again.

Models and Rationales for Civic Education

In addition to the major themes of civic education, public opinion about education, and empirical results from other national surveys of citizenship education, we need to have a brief look at some of the models of (or rationales for) civic education that have been current for the last decade or so. In a way, our treatment of civic education indices through a descriptive and taxonomic approach is one model of the field which makes it distinct from other systems and institutions within the society. The goals statements, curriculum guides, textbooks, and teaching methods books were synthesized for basic time periods (i.e. 1966 and 1976) and in terms of emphasis (conventional and innovative). However, other models of the political and civic education system exist and are worthy of mention.

If we look at political science as a field of study, we find that it is concerned with an examination of political systems and of the political decision making process, which authoritatively allocates values and decides who gets what, when, where, how much, and to what effect. Political systems analysis is also concerned with the context or environment of the system, inputs, supports and demands, the policy making process, outputs, and feedback. The field of political science can also be divided into key concepts and subject groupings which stem from its organization into a separate social science discipline apart from, say sociology or economics. The division of political science into its component parts is presented in Tables XXIII and XXIV. (These tables were constructed from a review of political science literature such as the APSR as well as from books on and catalogues of political science offerings in colleges and universities throughout the United States, e.g., Somit and Tanerhaus, 1967.)

TABLE XXIII

Political Science -- Subject Groupings

A. American Government

1. Foundations and Basic Concepts
2. Constitution
3. Political and Legal Processes, Organization, Participation, and Policy Formulation
4. Congress
5. Presidency and Executive Branch
6. Supreme Court and Federal Judiciary
7. Personal (Civil) rights and Liberties
8. Government and Economy
9. Foreign Policy and National Defense
10. New Federalism
11. State Government
12. Local Government

B. Political Theory (Philosophy and Ideology)

C. Foreign and Comparative Government and Politics

D. Political Process and Policy Formulation

E. Executive Affairs

F. Legislative Affairs and Groupings

G. Public Opinion, Voting, Elections, and Political Behavior

H. Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups

I. Public Law and Jurisprudence

J. Public Administration and Bureaucracy

K. Judicial Affairs

L. Area Studies, Cultural Advance, and Cross Cultural Approaches

M. International Relations and Law

Source: Abstracted by the authors from A Review of APSR, political science offerings in college/university catalogues, and books on political science as a discipline, e.g., Somit and Tanenhaus, 1967.

TABLE XXIV

Political Science -- Key Concepts

1. Power, Legitimacy, the State, and Sovereignty
2. Responsible and Representative Government
3. Statism and Authoritarianism
4. Order and Change
5. Authority, Determinism, and Freedom
6. Individualism, Autonomy, and Human Dignity
7. Decision Making, Problem Solving, and Leadership
8. Rule of Law and Constitutionalism
9. One Process and Equality Before the Law
10. Natural Law and Procedural and Substantive Rights
11. Civil Disobedience and Law Observance
12. Political Equality, Economic Democracy, and Equality of Opportunity
13. Majority Rule and Minority Rights
14. Conflicting Loyalties and Compromise
15. General Welfare, General Will, and Consensus
16. Political Socialization Process, Man as a Political Being, and Rationality of Man
17. Separation of Church and State, Separation of Powers, Checks and Balances
18. The Open Society, Political Cultures, Pluralism, and the Democratic Way of Life
19. Right to Petition, Federalism, and Multiple Party System
20. Civic Participation and Group Activity
21. Reasoned Patriotism and Commitment

Source: Abstracted by the authors from a review of APSR, political science offerings in college/university catalogues, and books on political science as a discipline, e.g., Somit and Tanenhouse, 1967.

The subject groupings in Table XXII indicate that American government is the principal subtopic studied in political science, but that twelve other areas also are of some significance in the discipline. The key concepts in Table XXIV also provide another view of the discipline, as well as some of the foundation stones or constructs of which the discipline is made. Many of the subject and content areas are also of interest to other disciplines (such as sociology, history, psychology, or economics); but, these areas are often handled in political science through crosscultural, area, and interdisciplinary studies.

As one can see from comparing the subject and content areas of political science with our taxonomies of civic education (e.g., cf. Table XXII, pages 261-262, above) many of the content areas of political science overlap with the present concerns of civic education, namely, the special focus on American government; political theory; international relations; political process; comparative government; public opinion; political parties; legislative, executive, judicial and bureaucratic affairs, and crosscultural approaches. In the content areas we find a similar common emphasis on power, legitimacy, freedom, individualism, decision making and problem solving, political participation, patriotism, leadership, and constitutionalism.

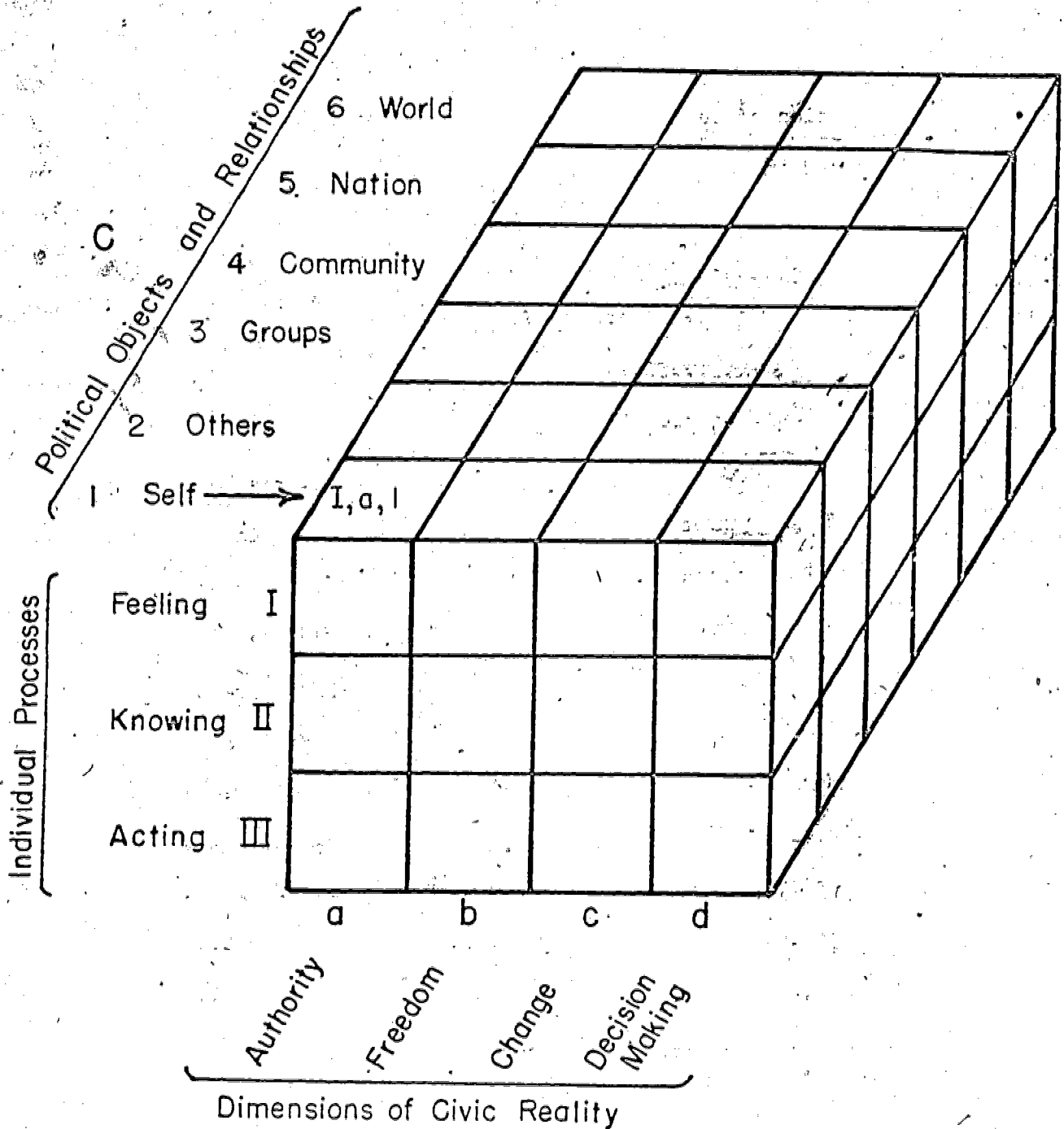
Despite these similarities, the American political science community is divided on the question of whether or not political science as a discipline is or should be concerned with the development of citizen education. For example, in 1962 Evron and Jeanne Kilpatrick (he being the APSA Executive Secretary) stated that the tradition of political science instruction in government, politics, the political process, and policy

making designed for "the making of good citizens" is "mistaken and misleading". Political science may have a role to play in "helping to form better citizens," but this tradition (and its fundamental beliefs) "is based on a distorted conception of how citizens are made," "a distorted conception of democracy," and "a misconception of political science" (cited in Butts, 1976, Footnote 19). Just five years later, however, two other prominent political scientists, Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, concluded that political scientists saw the fundamental objective of political science in the schools to be the process of developing effective democratic citizens and citizenship building (Somit and Tanenhaus, 1967, 196). Much less agreement on methodology and other values in political science was reached a decade ago, but this basic stress on citizenship goals is revealing indeed.

In searching out other rationales or models for civic education organization and structuring, we have also uncovered some "fugitive" sources which have attempted this task. For example Figure 3, a three dimensional model, combines basic individual processes (such as knowledge, skills and understandings, attitudes, and behaviors) with selected dimensions of civic reality (such as power, order, due process, change, policy making, etc.), seen in our list of key concepts in political science. Also seen are the spectrum of actors and levels upon which these processes and realities operate (such as the individual person, the work group, the local or state government, federal government, or the U. N. or NATO). This is a useful model for identifying basic curriculum and teaching/learning objectives, as well as for evaluating them; and it helps to provide structure, order, and a hierarchy to the citizenship domain.

Figure 3

A SYNTHETIC MODEL OF SELECTED PROCESSES, DIMENSIONS, OBJECTS AND RELATIONSHIPS OF CITIZENSHIP



Example: Cell I, a, 1: What the individual feels about authority over himself

Source: National Assessment, Citizenship, Phase I (Princeton, N. J.: Educational Testing Service, November 1, 1965), p. 118.

Another rationale/model for citizen education (see Figure 4) was proposed in 1976 by Butts (Butts, 1976, 2). Here we see some common elements (e.g., The Educational Program in Figure 4 is synonymous with the Individual Processes dimension in Figure 3, and The Political System has shared elements of Civic Reality, such as Authorities and Objects/Relationships such as Community or Regime), but also some differences. Putting aside the fact that a majority of high school graduates in the United States go on to some form of higher education today, we can see that Butts' three sets of triads help us to focus on some other basic elements in the citizenship/political studies equation, such as the political system, the importance of participation, and the different groups served by American schools. Thus, it is also useful for a primer on what civic education is or should be about, as well as for how these elements relate to one another.

Still another recent approach to a current definition of civic education is contained in Table XV. Here Fred Neumann presents eight programs/approaches to civic education (e.g., law, problems, values, thinking, etc., which are a mixture of what were called processes or programs and subject/content areas in other sources) on one dimension and evaluative criteria or goals of citizenship education (e.g. participation, pluralism, decision making, etc.) on the other. A key difference in this approach is the rating scale, by which the disciplinary approach scores are rated very low and community involvement very high in addressing (and hopefully producing) this type of citizen education as a systemic output. Of course, advocates of the citizen action, participatory, and community involvement approaches to civic education might not be

The ABC's of Citizenship Education
for Schools

(B)
The Educational
Program

Developing Political Values
Acquiring Political Knowledge
Learning Skills of
Political Participation

(A)
The Political System

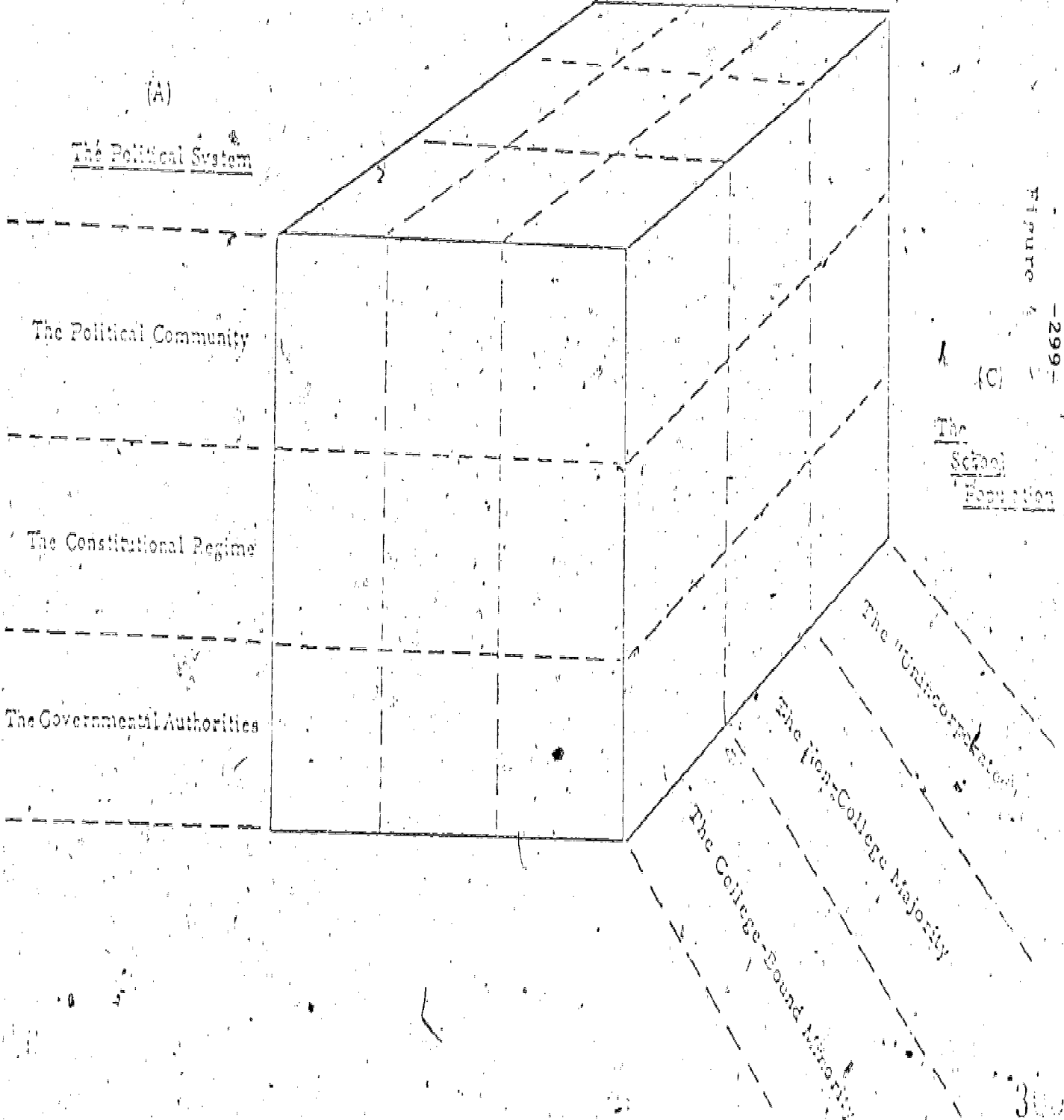


Figure 4 -299-

Source: R. Freeman Butts, "Historical Perspective on Citizen Education...", 1976, 2.

Table XXV
Eight Approaches to Citizenship Education Rated
on Six Criteria for Authenticity*

APPROACHES	1. Focus on Citizen Problems	2. Students in Participatory Roles	3. Student Choice	4. Intellectual Openness	5. Content on Consent and Pluralism	6. Local Input Into Curriculum	TOTAL SCORE**
1. Disciplines	-	-	-	0	0	-	-4
2. Law-Related Education	+	0	0	0	+	0	2
3. Social Problems	+	0	0	0	0	0	1
4. Critical Thinking	0	-	0	+	0	0	0
5. Values Clarification	0	-	0	+	0	0	0
6. Moral Development	0	0	0	+	+	0	2
7. Community Involvement	+	+	0	0	0	+	3
8. Institutional School Reform	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Score	2	-2	-1	3	2	0	

*Rating Code: + = likely to be fulfilled in most projects under the approach.
 - = unlikely to be fulfilled in most projects under the approach.
 0 = could be either fulfilled or unfulfilled, depending on the project.

**For each approach, the net sum of pluses and minuses.

Source: Fred M. Neumann, "Building a Rationale for Civic Education,"
 January 1976, 25.

surprised that this approach scores so high on these action-oriented criteria (e.g., See Neumann, 1975).

Elsewhere, this same author (See Neumann, May 1976, 20) has stated the need for a new "intellectually complete" rationale for civic education which will face seven basic problem areas, namely: (1) basic curriculum goals, (2) the nature of learning, (3) definition of community, (4) citizenship and other goals of schooling, (5) schools and other social agencies, (6) authenticity, and (7) diversity. Since neither time nor space permit us to describe in any detail the specifics of this quest for a new rationale, let us merely take this opportunity to repeat our assertion that the quest for rationales for citizen education is an enduring, viable, and necessary goal which, if achieved, will provide coherence and direction for the area in the years to come.

Each of the above approaches to, and conceptions of, citizen education has implications for curriculum development, policy making, resource allocation, and other aspects of educational decision making. Goals, rationales, models, and objectives are ideas, concepts, and intellectual constructs which guide our actions. For example, the NSOE Citizen Education Staff has been operating on two models. The first of these is a citizen participation/citizen involvement model; and the second is a citizen education model.

To be more specific, citizen education is conceived of in these models as something which is a process, a policy term, occurring at all levels and sectors of society, along with formal and nonformal educational experiences. Citizen education is not conceived of as a new curriculum or a new course. It includes, but is not limited to, political

Participation, global perspectives, multi-cultural, family and law-related, economic, and ethical/moral education. At least twelve or more basic sectors of American society (e.g., home, community, religion, labor, business/industry, government, voluntary organizations, mass media, agriculture, etc.) are involved in citizen education.

The citizen participation/involvement model, on the other hand, recognizes the role of voluntary organizations, interest groups, community self-help, mandated legislation, individual service, and other factors in "mobilizing the attentive citizen." Citizen experience, behavior, attitudes, perceptions, responsibilities, issue appeal, and the like are also conceived of as motivating forces in education, welfare, health, and other project areas. This model also takes account of who should initiate the activity, the type of participation, the extent of involvement, the locus of control, and the pay offs resulting from the activity (on these points, see "C. E.," 1976 and "Outline of Two Office of Education Projects....," 1976).

Both of these models or rationales for citizen participation/involvement and citizen education are linked to policy decisions, such as those establishing task forces and linkages between Washington and regional USOE offices; tying into ongoing local, state, and federal programs; conducting national and regional conferences and state and local seminars and workshops, as well as producing reports; seeking new legislation; and changing or enlarging areas of emphasis to include "sea grant," energy, conservation, and environmental education. Suffice it to say for the moment that these models and rationales for civic education are important for defining the field and guiding actions of individual and group decision-makers, who are daily changing our conception of what political education was, is, should, or will be in the future.

Civic Education for What?

As we have seen in our discussion throughout this report, the basic question which both guides us, as its answer, siren-like, beckons us is civic education for what? In its annual meeting in November 1976 in Washington, D. C. the National Council for the Social Studies appropriately took as its bicentennial theme "200 years--Now What?" Of course, in addition to the question of civic education for what purposes, we must also ask about civic education for whom, when, for how long, and with what effect on the citizen's political knowledge, attitudes, and behavior?

Some of the varieties of and uniformities in citizen education have been described and assessed in previous chapters of this study.

We have seen civics projects which focus on political behavior, community involvement, public affairs, and law, to name but a few. Global and ethnic studies, pluralism, business and labor inputs, and audio visual materials abound in civic education. One group which impacts on the schools may carry a message of federal union for the world, whereas another is a spokesman for free enterprise capitalism. The religious input into the school through student movements may be aimed at mobilizing political action and citizen opinion around a "social ministry" against hunger, whereas the international labor office may provide materials to the schools on migrant workers, poverty, unemployment, social security, safety, health, nondiscrimination, freedom of association, the social inequality of women, technology, and other basic civic interests and needs such as urban development. Other projects have aimed at the democratization of the schools, and yet others would have us focus on cognitive and/or moral stage theory and development of the child.

Some of the materials which are impacting on the schools are described in the sources and bibliography for this Chapter (e.g., Africa in U. S. Educational Materials, 1976-1977; Clark, 1976; Qiemeyer, 1975; "Register Citizen Opinion," 1976; Social Studies School Service, 1977; Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, 1975-1976; and so forth).

Even the daily newspapers (and there are separate national organizations designed to promote their use as a "living textbook") provide us with more inputs into civic education than the average student, teacher, or citizen can absorb. For example, the mass media thoroughly covered President Jimmy Carter's message to the United Nations in March 1977. In that message, the President presented his version of a basic outline of the principal goals and values of American life and thus of civic education. (The Washington Post, March 18, 1977, A12) President Carter indicated in that message to a world audience that the United States supported the basic ideals of the United Nations. The specific topics touched upon would take at least a year long course in civic education or political science to discuss and reach some meaningful consensus.

The following is a selection from these basic concepts: freedom; self-government; human dignity; mutual toleration; peaceful resolution of disputes; military and economic strength; an "open" foreign policy; basic freedoms; higher standards of human existence; national hostilities; territorial conflicts; ideological competition; racial discrimination and conflict; the arms race; poverty; inequality; human rights; world peace; a cooperative international economic system; inflation; multilateral trade negotiations; democratic institutions; the Helsinki Agreement; security and cooperation in Europe; East-West cooperation;

majority rule; Rhodesian sanctions; the Panama Canal negotiations; the Shanghai communique; global progress; the SALT talks; arms reductions; the Vladivostok Accord; cessation of nuclear testing; arms exports; multi-lateral agreements; the search for justice; the developing nations; foreign assistance; the World Bank; the Tokyo Declaration; the International Monetary Fund; the Conference of the Law of the Sea; the energy shortage; the U. N. Charter; the historical birthright of the U. S. in fundamental human rights and genocide; the U. N. Human Rights Commission; and provision of food, health, and education.

Thus we have a list of topics which at once shows how complicated the task of the American presidency is today and how difficult it is for the average American to perform effectively his own office as an involved and active citizen--a participant, rather than merely a spectator. Mr. Carter's "civics lesson" for the people of America and the world is a suitable illustration of the complexity of the task of civic educators in the twentieth century. With teachers and students having to focus on such a complex list of abstract but realistic concepts, it is no wonder that many choose to "opt out." They prefer the certainty afforded by a simple study of checks and balances, separation of powers, how a bill becomes a law, the literal meaning of the U. S. Constitution, or what it is to be a patriotic, law-abiding, and courteous American who votes in November.

We have not fully answered the question, "education for what;" but apparently the scope of political education in the United States is so broad that any agreed-upon basic unity or consensus in the midst of such diversity and expansiveness would be a helpful tool for teacher, student, parent, or citizen alike. Perhaps we can achieve some unity among this diversity in our major conclusions and policy recommendations which follow immediately below.

Summary Comments, Interpretations, and Major Conclusions

Some Summary Comments/Interpretations

This report has presented an overall survey of contemporary citizen education in the United States. We have examined the principal features of civics, what its history has been, and where we were in the field a decade ago as well as at the present. Statistics on enrollments, course practices, the yield or outputs of civic education, and the results of student and teacher surveys of civic education were summarized. A major contribution of this study has been the production of three taxonomies of civic education in the U. S. for 1966 (traditional and early experimental/innovative practices), 1976 (traditional or established practices), and 1976/1977 (innovative and experimental projects and practices). These methods (which have been historical, descriptive, quantitative, and qualitative) have produced useable indices of civic education which combine both content/topical areas of study with fundamental human processes of feeling, knowing, and acting.

Where possible, we have also tried to account for as many of the dimensions of civic education as possible, e.g. cognitive and moral processes, sector contributions and responsibilities (home, school, church, government, labor, business, etc.), and other major inputs, throughputs, and outputs of the U. S. civic educational system. For example, business concerns impact directly on civic education through textbook publishing; government, through assessment programs, regulations, and laws; and the schools/universities, through course offerings or studies of political socialization. The civic-education impact of religious and voluntary organizations has also been noted in passing. Many of these special-purpose organizations

perform a regular and valuable service to civic educators. The mass media and other inputs (such as labor unions) have also come into the civic education script at appropriate points, without adequately reflecting the extent to which they actually contribute to education of the citizenry.

This study has produced one model or rationale for approaching civic education, through a study of some of its principal dimensions (e.g., textbooks, teaching methods, curriculum guides, and goals statements). We have also described other rationales for civic education, which no doubt would have produced somewhat different results or emphases on different topics, such as the primacy of decision making or civic participation. Nevertheless, we have made an honest attempt to seek the core concepts of modern civic education in America and to construct a baseline for civic education during this bicentennial celebration of the 1970s and 1980s. We have also examined the views of the public and what they want from their schools. If there is a vast discrepancy between what the public and students want, what teachers and textbooks give, and what curriculum project directors say everyone should (or needs to) be learning, it is inherent in the nature of the American civic education system itself. That is, American civic education is a pluralistic, rather than a monolithic enterprise, so that the dynamic balance which is struck during any given year the schools is a tense, temporary, and fragile one--which the very process of civic education will soon change. The same is true of the structure, institutions, organizations, and basic philosophy underlying the American political system/process; this ability to adjust, compromise, evolve, and to grow is both a hallmark and a strength of the American political and educational systems.

In this study we have, when appropriate, made reference to the findings of political science research which impact upon the educational scene. The two principal areas which do so are in the political science subfields of politics and/of education* and political socialization. These findings are of major importance to the educational institution and its members, since both of these subfields have produced so much of value in the last twenty years regarding educational expenditures, desegregation, urban educations, the political growth process, educational policy-making in general or community power studies in particular. Along with the sociology and economics of education subfields, the politics and/of education subfield has looked at the school system in terms of its political dimensions (such as power structure, decision making processes, conflict resolution procedures, and economic policy making). Through these perspectives we are better able to see, for example, the primacy of economic factors in school decision-making, along with other variables, such as the relative ability and effort of a local or state school system to support education. Teachers as political actors, and teacher organizations as lobbyists, have also been studied and found to be wanting and relatively ineffective by their own standards/goals. Moreover, teacher groups have a poor public relations program, a reality not only significant for their recent thrust toward unionization, but also of import for the public's image of the school, the teacher, and the curriculum. Teachers also fear other members of the educational community (parents, school boards, administrators, students, other teachers, etc.) rather than other social institutions (labor, business, government, church, media, etc.). These factors also impinge on to the effectiveness and viability of the civic

*Politics and education refers to interactions between these two social institutions in e.g., taxation for schools; politics of education means the internal political processes within education such as power allocation, authority structure, and decision-making processes of teachers, students, administrators, parents, unions, et al.

education system in the United States today (On these points see Phi Delta Kappan, 1974; and Ziegler, 1966).

Throughout these pages we have paid particular attention to other findings of political and social scientists and other scholars, in order to provide a perspective of looking in at the schools from the larger society and to complement our other approach, which is based on looking out at the community, state, nation, or world from the school itself. Recent statistics on the public's perception of American government as being uncaring and untrustworthy, for example, indicate that American schools (which above all promote system maintenance and support) have not succeeded for at least the last generation in producing citizens who believe after they leave high school that the government and its officialdom are worthy of trust or capable of caring. (The University of Michigan Survey Research Center and The New York Times/CBS News Poll have reported that the public's level of trust in government has consistently decreased, from 76% in 1964 to 35% in 1977; and their view of public officials as uncaring has more than doubled in the same space of time, with only 30% of the national sample of adults disagreeing with a statement to the effect that "public officials don't care what people like me think." (See The New York Times, April 29, 1977, A16). Of course, no one can say how low the levels of public trust, cynicism, or even alienation might reach, were the schools not to send youth off to college or to work with typically higher levels of systemic support than their adult counterparts. Nevertheless, this is just one piece of evidence indicating that out-of-school factors and institutions provide a de-socialization or re-socializing

function vis à vis politics, and that political education and socialization is a lifelong process.

In sum, what this work on formulating contemporary indices of citizen education has mainly produced is a new synthesis of facts, information, and conclusions about civic education in its various modes (the innovative project, the traditional classroom, the typical textbook, etc.). What will be most interesting and informative in the future is whether or not this "new" or "re"-creation will perform a useful service to civic education and members of the lay audience who are interested in political education (which seems to be a very large segment of the entire citizenry). The real test of the utility of this survey will be its pragmatic utility for being used as a baseline or common reference point for further discussions of political education for the 1980s and 1990s. Of course, just what will happen in this regard is an open question at this point in time.

Major Conclusions

In the first section to this report we raised fourteen primary questions (see preface, pages i-iii, above) and six secondary considerations (see Chapter II, page 5, above) which guided this study of contemporary civic education. The overall question, of course, which underlay these more specific and supplementary questions was: what has been (over the last generation), is now, and promises to be a valid definition of civic education in the United States? In answering this major question, we have produced this entire report. Here, let us merely say that American civic education is a lifelong process which begins at birth and ends only with the grave. It consists of formal and informal inputs, the most important of which are probably the family,

the mass media, the schools, and the peer/work group. Other agencies, such as voluntary organizations and interest groups, religious and economic institutions also play a supplementary, if relatively minor, role.

Civic/citizen education is not merely one course of study, or a group of courses, or even a set curriculum. It also consists of a variety of topical, course, classroom, school, and social practices and behaviors. Political education is best understood as a dynamic system into which other sub-systems provide inputs, influence decision-making, and evaluate its outputs through a feedback process. Political studies in the United States today is a mixed bag of varying local and state practices and nationwide influences from curriculum projects, textbook publishers, and federal governmental programs which are as diverse as the humanities and the natural and social sciences themselves.

Additionally, civic education in the 1970s consists of some thirty-four basic content or topical areas and some twenty knowledges, skills, understandings, values, and behaviors. It shares many elements in common with the discipline of political science, such as a primary goal of promoting effective democratic citizenship, yet it is vastly different in the level of sophistication, the rigor of its methodology, and the ways in which it is taught and learned. In effect, American civics is a mixture of disciplines, has a variety of approaches, and emphasizes very different and even conflicting goals, such as patriotism and loyalty versus critical thinking/inquiry, obedience and law observance versus civil disobedience and protest, political ideals and myths versus political reality and behavior, or quiet conformity versus active community involvement.

Moreover, civic educators are divided into competing medieval fiefdoms, each of which make partisan briefs for history or one of the social studies, social problems or law-related education, critical thinking, values clarification or moral development, school reform, community involvement, and the like. However, citizenship education today also has another band of loyalist vassals, who preach a brand of constitution worship with near religious fervor and advocate a creed of social responsibility, law and order, and deference. This band of super patriots advocates what we have called the "milk and moralism," "departmental," or boy/girl scout syndrome--loyalty, obedience, thrift, hard work, reverence, trustworthiness and like virtues as an important competing image for the production of the "good" citizen. But this is the American way!

In sum, a contemporary definition of civic education (after Neumann, May 1976) must recognize several present realities, namely that it:

(1) consists of competing goals upon which consensus is rarely reached, except for items such as the importance of knowledge, values, and behaviors or systemic support; (2) it is comprised of different theories of learning, from rote memorization (which is less fashionable today) to the more "democratic" and important critical thinking/problem-solving/participation modes; (3) it is struggling for a definition and sense of community in a time of rapid family and social change and high mobility, so that greater stress on localism and national problems, and on the highest of personal, state, regional, and international/global issues and communities, is currently fashionable; (4) it is in competition with other goals of education, such as careers or occupational training; and, except for American government, it is losing its traditional stature in the curriculum to other courses which stress, for example, the

discovery of self through the study of psychology; (5) it is also in a state of flux regarding its position on school governance, community involvement, and economic issues, in that when civics moves away from the formal study of the Constitution to a study of power and conflict (e.g., a teacher strike or school governance), then other social institutions are threatened by this prospect; (6) along the same line, it is also concerned with the consistency, reliability, and validity of its goals, in that democracy is often taught as an ideal in class, whereas the class itself, the school, or the local community (or even the nation itself during the gilded age or Watergate crisis) may be models of elitism, oligarchy, or monolithic power--but the classroom itself has become more democratized of late so that ideals and practice, the "should/ought" and the "is" of civics, have become more real today; and (7) it has not yet accommodated, but it is seeking to account for, individual differences, varying student roles and competencies, and different student interests and values. This is the theme of "unity in diversity" to which we have previously referred in another context-- a common and underlying rationale for cultural, political, educational, and civic pluralism which results in a respect for individual differences going beyond mere toleration.

These seven points, then, are elements of a partial definition of citizen education today. Now let us examine the more specific questions raised in the preface, above. These fourteen queries about civic education fall under the following headings:

1. Qualitative and Quantitative Data - We have presented voluminous data on political socialization studies, national assessment results, and other information of a more qualitative nature on topics such as what

was, is, or should be taught in the schools. We have also found that no data similar to these indices/taxonomies exist for the area of civic education, and that only a few sources (such as Turner, 1971; Derr, 1973; and Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975) have approximated this approach, though for different purposes. Indeed, our analysis of materials on civic education as a field of study revealed that much of the information which has been gathered, putatively for objective or descriptive purposes, is actually being put to use for some special objective, such as to prove the worth of new practices or projects in civics, to raise a hue and cry about the social science invasion of the social studies or history, or to sound a call to arms against course proliferation and a defense of traditional course and program structures. In other words, much which masquerades as a neutral account or appraisal of contemporary civics is mainly argumentative cant, with the well-meaning but biased objective of "throwing the rascals (traditionalists) out" and replacing them with something new--a kind of curricular spoils system of Jacksonian democratic vintage. This is not to say that all of the other data we have analyzed are inaccurate, but that much of it is certainly prejudicial, self-serving, and unbalanced.

2. Subdividing Current Indices Into Components - Our subdivisions of civic education goals, methods, texts, and curricula into their content, cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral components represent a new amalgamation of current civic education indices for which the resulting whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Through content analysis techniques and cross validation of results by inter-reader reliability checks, we have produced a more coherent composite

of civic education than has been the case in with respect to many preexisting indices. Whenever possible, we have also provided ascriptions of sector responsibilities and appropriate age levels for given goals and objectives, particularly at the elementary, junior, and senior high grades.

3. Longitudinal Data - The data which exist on civic education are seldom in longitudinal form. A few exceptions to this rule were found in the Jennings and Niemi (1975), IEA (1975), Gross (1977), and National Assessment (1969-1977) reports, all but Jennings and Niemi being quasi-longitudinal studies of different populations at the same or at different points in time. Our three separate indices/taxonomies for civic education for the 1960s and 1970s are also quasi-longitudinal, except for certain common components such as revisions of the same textbook over that time. Clear evidence of growth and change in civic education goals, objectives, and outputs can be seen in the last decade; and these have been described in detail in the foregoing pages. A clear emphasis on **present-day decision-making and inquiry skills** and a concern for higher order cognitive processes, values, and behaviors are just two examples of such longitudinal development.
4. State Statutes and National Patterns - The state laws and patterns of national offerings in civic education also show a change in emphasis over the last decade. For example, fewer courses are now required, a greater variety in civics electives now exists, and more local options are permitted in the 1970s than was the case in the 1960s. It is still true, however, that nearly all students are exposed to one or more courses in American history and government by their senior year in

high school. However, there is no clear national pattern in such offerings, regardless of the fact that American and world history and American government are the three most frequently offered courses in high schools. At the elementary level, the expanding-communities sequence through an interdisciplinary approach (mainly based on history and geography) still predominates. State statutes, however, do not show much basic change in goals for the last decade, except for the addition of "new" areas such as "free enterprise" and law, which may be indicative of the back to basics movement. However, the major conclusion about formal American government offerings is that this area, alone among traditional political science offerings (including ninth grade civics and twelfth grade problems), is a real growth area in the contemporary curriculum. The new social studies projects have also taken hold at the elementary and secondary levels and are now "allowed" by state regulations and laws, but these innovations have not experienced the growth at the secondary level that has occurred at the primary level--despite the high expectations of curriculum developers and publishers of new social studies materials.

5. Civic Education Teachers, Students, Methods and Practices - Variegated information has been presented, detailing typical patterns of civic instruction from the 1960s to the present. The traditional civics has been assailed (mainly by curriculum reformers) for its read, recite, and rote methods of instruction, as well as its dependence on recall of historical facts and legal provisions. We have also seen that political educators in the schools have little formal training in political science. During the 1960s and early 1970s, classroom environment and the school itself were examined and found wanting in their

demonstrable contributions to the production of democratic values and practices such as participation, decision-making, values clarification and controversy, and other elements of political realism. No coherent pattern or rationale for civic education in the schools, outside of the expanding-communities and increasing-levels-of-sophistication and abstraction sequences were evident in the curriculum. However, during the later 1970s, increasing evidence of the results of a ten-year reform effort in civic education became apparent, with evidence of a new restructuring of the curriculum, new teaching and learning practices, and more acceptable outcomes of political instruction. National and statewide assessment projects were relevant to both the causes and effects of this, quiet "revolution" which had "infiltrated" and "subverted" the traditional social studies format. At the moment we have a potpourri of teaching and learning strategies and course practices in the schools, each of which is providing impetus for changing the traditional inertia so characteristic of social studies for the last three generations. Our taxonomic approach has empirically demonstrated that inquiry skills, for example, are now firmly established, along with behavioral objectives for the social studies. However, only direct observation and a more critical evaluation of content and method in real classrooms would be able to determine if this is "phony" or counterfeit critical thinking, which gives lip service to the concept, yet provides little of the substance for genuine inquiry, the problems approach, controversial issues, and participatory skills.

6. Innovative Trends and the Future - Our detailed examination of innovative and experimental curricula in the 1970s brought forth several generalizations about the new social studies. Among these are that the movement is now firmly established, and certain areas are "growth stocks" in the curriculum. Among these are SRSS, American Political Behavior, and Fenton/Carnegie-Mellon at the secondary level and MACOS, Taba/California, West/Minnesota at the elementary level. As we have shown above in Chapter IV of this study, these new curricula are emphasizing higher order cognitive skills as well as providing increased attention to attitudinal and behavioral components of learning. Decision-making, critical thinking, and basic concepts or foundational ideas in the social studies/sciences are also keystones of these new curricula. Despite the fact that school adoption practices have not completely succumbed to the lures of the new social studies advocates, impressive usage rates indicate that these new courses and materials are increasingly used. In this same vein, we have also seen the new social studies impact on the more conventional curricula, which effect is hopefully more than cosmetic. Additionally, the future of civic education seems to hold out the prospect of the same pattern, but moreso; i.e., greater variety, innovation, and reform. New developments in law, policy-making, political behavior, participation, decision-making, and comparative political systems (including schools as a subsystem with basic political elements and features) are in the offing for at least the 1980s and 1990s. Even the back-to-basics movement is quite compatible with the teaching of American government, "responsible" citizenship, and legal education, so that this trend is not likely to be countermanding.

7. Syntheses of National Goals, Objectives and Content - Our syntheses of national, state, and local goals, laws, and regulations, textbooks, curriculum guides, methods texts, and new courses of study were presented in the three separate indices/taxonomies of civic education contained in Chapters III to V of this report. This method has proved to be a valid and reliable measure (at least for the panel of four co-authors to this report) of major content areas and processes in political education. As for their validity for a larger audience, as well as the reliability of other ratings or analysis, we cannot foretell these results. The outcome of a broader dissemination and critique of these seminal ideas can only be a product resulting from additional time and effort devoted to this task. Therefore our synthesis, as with these conclusions and the policy recommendations which follow, remain tentative and open for modification and revision as a result of a broader critique by "experts" in this field.

8. Most Valuable Goals and Indices of Contemporary Civic Education - The selections we have made of representative innovative curricula, goals, textbooks, methods books, and guides are only a sample of the thousands of such documents which exist. The representativeness of this sample may be questionable to some readers and may seem biased to other reviewers; however, we have made our choice of sources on the basis of which items were most widely in use, were representative of different geographical areas and levels of educational responsibility, and were readily available for analysis. (Not all documents requested from publishers, libraries, and other sources were received in time to complete the survey, though a reading of those recently received indicates that the major percentage distributions of civic content

and processes would not vary greatly from that presented in tabular form above.) The taxonomic approach to civic index development seems to be the most preferable method of analysis for such a survey. Perhaps it could be further improved by a third, fourth, and fifth set of sub-categories (or by three additional sets of taxonomies for 1966, 1976, and innovative curricula) in which more exact age levels, sector responsibilities, and/or cognitive-moral developmental patterns or stages of political socialization would be presented in summary/tabular form. For the moment, however, our research into these other three areas indicates that we are only now coming to a level of understanding and coherence (in, for example, cognitive-moral development in the social studies) that might make such a task fruitful. In the area of sector responsibilities and age levels/developmental stage theory, we are at a far more primitive level than that which is needed for a comprehensive national statement in these areas. Consequently, only descriptive indicators of these elements of the civic education indices have been used (where available) throughout this project.

9. Quantitative Data on Civics Courses, Research Findings, and Empirical Results - Much of this study has been involved in the collection, analysis, synthesis, and presentation of quantitative and qualitative information on political education during the 1960s and 1970s. We have presented the national assessment, IEA, and other findings (e.g., state assessment results) where appropriate for sounding the depths of outcomes in political education. When possible, we have also used other sources (e.g., from the Gallup Polls, political science and educational research findings, and CBS/New York Times poll results) in order to assess certain outputs of civic education. These surveys, which have

been both microcosmic (dealing with small, select samples of students, classes, and states) and macrocosmic (reporting regional, national, and crossnational test results), have helped us to take the measure of civic education from many perspectives, providing some answers questions such as where we have been, where we are, and where we are going in this field of study. We have found, for example, that the mid-1960s was a dismal period for reporting encouraging outputs in civics; however, by 1971 the IEA results showed the United States to be relatively high in terms of its cognitive test results in a crossnational field, if somewhat lower in behavioral/attitudinal measures of political participation, efficacy, and democratic attitudes such as women's rights. At the present time, this more positive trend is continuing, as the most recent national assessment results seem to indicate. But there is no gainsaying that we are yet to be out of the woods of civic apathy, ignorance, or cynicism. However, only future studies of this subject will be able to validate or qualify this more hopeful trend, since a few statistical swallows do not guarantee the arrival of a springtime renaissance in civic education.

10. Other Sector Responsibilities in Civic Education - Throughout this report we have described in passing the activities of business, labor, agricultural, church, public service organizations and other agencies such as the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government, which are engaged in civic education on an informal basis. At this point, let us summarize the principal outcomes stemming from a special case study of the educational impact of community organizations (which is presented in full in Appendix V). National background factors, and statistics on voluntary public and private community agencies working on

the local level, are presented in this case study. In addition, we have taken a closer look at two planning districts (one in Texas and the other in Virginia), to ascertain the educational influence of community agencies in two different settings. Memberships (some are duplications) in youth-serving agencies totalled nearly 40 million in 1969 (including Red Cross and Little League). The principal agencies are 4-H clubs (4 million), Boy/Girl Scouts (10 million), and YMCA/YWCA (8.4 million). Millions of church and synagogue-sponsored youth groups are not included in these totals. By way of background, forty-eight major national youth organizations interested in "citizenship" or community service are in existence in the United States. Adult education is also a service provided by community organizations to millions of persons, as is evidenced by the success of the historic Chautauqua movement. Professional groups also have their adult education programs, as do public-interest lobbyists.

Our comparative analysis of two planning districts in Texas and Virginia resulted in the following conclusions: (1) in both planning districts the role of informal educational agencies was significant; but in Virginia these agencies outnumbered the formal educational sources, whereas in Texas the reverse was true; (2) the functional areas of these public and private agencies which relate most directly were criminal justice, juvenile delinquency, and other social services. (3) As for the specific tasks of the informal educational agencies, the following informational/activity areas seem to be significant: citizen advocacy, citizenship education, crime, environment, business/employers, free enterprise, law, occupations, civil rights, social

problems, and taxes.

Other useful information on the subject of informal agencies and civic education was also uncovered in doing this study (Appendix V). For example, we also looked at the manner in which one state (Virginia) allocated its educational resources in 1974-75. This fairly typical pattern of state financial expenditures and sources of income indicated that local governments (31%), state government (30%), federal government (10%), and non-tax sources (29%) were the major areas contributing educational resources to the state. Other groups/agencies contributing to education (in addition to the principal areas of public schools, colleges, and universities--83% of all state educational expenditures) were also of consequence in 1974-75: business and industry - 6.0%; educational television - 0.2%; libraries - 1%; museums - 0.2%; state agencies - 1.0%; private and preparatory schools, colleges, and universities - 8.5%. Here we see that a small, but important portion of one state's expenditures (with dollar values of \$140 million) is attributed to economic organizations which have a significant interest in and contribution to make to civic education.

11. Dissemination of Findings - From the point of initiation of this report, the intention was to distribute this report to other "experts," key decision makers, sector representatives, and persons interested in the field. The comments received from these reviewers will be used for revision of the manuscript, for purposes of its publication in articles and/or book form, at which point further critiques are expected. Another review of the field at the end of a decade (1987) would help

the civic educator of the 1980s to assess just where this area of study has gone in the interim.

12. Future Index-Development - The results of critiques mentioned in item #11 above will provide useful data for further revision of the techniques employed in (and of both the substance and process of) index development. In future it may well be possible to re-analyze the data presented in this report (using the basic content analysis sheets) and to use data processing/computer analysis of summary sheets for purposes of statistical analysis. It would also be possible in future to obtain estimates of inter-reader reliability from content analysis results for a larger group of experts in citizen education. In other words index development in the future could become more broadly representative by empanelling a larger group of civic educators to conduct the task. In the future, it would also be profitable to account for cognitive-moral development and stages with age level ascriptions. Moreover, the whole informal area of civic education as well as the reality of civics in process could be examined through the production of special indices for the entire area of mass media, peer group, family, and extra school agencies and through direct observation of civics in practice in the classroom, the school, the peer group and the public/civic service group, for example. The national assessment project has had some success in this latter field so that some techniques for this analysis (however primitive) are now in existence. Research on mass media, peer groups, religious organizations, and the family is very sparse, as is that on other sectors such as labor unions or employers/business groups. Nevertheless, these sectors

do provide inputs into the citizen building/socialization process and need to be studied systematically as well as descriptively. These are just a few of the suggestions which come to mind for future index development. The list of other suggestions and new activities, such as improved document collection and analysis, will undoubtedly be lengthened after this base line document on civic education is more widely circulated.

Policy Recommendations

Several recommendations for policy action by the DHEW/USOE citizen education staff have been suggested in different sections of this report, especially in the conclusions presented immediately above. However, the major purpose of this report was not to produce a master plan for citizen education. In the course of this study we have reviewed other lists of national policy recommendations (e.g. Mehlinger, January 1976; Mehlinger, April 1976; Patrick, September 1975; Sallada, September 1976; Sallada, May 1976; Quigley, 1976; and Whiting, 1976). Although impressive, these lists of proposed activities seem to be either too abstract, too global, or even too self-serving or particularistic in some cases. Most such policy suggestions lack a clear focus in a philosophy based on the nature and purposes of man, society, and government and the place of civic education in that philosophy. The USOE citizen education staff has prepared several useful models for citizen education improvement such as conference and task force approaches and citizen participation projects. The primary aim of these activities, we hypothesize, is to bring (and to increase) national, state, and local attention to the area of citizen education.

These projects, at the moment, are in mid-passage with both an uncertain future and an unwritten past. With the publication of citizen education task force reports and the completion of the conference schedule at the regional, state, and local level it is expected that this phase of national policy development will be completed. However, what of other items on the political education agenda which are thereby left unfinished and unanswered? What, for example, is an appropriate plan for civic education (at the national, regional, state, and local levels) for the rest of the bicentennial or the remainder of the century?

With these observations and reservations in mind, let us here suggest only a few ideas for USOE policy directions which stem from the experience gained in the researching, preparation, and production of this report.

This short list of basic suggestions include the following:

- A. Since it is clear that a national curriculum per se in civic education would be both impractical and undesirable (or even unnecessary in the view of some), the USOE can continue its diffusion/dissemination/information exchange/conference format for this cycle. One modification in this format is suggested, however, and this is that the results of each conference (books of readings, conference evaluation reports, Delphi results, conference papers, etc.) should be published and more widely disseminated. Arrangements with the USGPO/Superintendent of Documents, commercial publishers, ERIC systems, etc. for such dissemination should be completed at once before these materials become dated or relegated to the "fugitive" document or "graveyard" list.

B. The USOE should sponsor key studies in each of the following areas in the form of reports on: (1) political socialization findings, national and cross-national; (2) the goals, objectives, models, rationales, and processes of civic education as they relate to the United States in a world setting in 1976 and the year 2000. (This report should also have the latest data on the nature of, and the techniques for, civic education in the United States in its conventional and innovative modes.) (3) the non-educational sector and citizen education (mass media, family, peer group, religion, etc.) in qualitative and quantitative terms; (4) cognitive-moral development and sequential stage theory (including developmental tasks and age level ascriptions) in civic education; (5) strategies and models for curriculum development, dissemination, and educational change based on the experiences of curriculum innovators, textbook authors, commercial publishers, et al.; (6) a national data source book for civic education including tables of contents of current textbooks, descriptions of, and materials from, curriculum projects, a selection of key curriculum guides, models/rationales for civic education, examples of civic education in other countries (Western and non-Western, developing and overdeveloped, democratic and authoritarian, subject, parochial, and participant, etc.), examples of innovative state and local civics projects, statements of relationships between history, political and social science and citizen education, and other representative documents for civic education today. (7) examples of national models for the establishment of overall goals and objectives, regional patterns, and both state and local objectives for civic education which are tied

into accountability and assessment schemes, citizen and professional review, and federal, state, and local resource allocation formats directly tied to the achievement of specific humanistic, content, affective, and behavioral objectives. (8) civic education in different settings and effective methods of instruction/learning for special education/handicapped, adult education, rural and inner city schools, different ability levels, political, class, and sex roles, and other key variables in the civic education equation. (9) plans for future development of civic education indices and alternative policy patterns for civic education at the national, regional, state, and local level. (This strategy would document and plan interagency and intergovernmental cooperative efforts in civic education for five to ten year periods, e.g. which federal agencies have a constituent interest in civic education and what is the nature, extent, and duration of this effort?) (10) new directions for civic education in key national policy areas, e.g. energy education, conservation education, war/peace/international education, consumer education, civil rights/pluralistic education, and the like.

- C. We also suggest that the USOE broadly disseminate this report for review, criticism, and revision and cooperate in distributing the findings to the media, to professional journals, through in-house publication and dissemination, and through cooperation in its commercial publication with a ten year copyright restriction prior to its entering the public domain.

D. We also recognize that neither the citizen education staff nor the USOE in Washington can produce policy changes in a vacuum. The educational decision making system requires the cooperation/involvement of USOE regional offices, state departments, local educational authorities, the NCSS and APSA, and other organizations which may not even exist yet, such as a National Association for Political Socialization and Education.

E. One concluding note is in order. As the nameless sage said, one ignorant (but hopefully educable) fool can raise more questions in a few minutes than a wise person can answer in a lifetime. Consequently these policy recommendations are meant to be suggestive points for discussion, rather than as policy commandments or a pre-determined plan for action. It is hoped that they are accepted in the spirit in which they are offered-- which is also how we feel about this report as a whole.

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APPENDIX I (1960s)

A Synthesis of 9th Grade Civics Textual Content (Rank order)

- I. Knowledge and understanding of the federal Constitution and the national government.
 - (A) Understanding the basic principles of American government
 - (B) Knowing the Declaration of Independence
 - (C) Knowing how we amend the federal Constitution
 - (D) Knowing how the Congress operates
 - (E) Knowing about the presidency and the bureaucracy
 - (F) Knowing how the courts operate and understanding one's personal liberties
 - (G) Knowing the party system; Democrats and Republicans; political parties and public opinion
- II. Citizenship: understanding one's rights, responsibilities, and the obligation of political participation.
 - (A) Understanding the definition of civics, citizenship, and self-government
 - (B) Understanding the obligations of citizenship: voting, paying taxes, clear thinking
 - (C) Understanding the rule of law--individual rights and freedoms
- III. Knowledge of personal and community needs and goals.
 - (A) Health, safety, security, leisure, recreation
 - (B) Vocational plans and work
 - (C) The family and other groups, e.g., churches
 - (D) Schools and education
 - (E) Community resources
- IV. Knowledge and understanding of government services, controls, and finances.
 - (A) Conservation and natural resources
 - (B) Transportation
 - (C) Communication
 - (D) Business, money and banking, and economic problems

A Synthesis of 9th Grade Civics Test Content (Cont.)

- (E) Production
- (F) Labor
- (G) Consumers
- (H) Agriculture
- (I) Taxes and debt
- (J) Welfare

V. Understanding state and local governments

- (A) Knowing about state constitutions
- (B) Knowing about the state executive, legislature, and courts
- (C) Understanding interstate cooperation and federalism
- (D) Knowing about the township, the city, and the county: understanding overlapping functions

VI. National, defense and international relations

- (A) Knowing foreign relations
- (B) Knowing national defense and the cold war
- (C) Analyzing international cooperation: foreign aid and the United Nations
- (D) Analysis of comparative political systems: democracy versus dictatorship

VII. Miscellaneous topics

- (A) The flag
- (B) Becoming a citizen
- (C) Conducting meetings

*Topics ranked by relative stress or emphasis. Topics I-V are about equally emphasized and VI and VII are less emphasized.

APPENDIX II (1960s)

A Synthesis of 12th Grade American Government Textual Content (Rank order)

National, State, and Local Government: Structural Institutions, Policy Formulation, and the Political Process.

- I. Government and the Economy: unofficial and official agencies in the political process; budgets, taxes, and expenditures; government and the promotion and/or regulation of business, commerce, agriculture, labor consumer, public utilities, agriculture, finance, and conservation; health, education, welfare, and other social welfare public projects for developing human resources; housing, crime, accidents, and government; transportation and urban problems.
- II. Political Processes, Organization, and Participation: suffrage, voting behavior, formation and measurement of public opinion, interest and pressure groups; political parties and the nomination and electoral systems; reapportionment; values, ethics and morality in government; and distribution of governmental powers.
- III. The Presidency and the Executive Branch: term, qualifications, succession, power and roles of the President; potentials and limits on policy formulation; the Cabinet and the executive office; the role of the administrative establishment and the bureaucrats in the interagencies policy process; independent administrative agencies and commissions and the civil service.
- IV. Congress: structure, functions, and powers of House and Senate; legislative procedures and problems; Congress and the policy process; the District of Columbia and the Territories; and how laws are made.
- V. Foreign Policy and National Defense: individuals and agencies (official and unofficial) responsible for formulating and implementing policy; treaties, executive orders, joint resolutions; alliances, international organizations, foreign aid, and international commitments; new role and power of the military-industrial complex, the United States, the USSR, and the world: National security; regional alliances; and neutralism.
- VI. State Government: state constitutions; legislative structure, functions, powers, procedure, process, and problems; gubernatorial term, qualifications, power, votes, and policy formulation; the executive office, administration, and bureaucracy; state judiciary jurisdiction, organization, procedure, and powers; state administrative agencies, finance, and other activities; and the problems of state government.
- VII. The federal judiciary, the law, and the political process; organization, jurisdiction, and procedure of the federal courts; judicial review; law enforcement and the citizen.

A Synthesis of 12th Grade American Government

- VIII. Foundations and Basic Concepts of American Government: historical and political background; colonial, continental, confederation, and constitutional periods; the constitution; federalism, separation of powers, representative and limited government; sources and essentials of democratic ideas and the democratic way of life.
- IX. Introduction to the study of government and political science: what makes a government; citizenship, the state and the nation; comparative political systems; power, authority, freedom, justice, etc.
- X. The Constitution: historical development, the Constitution and personal freedom, republicanism, etc.
- XI. Territories and the Old and New Federalism: concept of shared power; the changing nature of national, state, and local relationships; and intergovernmental relations.
- XII. Local Government: Problems of cities and metropolitan areas; county; city; township; village; special district, etc.; grass roots politics; suffrage; political behavior; party and other political organizations; local courts; finance; welfare, education, and public projects; problems of local government; urban renewal; community planning; the home, school, community, church, and recreation; public safety; and the problems of local government.
- XIII. Essentials of Effective, Democratic and Responsible Citizenship: obligations and requisites; how democracy works; voting; party membership; rationality; being informed; group action; participant, administrative, and leadership ability; critical thinking, comparative government; Communism, flag display, patriotism, loyalty, allegiance, civic courage and competence;
- XIV. Personal Rights and Liberties: developing concepts, Constitutional guarantees; the role of Congress, the Executive, and unofficial agencies.

*Topics ranked by relative stress--cognitive domain stressed in all categories; Topic I was the overwhelming favorite in terms of coverage. Topic II was not a close second, but Topic III was very close to the latter category; the other categories were not widely spaced in emphasis and the decreasing order serves to represent their emphasis. Understanding was emphasized in most topics except I, VI, XI, and XII where recall or remembering was emphasized and Topic V where analysis was emphasized.

APPENDIX III (1960s)

A Synthesis of 12th Grade Problems of Democracy Textual Content (Rank Order)

I. Understanding and analyzing certain major economic problems

- (A) Goals of the United States economic system (e.g., full employment, equality of opportunity and economic growth)
- (B) Raising and spending money (e.g., public finance, public debts, taxation, bureaucracy, etc.)
- (C) Big business, the market, the business cycle, monopoly and oligopoly, collective bargaining, labor-management, etc.)
- (D) Labor, e.g., the strike, unionism, collective bargaining, etc.
- (E) The economic system, e.g., capitalism, the market economy, economic growth and stability, inflation, the gross national product and productivity, money, credit and banking, etc.
- (F) Consumer problems
- (G) Agricultural problems
- (H) Transportation problems
- (I) Natural resources, conservation, population and other major problems (e.g., water and air pollution, automation, dams, technology, etc.)
- (J) Education, housing, accidents, social security, and veterans problems

II. Knowledge and understanding about, opinions regarding solutions, pursuing information about, and intelligent discussion of political problems

- (A) Public opinion and propaganda
- (B) Political parties
- (C) Elections
- (D) Pressure, interest, and lobbying groups
- (E) National, state, and local governmental problems (institutional, policy, and process)
 - (1) Legislative and executive problems
 - (2) Presidential leadership and the policy making process (including Congress and the courts)

A Synthesis of 12th Grade Problems of Democracy (Actual Content)

III. Knowledge about, favoring use of, and skill with using clear and critical thinking and problem solving in a democratic political system

- (A) The nature and method of problem solving (gathering and evaluating information and deciding upon solutions in areas of social conflict, change, and disagreement)
- (B) Crucial behavioral questions: What can you do? What do you think? What choices/steps should/do you follow? What questions do you ask yourself? What evaluation measures do you use? and What are the proper steps in your critical thinking about a social, political, or economic problem?
- (C) The relationship among choice making, values, and social friction
- (D) The influences on systematic and objective choice and decision making, e.g. prejudice.
- (E) Knowledge of the democratic method of making decisions, e.g., consultation, voting, etc.
- (F) Realization of the importance of power in decision making situations
- (G) Knowledge of decision making at the local and national level
- (H) Recognition of the need for orderly change--on the individual, social, and cultural levels

IV. Knowledge and understanding of, opinions with regard to solutions, pursuit of information, and intelligent discussion of governments and major social problems

- (A) Unemployment, inflation, and social security
- (B) Poverty and slums
- (C) Juvenile delinquency and crime
- (D) The urban crises (urbanization, metropolitan areas, overlapping governmental jurisdictions, etc.)
- (E) The physically and mentally handicapped, public health, education, leisure, and recreation

V. Knowledge and recall of information about the nation and world affairs--war and peace in the nuclear age

- (A) Making foreign policy
- (B) Conducting foreign relations, treaty making, neutralism, political independence movements, etc.
- (C) International public organizations: UN, Warsaw Pact, NATO, Common Market, etc.

A Synthesis of 12th Grade Problems of Democracy Textual Content (Cont.)

- (D) International trade and tariffs
- (E) Foreign aid
- (F) National defense: compulsory military training, arms control and disarmament, nuclear test ban, etc.
- (G) World leadership: the United States, Western Europe, the emerging nations, Communist worlds, and the future

VI. Knowledge and appreciation of the role of the citizen in a democracy

- (A) Democratic values, e.g., the nature of democracy, equality of opportunity, etc.
- (B) The relationship between the citizen and government
- (C) Civil rights and civil liberties
 - (1) Citizen freedoms and rights, e.g., freedom of speech, separation of church and state, minority rights, etc.
 - (2) Citizen duties, e.g., voting, respect for the law, etc.

VII. Knowledge and problem solving skills relating to problems of living and working together in a society

- (A) Personal problems
- (B) Family problems (marriage, the democratic home, etc.)
- (C) School problems
- (D) Job and vocational problems
- (E) Intergroup problems
- (F) Community problems

VIII. Miscellaneous topics

- (A) Recalling place locations on a political map of the world
- (B) Knowing the goals of national life, the democratic heritage, and democratic values
- (C) Practicing creative citizenship: in associations, groups, political life, and in citizenship situations; recognizing group responsibilities for citizenship in contemporary political life

A Synthesis of 12th Grade Problems of Democracy Textual Content (Cont.)

- (D) Knowledge and understanding of comparative political systems, e.g., totalitarianism, communism, etc.
- (E) Knowledge and understanding of the United States Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation and other public documents such as the UN charter

*Major stress on points of view and values at issue in contemporary American problems; sources of problems, and alternative solutions for solving problems; minor emphasis on probable consequences of different means of dealing with or solving problems. Topic I received overwhelming emphasis, Topics III, IV, and V were about equally emphasized. Understanding and analysis were particularly stressed in Topics II and IV and remembering in Topic V.

NOTE: An additional source for detailing the emphasis on remembering, understanding, and analysis was Handbook for Cooperative Social Studies Tests, (Princeton, N. J.: Educational Testing Service, 1965) pp. 18, 22, and 23.

Appendix IV

"A Core Curriculum for Civics?"

Question 18b. asked: "What is your personal conception of an ideal core curriculum for enhancing citizen education at the educational level with which you are most familiar?"

Source: National Citizenship Conference Questionnaire, Kansas City, Missouri, September, 1976.

The participants listed by coded number below did not respond to the question:

AJ10 AZ16 BE17 BG17 BK17 BL CD CG CT DG EA EC EG

NOTE: Of the fourteen nonresponses identified above, four were from Work Group 17, out of ten members of that group who submitted Questionnaires. The statistics are noteworthy, whether or not significant.

The participants listed below were undecided (total of eight):

AA3 Uncertain now

AI10 We are just now attempting to determine what set of core experiences are essential for graduation. I am not certain that courses or classes can comprehensively do the job. Through mutual cooperation and exploration, maybe we can come to some better idea of what is needed.

AQ14 I am not sure citizen ed. can be enhanced by a "curriculum" - Hidden curriculum may be more important

BS ? This would be a good question for a work group discussion - How can I begin to think about it here - cold?

CB I do not know

CF This is a question to be researched.

CQ Would want input from our district curriculum committee

EF core curriculum - not clear what it meant.

The participants listed below were opposed (total of five; see bottom of page):

AF5 There is no ideal core curriculum

AG5 A "core curriculum" is absurd. . . .

DB I oppose core curriculum for cit ed

ED No such ideal - oppose

The participants listed below were positive but nondefinitive (total of two):

BC17 Possible - depends on creativity of teacher!

EJ Definitely ~~not~~ self I

Addendum to "opposed":

CL I don't think there should be a core curriculum - has been tried at other times and has failed - need alternative; and local adaptation

Question 18b.. (cont.)

The participants listed below favored emphasis on self-development, both cognitive and affective:

- AL12 One which will give people a good self-concept so that they want to be involved, feeling that their ideas and participation is of value
- AN14 One that combines the cognitive and affective domains
- BH17 Basic skills (reading and communication). . . .
analytic thought and differentiation
- BM enlightened self perception encouraging care of self/others/
community and knowledge of skills and attitudes appropriate to
participation in social structures when desired and appropriate -
permeating all life of school
- BN Beginning of knowledge of awareness of self and your place in the
home/school/churches
- BR Helping children develop a positive sense of self - - an understand-
ing of the world around them
- CM . . . study of the structure and function of governments and the
human relations skills and understandings necessary for individuals
to work productively with each other. . . .
- CN Prepare teachers with a thorough understanding of their role
in citizen education.
- CV . . . show people intricacies and networks of Gov't; . . .
- CX . . . emphasis on personal counseling for disturbed students.
- CZ Improve the self-concept to provide motivation to want to
become a better citizen

The participants below favored emphasis on content (knowledge and concepts):

- AE5 9 grade social studies classes of 12 grade class required
(NOTE: the last word is illegible on the questionnaire.)
- AN14 One that . . . uses "ethics" as its base.
- AR14 That of the Institute for Political and Legal Education
(IPLE) of New Jersey which includes voter education, govern-
mental education, and law education - structure, process .
- AT14 It has been my view for more than thirty years that law
studies or law-related education or law as a humanity
could be used as an ideal core.
- AV15 world affairs
- BB17 Not my expertise but I hope to convey that America
envisions a place of power for every citizen and a just
share of our country.
- BD17 Analysis of concepts
Liberty
Pursuit of happiness
Freedom
- BF17 American studies, ethnic studies, consumer education
- BH17 moral or ethical ed
- BI17 Legal and civic concepts taught in public and private
schools and in adult groups.

Question 18b, (cont.)

- BO 1. A complete course on Citizenship Education rather than infusion of all curriculum at High School - Better job will be done!
2. Same course offered in Adult Education - Home can be taught more and this gives basic support to school.
- BQ Law in a changing society program
- BS - Polit. philosophy, moral decision-making, cultural values, change with applications in areas of knowl, skills, experiences in law, global, political, etc., etc.
- DC On the secondary level I believe course work in Govt., Politics, and Consumer Ed. followed by internship is ideal.

The participants below favored emphasis on process (skills and approaches):

- AB3 Recognition of all points of view in problems to be worked on.
- AG5 . . . One just begins - one fills voids with whatever skills one has. There is a demand for citizenship info. All we need do is answer it.
- AU14 The practices in the schools should be examined to see how they relate to what we say and then made consistent. All staff should, by example, demonstrate the goals with a single course to analysis and execute selected practices to extend the ideas into the "real world."
- AX16 Teacher guide packet emphasizing resource people, audio-filmstrip problems with open ended responses, use of educational t.v. for pre and post student self evaluation as part of package.
- AY16 All teachers and adm. of a school operating a "just school" in Kohlberg's terms -
- BD17 Analysis of concepts .
- BP See my books: Education for Citizen Action: Challenge for Secondary Schools, Berkeley, McCutchan, 1976
Skills in Citizen Action: An English-Social Studies Program for Secondary Schools, Citizen Participation Curriculum Project, 225 N. Mills St. Univ. Wis. Madison, 55706, March 1977
- BR opportunities to make choices/ use of dramatic play
- BS . . . moral decision-making, . . . skills, experiences in law, global, political, etc., etc.
- BT Process rather than content emphasis
- CA The curriculum must focus on active participation of students in improving their self concepts and practicing the processes of democracy.
- CE Teach individuals to be participants (not spectators) in the citizenship process.
- CK 1) Identify needs 2) Identify skills 3) Practice skills
- CN . . . 2. Design a curriculum with specifics and suggested procedures to demonstrate implementation of content in the context of daily living.

Question 18b. (cont.)

3. In design be aware of impact of media. Have a few experts review and critique informational adult programs.
- CR Citizenship decision making - instructional materials for grades 4-6 used in my school district
- CX . . . constant relating of current public affairs to theory and principles; frequent appearances of public persons in the school; substantial use of television; . . .
- CY Have student identify community problem and solve it. . . . Student should have some type skill so as to be useful and not just an observer during internship.
- DD Need for political education of staff, especially administrators - too many fail to recognize the political nature of the school. School provides the know-how to students while other institutions contribute to establishment of community value system
- DF Citizen education at the elementary school level ought to focus on helping students develop essential citizenship skills. Those are skills which are absolutely necessary for performing such enduring tasks of citizenship as making, judging, and influencing decisions. Individuals who possess such skills will be better equipped to manage the tasks of citizenship they confront in daily life than individuals who do not.

The participants below favored emphasis on action; that is, on active student participation in the affairs of citizenship, to include decision-making:

- AC5 Involving kids from elementary level on up in a decision-making, participatory, voluntary role. . . .
- AD5 K-12 program involving all student in the real world
- AH5 Personally involving citizens in the political process, either through political parties or nonpartisan citizens' groups. (This may not be practical but it is what I am familiar with.)
- A014 . . . Use of community as a learning laboratory get the social studies teachers and students out of the class room -
- AP14 Internship of secondary students with some citizen group, agency or governmental unit.
- AR14 . . . decision-making through involvement (simulated)
- CH Since C.E. is 20% cognitive and 80% affective - my notion of a core curriculum would involve participation K-12 in activities of the community. The "feeling of powerlessness" and lack of knowledge of how to change things items could be dealt with in this way.
- CI Experiential learning- adult and child - learning by doing
- CK . . . 4) Taking skills to local groups including family.
- CV Key is: Involvement - . . . encourage their criticism

Question 18b., (cont.)

- and feedback and "take it" non-defensively, particularly when presented with suggestions, etc.; make participation accessible and enjoyable.
- CW One which uses the immediate school community as the springboard for the create of an interactive society along the lines suggested by Ted Fenton
- CX My ideal is a humane school/community environment with appropriate student participation in curriculum making; genuine student government; community experiences for as many students as possible; encourage public service as a prerequisite for social studies teaching;
- CY Internships in community and governmental programs to familiarize students with the process. . . .
- DH Must be applicable to individuals in particular target groups and involve total community participation, i.e., youth, parents, teachers, juvenile and criminal justice professionals, agency and service organizations reps.

Many of the participants favored a combination of approaches, either explicitly or implicitly. Their code letters will be found under more than one category above. Two specific examples follow:

- AS14 Information and activities directed toward establishing relationship between good citizenship and personal well-being.
- CP Citizen education for a national community with a global perspective. We must emphasize the community of mankind and put competition in a better perspective. This emphasis must start at the earliest levels of schools.

The participants listed below favored a multidisciplinary approach:

- A014 A broad based social studies, interdisciplinary approach to include psychology, poli sci, history etc - with practising professional involvement. . . .
- BA16 (1) Excellent - High ((word illegible)) course for T.V. (jr. College, High School Seniors) on the multi disp. problems
- DA Interdisciplinary team (9th grade)
I English - Math - Science - Social Studies
I am on one
- EB integrated multi-disciplinary approach

Question 18b., (cont.)

The participants below favored integration of citizen education into all courses:

- AC5 Involving kids . . . in a decision-making, participatory, voluntary role. Should be part of every course.
- AK10 A program should be part of the curriculum not as a separate but core with all subjects.
- AW15 CE is part of all subjects in early K-12 years; this is better than "courses" such as required 12th grade civics etc
- CC I personally feel that the issue must be defined as have broad application with emphasis throughout the curriculum. It must not evolve into a particular course, except possible, as it might relate to a particular course as Reasoning which I feel is lacking in most curricula
- CX cannot conceptualize a single curriculum. . . .
- EE Integrating into whole curriculum K-12

Other participants commented variously, as follows:

- AM2 Should not be federal unless funded. Should come thru states to local with input from all 3 levels.
- CO Utilizing the present program and continue work with grade level leaders, and department chairpersons
- CU I am especially intrigued with the idea of developing the "core curriculum" idea in the area of citizen education. I believe we can expand the original concept of "core curriculum."
- DE Expose and train our volunteers and youth
- EE . . . Recommitment to citizen educ.

Appendix V

A SPECIAL CASE STUDY:*

The Civic Educational Impact of Community Organizations

The role of home, school, and mass media have often been investigated in the education and political socialization of both the child and the adult. One of the less often investigated agents in education, in general, and political socialization, in particular, is the community organization. At this point let us present a brief overview of types of community organizations having an educational impact on the community, followed by a synopsis of research in this area from a planning region in Texas in 1975, and a review of community organizations providing educational services within a planning district in Virginia in 1976.

Twenty-five years ago Harold Punke (1951:207-215) investigated the non-school uses of public schools across the nation, delving back to 1788. He found schools were used (broadly speaking) for religious, parochial, cultural, entertainment, commercial, and political uses, in addition to "the three R's." He then studied the school's moving into the community to establish ties with other institutions. One of his examples is from the area of vocational training:

In recent years there have been numerous instances of cooperation between schools and local industry on offering vocational training to youth. Such arrangements frequently enable youth during the last two years of high school to spend part of their time on a job under school supervision. . . . Where cooperation with industry exists a school need not use its funds for shop maintenance . . . A cooperative program makes it possible to integrate work and schooling and presupposes that youth will have some opportunity to appraise relationships among management, labor, and education in industrial democracy . . . (Punke, 1951:210).

National organizations for children and youth were more recently studied by Hanson and Carlson (1972):

Perhaps one of the basic reasons for the origin and growth of America's youth agencies is a national faith in the perfectability of man. Deeply imbedded in the American tradition is a firm belief in the power of the environment to

Source:*Study, conducted by Russell Farnen and Rosemary Travers in May, 1977.

mold people for good or evil. . . . So integral a part of modern American life are the youth organizations that they are usually taken for granted. In most homes, participation in their programs is considered a desirable, even essential, part of growing up.

The objectives of the various organizations are ones close to the heart of most parents: social, educational, vocational, health and character development; leadership training; inculcation of democratic ideals; development of a sense of responsibility; cleanliness of mind and body; fun and adventure; prevention of delinquency; and the like. (Hanson and Carlson, 1972:4-5).

Membership in the major traditional youth-serving agencies totaled over 20 million in 1969, with an additional 18.8 million membership claimed by the American Junior Red Cross and Little League. The membership statistics reported by several of the major youth agencies in 1971, were as follows:

American Youth Hostels	41,000
4-H Clubs	4,000,000
Boy Scouts of America	6,183,000
Camp Fire Girls	650,000
Girls Scouts	3,920,000
Girls Clubs	100,000
Boys' Clubs	875,000
YMCA	5,200,000
YMCA	2,200,000

Source: World Almanac, 1971

The countless millions in church- and synagogue-sponsored youth groups are not included in these totals.

Youth-serving agencies have several characteristics in common, namely:

. . . membership is usually voluntary on the part of the child. . . . The membership is open to all children regardless of race or religion, within the prescribed age and sex limitations.

The major organizations also tend to use similar methods of operation. They all function . . . through small groups which have adult sponsorship but which retain a high degree of self-direction. . . . base their programs on the interests and needs of youth. . . . Emphasis is placed on learning by doing. Although the goals are educational, in most cases the methods are recreational. (Hanson and Carlson, 1972:7-8).

Forty-eight national organizations for youth, all of which were interested in "character development," "citizenship education,"

"public health," or "community service" were identified (Hanson and Carlson, 1972:223-225). (One third of these are in existence today in planning district 6 in Virginia, i.e. the American Red Cross, Boy and Girl scouts, Boys' Clubs of America, Junior Achievement, Key Club, Little League, National Honor Society, The Salvation Army, the YMCA, the Youth for Christ, and Job Corps.)

Adult education may be defined as organized instruction usually conducted at a set time and place with a predetermined end result and is rarely a full-time pursuit. Courses providing occupational training were taken by 57.3 percent of participants with general education courses elected by 24.8 percent. Sponsors of these activities were 4-year colleges or universities, 2-year colleges or technical institutes. However, in 1972 community organizations sponsored 1,996,000 students in various studies and labor unions sponsored an additional 871,800 students (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, 1972). Two current examples of adult education in the area of vocational training are CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973) and WIN (Work Incentive) programs, both of which are the combined effort of federal and state government, public agencies, schools, and private industries to train the unemployed in skills which are in demand in local labor markets.

Education of adults is not limited and has not been limited to formal or vocational education in structured settings. The Chautauqua movement encouraged agricultural, political, cultural, and civic education of adults outside of school. Now public broadcasting on television carries many educational programs on a wide variety of subjects.

Fuller and Pearson (1969:324) noted that:

. . . the possibility and opportunity for a nationwide out-of-school educational system developed stimulated by sentiment for federal support (which resulted in) the passage of the Smith-Lever Act, which authorized cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics. . . . program objectives have now become widely varied to include marketing and distribution, as well as training in family economics, home management, consumer education, citizenship, health, and safety.

Universities offer extension courses, workshops, seminars,

conferences, forums, and other nonformal projects on a noncredit basis to individuals who are interested in updating their general knowledge. Another major contribution to adult education programs is the United States Armed Forces Institute. The Carnegie Corporation, W. K. Kellogg Foundation, and the Ford Foundation have nearly \$100 million for the field of adult education (Fuller and Pearson, 1969:327).

Professional groups, such as the American Bar Association and the American Medical Association, also sponsor continuing adult education:

State organizations have begun to offer programs for lawyers on a regional and national basis. In this way subjects of more than local or state interest may be considered. The Institute of Continuing Legal Education annually attracts more than 3,000 attorneys to its Advocacy Institute in Ann Arbor, Michigan. (Deighton, 1971, v. 5, p. 364).

A major activity of the American Medical Association is continuous and intensive education of the practicing physician. Through its medical education division and its departments of continuing medical education, of scientific assembly, and of drugs, the AMA develops, coordinates, and sends to physicians a great deal of current information.

The college's (American College of Physicians) monthly journal, Annals of Internal Medicine, contains high-quality articles, editorials, book reviews, and correspondence that keep internists who are Members of the college in the mainstream of medical science, practice, and political life (Deighton, 1971, v. 6. pp.221-222).

Various interest groups produce books to educate the public. Rising interest in conservation and environment education has increased the number of "textbooks" published for adults such as Nature Study for Conservation A Handbook for Environmental Education which was sponsored by the American Nature Study Society.

Andrew McFarland (1976:45) has studied public interest groups and the energy crisis. The public interest groups are League of Women Voters, Common Cause, Ralph Nader's Critical Mass, the Sierra Club, the Consumer Federation of America's Energy Policy Task Force, Consumer Union and Americans for Energy Independence. All are active nationally; five are lobbyist groups, and all seek to have an impact on the public and spend considerable time, effort, and resources in educating their audiences--usually

composed of college-educated, middle-class Americans.

Texas Planning Region IV is an area of 16 counties including the cities of Dallas and Fort Worth; the population at the time of the 1970 Census was 2.5 million people. In 1975 its human service delivery system was extensively studied. The agencies, public and private, were categorized into twelve functional areas: child care, criminal justice, educational, elderly, emergency, health housing, juvenile delinquency, manpower, voluntary, financial, and social services. A total of 585 agencies delivering educational services were identified. Further analysis revealed the agencies to be predominantly those connected with formal education: public and private schools, adult basic education centers connected with public schools, and several universities. There were nineteen Head Start Centers for preschool economically disadvantaged children. For community-based or non-formal educational programs, the survey identified seven public health departments, sixteen American Red Cross chapters, and three county Co-ops which provide specialized educational programs such as deaf education, speech therapy, and services for the trainable mentally retarded. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare also sponsors a center for several programs such as English as a Second Language, Remedial and Tutorial Services, and Equivalency Diploma Preparatory Programs. At the time of the survey the mean income for the region was \$7,664. Median years of educational attainment throughout the region was 11.15

We also decided that it would be useful to analyze the raw data of the Central Shenandoah Planning District Commission Human Resources Survey, collected in 1976 to see whether the same pattern emerged, namely if educational services were mainly concentrated in the area of formal education.

The Central Shenandoah Planning District is a land area of 3,439 square miles, the largest in area of Virginia's twenty-two planning districts. Bath and Highland counties are of the Appalachian Mountains and are rural, sparsely populated counties. The remaining three counties and the five cities are within the Valley region and are the more urbanized section of the

planning district. (See Figure 5) Staunton, the largest city, had an estimated population in 1974 of 22,600. Tayloe Murphy Institute, University of Virginia, estimates the population of the district to be 196,400 in 1974; a further estimate is that the population will reach 211,400 by 1980. Despite the cities, the district is predominantly rural in character. Family median income for the district as a whole is unavailable, but only Waynesboro and Staunton had family median incomes near Virginia's average of \$9,049 per annum (1970 Census). Bath and Highland counties had family median incomes of \$5,424 and \$5,542, respectively, which were far below the norm. The median school years for adults age 25 and over for the district as a whole is 10.7 years, a full year below the average for the state.

Planning District six is one of Virginia's twenty-two planning districts which were created by the Virginia Area Development Act of 1969. It comprises the counties of Augusta, Bath, Highland, Rockbridge, and Rockingham, and the independent cities of Buena Vista, Harrisonburg, Lexington, Staunton, and Waynesboro.

A count of public and private schools, colleges and universities in the District revealed the following:

public elementary schools	63
public intermediate or junior high schools	7
public high schools	21
private elementary schools	4
private high schools	4
	<hr/>
	99
colleges and universities	6
2-year colleges	2
combined elementary and high schools	2
private special education schools	2
seminary	1
	<hr/>
	13

Total (all institutions listed above): 112

(Schools of business, cosmetology, and practical nursing were not counted, but are estimated, to add five additional institutions.)

A tally of the Organizations responding to the survey (640 agencies were contacted and 534 responded for an 80% response rate) 220 organizations which report educational/informational activities, or more than twice the number of formal educational organizations. A breakdown, by categories reveal the following:

citizen advocacy	6
citizenship education	14
crime	6
educational	69
environmental	3
free enterprise education	10
law-related	7
occupational	22
racial	3
social problems	
family/aging/low income	9
health	55
mental health	14
taxpayers organizations	2
	<u>220</u>

This report is based only upon those agencies which responded, in whole or in part, to the survey and indicated a service which was educational. In all cases, the services of the agencies are self-defined. The questions in regard to services were open-ended. A change in services or a change in the respondent's viewpoint is not incorporated in this survey. The number of agencies which offer educational services would be even greater if all Ruritan Clubs were counted individually, for example, and if the response rate to the survey were higher. An additional improvement in the collection of data would be to have fewer open-ended questions and to ask respondents to check the range in which their yearly budgets fell rather than asking "what is your budget for this fiscal year?" No questions about education/information were asked directly; any mention of this came from the respondent. The agencies were arbitrarily assigned to categories; many would fit just as easily in another category. An additional improvement on the study would be to code the survey on IBM cards and to use a computer print-out for analysis which would ultimately save both time and effort.

The exact amounts of expenditures for educational purposes by the agencies reported in this study cannot be determined because the amount within each budget was not specified; a hospital with a budget of over \$9 million spends money on a wide variety of services and community health, education is but one of them. Many respondents were likewise very reluctant to impart any financial information whatsoever; even those agencies which fall under the Freedom of

Information Act had several excuses as to why their budgets could not be revealed. A breakdown of expenditures on education for the year 1975 as prepared by the Virginia Secretary of Education, indicated a figure of \$2,767,780,004, which does not include money spent by private civic groups, youth agencies, or lobbyists, or other groups. It is, in essence, the amount spent on formal education. Also the media have not been studied here and no attempt was made to include them in the survey. However they are an important source of local information on civic education.

Insofar as the Central Shenandoah Planning District is typical of many American communities which are non-metropolitan, it can be seen from this survey that nonformal educational sources outnumber the formal educational sources. No major age group, area, or interest group, it would seem, is without some special educational effort on its behalf.

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