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## ABSTRACT

Based on a 1993 survey of 1,351 high school students from across the United States, this report demonstrates that students in high school civics, government, and U.S. history classes display more "political tolerance" than the average citizen. The study also establishes that students in classes using all or part of the Center for Civic Education's "We the People..." curriculum are more tolerant than students following other curricula. The We the People... program fosters increased tolerance, the report states, because it promotes higher levels of self-confidence and the perception of fewer limits on students' own political freedom. The higher the level of participation in the "We the People..." stimulated congressional hearing competition, the greater the likelihood of students' opposition to limits on free assembly, due process rights, and freedom of speech, press, and religion. (Contains 24 references.) (LH)

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SECONDARY EDUCATION AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES:  
EXAMINING THE EFFECTS ON POLITICAL TOLERANCE OF THE  
*WE THE PEOPLE...* CURRICULUM

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## **Secondary Education and Political Attitudes: Examining the Effects on Political Tolerance of the *We the People...* Curriculum**

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### **Executive Summary**

During Spring of 1993 a study of the effects of the Center for Civic Education's *We the People...* program on students' civic attitudes was conducted. The study focused on the concept of "political tolerance", a concept which encompasses many of the beliefs, values and attitudes that are essential to a functioning democracy. For example, while majority rule is a basic principle of democracy, without attention to the rights of those in the minority it can degenerate into tyranny. "Political tolerance" refers to citizens' respect for the political rights and civil liberties of all people in the society including those whose ideas they may find distasteful or abhorrent.

The study was designed to determine the degree to which civics curricula in general, and the *We the People...* program in particular, affect students' political attitudes. The report was based on analysis of survey responses of 1,351 high school students from across the United States. Among the most important findings were:

- Overall, students in high school civics, government and American history classes display more "political tolerance" than the average American.
- Students in classes using all or part of the *We the People...* curriculum are more tolerant than students following other curricula.
- The *We the People...* program fosters increased tolerance because it promotes higher levels of self-confidence and the perception of fewer limits on students' own political freedom.
- Among *We the People...* students, those involved in the simulated congressional hearing competitions, demonstrate the highest levels of tolerance.

The study demonstrates that the higher the level of participation in the *We the People...* simulated congressional hearing competition, the greater the likelihood of students' opposition to limits on free assembly, due process rights, and freedom of speech, press, and religion. Regarding these advantages of participating in the simulated hearings, the study concludes that it is not the increased time spent in preparing for the competition but rather what is done with that time in preparation for the hearings that impacts *We the People...* students' higher levels of tolerance.

**SECONDARY EDUCATION AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES:  
EXAMINING THE EFFECTS ON POLITICAL TOLERANCE OF THE *WE THE  
PEOPLE...* CURRICULUM<sup>1</sup>**

Richard A. Brody

*Democracy* as a system of government, as a mode of peaceful conflict resolution, and as an abstract ideal which motivates people to participate in and, if necessary, to make personal sacrifices for a larger good, depends on the political beliefs, values and attitudes of ordinary people. The concept "political tolerance" encompasses many of the beliefs, values and attitudes that are essential to a functioning democracy. Majority rule, for example, is at the heart of democracy but without attention to and concern for rights of individuals holding minority opinions majority rule can degenerate into tyranny. Respect for the political rights and civil liberties of minorities is one facet of "tolerance." "Tolerance" also includes beliefs

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1. Earlier versions of this report were presented at the conference on "Basic Values of Constitutional Democracy" sponsored by the Center for Civic Education and the Federal Center for Political Education, Federal Republic of Germany. Akademie des Bayerischen Bauernverbandes, Heersching/Ammensee, Federal Republic of Germany, October 3-8, 1993 and at the 1994 Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, San Diego, California, March 24, 1994.

Thanks are due to Dr. Elaine Craig, Director of Evaluation and Testing, Center for Civic Education [CCE], for making this study possible; to Charles Quigley, Duane Smith and Margaret Branson of CCE for their helpful comments; to Professors Herbert McClosky, Henry Brady, James Gibson, Paul Sniderman and Jack Dennis for their many courtesies; and to Ms. Virginia Chanley for permission to cite her unpublished work.

about the legal barriers that protect individuals from arbitrary actions by public officials and support for due-process rights.

Since the 1950's social scientists have assessed individuals' levels of tolerance by determining their willingness to accord freedom of speech, rights of assembly, and due-process rights to individuals and groups whose politics or overt racism is at odds with mainstream American politics (for example, members of the American Nazi Party, the Communist Party, or the Ku Klux Klan) or individuals considered deviant (for example, atheists and homosexuals). Happily, there has been a trend towards greater tolerance in the mass public.<sup>2</sup> Sniderman and his colleagues find an example of this trend in the fact that from 1954 to 1973 the fraction of the American public willing to accord employment rights to an "admitted communist" increased from twenty-five percent to fifty-seven percent. (Sniderman, *et al.*, 1991, p.121).

A likely source of the growth in tolerance is Americans' increase in educational attainment<sup>3</sup>. Tolerance has been found to be promoted by experiences that expose the

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2. Sullivan and his colleagues (Sullivan, Pierson & Marcus, 1985) argue that the "trend" in tolerance is a product of the decline in the fear of left-wing groups and not an increase in tolerance as such. There is a fundamental methodological debate in the research literature on tolerance which affects judgments about levels and changes in levels of tolerance in American society. Our data will not permit us to directly address this debate but we take comfort in Gibson's finding that, *irrespective of how it is measured*, tolerance is associated with adherence to general norms of democracy, "procedural" norms of democracy, the individual's open-mindedness, and level of education (1992a, p.352).
  3. Langton and Jennings (1968) find that education, per se, has a spurious relationship with tolerance. But more recent research finds effects of education with other tolerance promoting factors controlled; see, for examples, Gibson (1992a) and Niemi and Junn (1993). The conflicting findings in studies of the linkage between amount of schooling and tolerance alerts to the need for care in seeking to model the tolerance promoting

individual to the democratic norms of American society; for example, "elites" with experience in government are more tolerant than other Americans (McClosky and Brill, 1983). Tolerance enhancing experiences are found in some occupations -- for example, in positions of community leadership -- and in positions that reward a willingness to cooperate with people with whom one disagrees. But for most Americans tolerance is a consequence of education. Schooling exposes the student to the norms of the political culture; in the United States political tolerance is the norm even if it is often observed in the breach.

Certain situations -- those close to home and very threatening -- may set limits on political tolerance (Chanley, 1994) but tolerance and intolerance appear to be attitudes that are applied across a fairly broad ideological spectrum. Sniderman and his colleagues report that "the person notable for tolerance of a group on the left tends also to be notable for tolerance of a group on the right ... for the person loosely attached to the value of tolerance [i.e., the *intolerant* person] it can suffice that a group is out of the ordinary or merely unfamiliar to excite an intolerant response" (Sniderman, *et al.*, 1991, 134-135). A racist is likely to be intolerant of an unfamiliar group preaching race hatred.

In their study of the sources of political tolerance among preadults, Owen and Dennis examine separately the structure of tolerance accorded communists and racists. Their results show, in accord with Sniderman, that despite some difference in the sources of tolerance for groups at opposite ends of the spectrum, tolerant attitudes show a basic similarity irrespective of whether the target group is on the right or left (Owen and Dennis, 1987, Table II).

Gibson observes that "... two primary sources of constraints on liberty [are] external

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aspects of the classroom experience.

censorship [and] interpersonal pressures toward conformity" (1992b, p.341). The individual who perceives that she or he is free to express unpopular opinions is more likely to grant freedom to others; education, socialization, and direct experience give individuals opportunities to learn that they can express themselves without cost; in other words, tolerance begets tolerance.

Kuklinski and his colleagues find widespread support for the *general principle* of tolerance but they also find that emotional responses such as fear and loathing condition its application to specific individuals and groups (Kuklinski, *et al.*, 1991, p.14). They refer to the gap between support for the general principle and the failure to tolerate a particular group as "slippage." Slippage for values, like freedom of speech, press and assembly is greatest for generally disliked and threatening groups like the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan.

For Sniderman the hallmark of tolerance is the consistency of its application. "The fundamental question is whether ordinary citizens are capable of subscribing to tolerance -- indeed to democratic values generally ... the test is ... the relative consistency with which they protect and honor the value of tolerance" (Sniderman, *et al.*, 1991, p. 136). Sniderman and his colleagues find that "substantial numbers" of Americans broadly apply their commitment to tolerance. The apparent inconsistency between Kuklinski's and Sniderman's findings may be resolved if "slippage" is itself related to intolerance. If "slippage" is lower for Americans with a high level of tolerance than for those Americans with a high level of *intolerance* the difference between Sniderman and Kuklinski is reduced to a matter of degree. The association between tolerance and education could be involved in asymmetric slippage

since the better educated are more likely to understand the connection between principle and its application to public policy (Sniderman, Brody & Kuklinski, 1984).

"Slippage" may also be a consequence of the difficulties inherent in the value of tolerance. McClosky and Brill observe that "... honoring other people's claims to freedom imposes inordinate demands on the human conscience. One is asked not only to tolerate but to protect the rights of others to express opinions or to engage in conduct one may regard as distasteful, dangerous, or otherwise egregious." (1983, p.5) The more diverse the society, the more likely it is that citizens will be called upon to tolerate diverse opinions and practices. Without question diversity makes democracy difficult but diversity without tolerance makes democracy impossible. McClosky and Brill make the point that "the impulse to strike down a threatening enemy seems to require little learning or knowledge." More information and greater sophistication are needed to grasp the difficult philosophical principles that underlie the defense of tolerance (1983, p. 15).

Formal schooling is a likely source of this information and sophistication but it is not the only source. Owen and Dennis's studies indicate that political socialization in the family can also affect tolerance: They find that "in families where children are encouraged to discuss politics and to question others' opinions, and where their viewpoints are respected by their parents, preadults tend to become more tolerant" (1987, pp. 558-559).

Information and sophistication about the benefits of according civil rights to those we fear and despise can and should be products of civic education. Sullivan, Avery, Thalhammer, Johnstone, and Bird (nd, p.11) report that "...civics curricula do not emphasize issues such as civil liberties or the procedural application of democratic values...."



However, studies of the curriculum they developed and research carried out by Goldensen (1978) and Niemi and Junn (1993) show that civic education can promote tolerance.

Additionally, the other attributes that Gibson (1991a) and others have found to be associated with tolerance of diversity – viz., internalization of the general and procedural norms of democracy, and open-mindedness – should also result from properly designed programs of civic education. It seems reasonable to expect that a curriculum that encourages discussion, the appreciation of others' points of view, and which treats the student's own viewpoints with respect is likely to promote tolerance in much the same way Owen and Dennis have found that families foster tolerance. It is to an investigation of this expectation that we now turn.

### **Civic Education and Political Tolerance**

Previous studies of the sources of tolerance lead us to expect that high-school civics curricula, *inter alia*, will affect students' attitudes toward politics and government and increase the student's sense of political effectiveness. They are expected to promote civic dispositions associated with political tolerance; among these are acceptance of the diversity of opinion and loyalty to the nation's fundamental values and principles – such as, freedom of speech, religion, assembly, and a commitment to due-process of law.

The research described here is designed to determine the degree to which civics curricula, in general, and the Center for Civic Education's (CCE) *We the People...* program, in particular, affect students' political attitudes. The report is based on analyses of the survey responses of 1351 high school students from across the United States. The survey data were obtained by recruiting teachers randomly selected from those using the *We the People ...* curriculum and from a pool of high school social studies teachers using other

curriculum. Teacher selection procedures are detailed in Appendix A. Teachers who agreed to participate in the study gave their students our questionnaire; 1351 completed questionnaires comprise the data base for this study. About two-thirds (63.7%) of these were completed by students enrolled in courses using some or all of the *We the People...* curriculum; the other third (36.3%) were completed by students taking other high school courses in American History or American Government.

In addition to permitting comparisons between students using the *We the People...* curriculum and those following other curricula, many of our measures of political attitudes and beliefs were chosen to facilitate comparison between the high school students in our study, samples of voting-age Americans in the "mass public," and selected groups of American "elites."

The survey data will be used to answer three general questions: [1] Does civics education promote democratic values? The answer to this question will be drawn from comparisons between the responses of high school students in our sample and responses of the American mass public. [2] Is the *We the People...* curriculum more effective than other curricula in teaching democratic values? This question will be answered in the process of answering the first question. [3] If the *We the People...* curriculum is more effective than other curricula, why is this the case? We will begin with a description of the approach to civic education represented by the *We the People...* curriculum.

### *Program Description, Goals, etc.*

The *We the People... The Citizen and the Constitution* program was designed to foster

civic competence and civic responsibility through the development of an understanding of the history, principles, and values of the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights and an understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizens in American constitutional democracy. The program is funded by the U.S. Department of Education by an act of Congress and is administered by the Los Angeles-based Center for Civic Education. The program offers limited numbers of free sets of curricular materials in every congressional district in the country. More than 16 million students at the elementary, middle, and high school levels have participated in the program during the past six years. The program provides instructional materials at three levels: upper elementary, middle, and high school.

The materials at each level include a student text with an accompanying teacher's guide, a test on the history and principles of the constitution, and a culminating activity in which students testify at simulated congressional hearings in which they apply the principles and concepts they have learned to historical and contemporary issues.

Since 1991 the high school level classes have used the textbook, *With Liberty and Justice for All*, written in commemoration of the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights, which focuses on the philosophical and historical foundations of our Bill of Rights and its contemporary relevance. The present study focuses on the effects of using *With Liberty and Justice for All* at the high school level. The preface to this text notes that it "is not like most history books which focus upon the story of the people and events of the past. This book is a history of ideas that have influenced the development of our Bill of Rights and its application to the events of today." (Center for Civic Education, 1991, p.1)

In addition to its focus on intellectually challenging material, the text also incorporates

instructional strategies which promote critical thinking, cooperation, and participation. The program shifts the emphasis away from the teacher as "lecturer" toward the role of teacher as facilitator of activities such as group discussions during which students are encouraged to give their opinions about philosophical, historical, and contemporary issues; small group activities which encourage cooperative learning and participation; and presentations, essays, and a variety of critical thinking exercises which ask students to evaluate controversial constitutional issues and take and defend positions on those issues.

Upon completion of the curriculum, teachers are encouraged to involve their students in a simulated congressional hearing. For this activity, teachers divide their classes into groups of students who work cooperatively to prepare and present statements and answer questions on constitutional topics before a panel of community representatives acting as congressional committee members. The hearing questions are designed to assess students' knowledge of significant persons, events, concepts, principles, values, and issues related to the Constitution.

Studies conducted by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) have confirmed the effectiveness of the *We the People...* program in increasing students' knowledge and understanding of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. (Educational Testing Service, 1988 and 1991) A recent study of the effects of teaching the *With Liberty and Justice for All* text concluded that "students participating in the *We the People...* program gained knowledge and understanding of the Bill of Rights that is superior to students in government and civics classes using traditional textbooks." (Leming, 1993)

The program developers and others familiar with the program believe that the

program has effects that go well beyond enhancing students' knowledge of the history and principles of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. This belief is particularly true for students who participate in the competition hearings. An observation written by a lawyer who served as a judge at the national finals indicates the type of effects believed to be associated with such participation:

"By encouraging active participation and self-expression by each student, the competition fosters self-confidence, teamwork, tolerance of differing opinions, and self-esteem. By requiring students to respond to questions, and by judging their performance solely on the basis of substantive criteria, the competition develops critical analytical skills. And by asking students to apply the historical lessons to contemporary issues, the competition imparts a deep-seated appreciation of the values inherent in the Constitution and Bill of Rights" (Jackson, 1992, p.75).

It remains for us to examine whether students who have been in classes using the *We the People...* curriculum absorb the principles embedded in the Bill of Rights and apply these principles in considering the civil liberties of individuals and groups.

### ***Does Civics Education Promote Democratic Values?***

Our measures of political tolerance are drawn from McClosky and Brill (1983).

Thirty-five of their items were used to build three indices<sup>4</sup>: [1] opposition to freedom of assembly, [2] restrictions on due-process of law, and [3] restrictions on freedom of speech and the press.<sup>5</sup> Data from our survey permit us to compare the responses of preadults with

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4. These indices are constructed simply by adding up the number of "intolerant" responses.
  5. The text of these items and the distribution of responses to them are found in Appendix B, Tables B-1, B-2, and B-3. In addition to response distributions for

the adult samples studied by McClosky and Brill.

On nine of the ten measures of support for "freedom of assembly" student respondents are less likely to be restrictive than are adult Americans. The single exception involves permitting "Protestant groups" to hold a revival meeting in the "civic" auditorium (see below, page B-3). Indeed, the students compare favorably with McClosky's sample of "community leaders" on most of the "freedom of assembly" questions.

The findings on restrictions of "due-process" rights are less straightforward: On four of the eight measures, students are *more* likely than the public at large to express a willingness to restrict the rights of an accused criminal or to cut legal corners when it comes to violent criminals or the leaders of organized crime. On the other hand, students are more supportive of due-process rights that involve freedom of expression or assembly.

On thirteen of the seventeen items bearing on "freedom of speech," "freedom of the press," and the "right to advocate radical or unorthodox ideas" students are more likely than Americans in the "mass sample" to choose the civil libertarian option. The four exceptions show students more likely than other Americans to follow the dictates of a referendum that would close down a newspaper preaching race hatred (see below, page B-16); restrict the freedom of worship of religious cults (see below, page B-21); take away the license of a television station that recommends military action against demonstrators (see below, page B-24); and to ban scientific research that might show women or minorities in a bad light (see

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samples of the mass public, McClosky and Brill (1983, Appendix A) provide us with information on the responses of various groups of "elites" to these items. The tables in Appendix B report comparisons between students following the *We the People...* curriculum, students following other curricula, and the groups surveyed by McClosky.

below, page B-31).

Overall, on twenty-six of the thirty-five items drawn from McClosky and Brill, students in high school civics, government, and American history classes are more "tolerant" than the average American. Whether this indicates a generational change in attitudes that will persist or is merely a reflection of the recency of the students' exposure to statements of democratic norms, beliefs, and attitudes is a question we cannot answer with our data.

### **The Effectiveness of the *We the People*.... Curriculum in Teaching Tolerance**

How do students in classes using the *We the People*... curriculum compare with other students on measures of political tolerance? Table 1 presents comparisons of the average scores, on indices constructed from McClosky and Brill's items, measuring support for the three components of tolerance -- freedom of assembly, due process of law, and freedom of speech and press. The differences between the two groups of students on the three measures are in the expected direction and are by conventional criteria statistically significant. Students in classes using all or part of the *We the People*... curriculum are more tolerant than students following other curricula. The question remaining is why is this the case?

**Table 1: Effects of CCE Program Participation on Measures of Political Tolerance.**

Scale	Mean for Students in CCE Program	Mean for Students not in CCE Program	$\Delta_{\mu}$	t-test <sup>a</sup>
Opposition to Freedom of Assembly <sup>b</sup>	3.37	4.08	.71	5.38
Restrictions on Due Process of Law <sup>c</sup>	2.24	2.56	.32	4.20
Restrictions on Freedom of Speech, etc. <sup>d</sup>	4.97	5.72	.75	6.85

- a. Minimum degrees of freedom  $df=1,300$ ; t-ratios for differences in means ( $\Delta_{\mu}$ )  $t \geq 3.291$  have an associated one-tailed probability of  $p_t \leq .0005$ .
- b. Scale ranges from 0-10; the items comprising this scale are found in Appendix B, Table B-1, lower scores indicate less opposition.
- c. Scale ranges from 0-8; the items comprising this scale are found in Appendix B, Table B-2, lower scores indicate less restriction.
- d. Scale ranges from 0-17; the items comprising this scale are found in Appendix B, Table B-3, lower scores indicate less restriction.



### *Sources of the Differences in Tolerance Between Students in the Program and Other Students.*

Differences in the political values, beliefs, and attitudes of the two groups of high school students could stem either from who they are or what they are taught. We will begin with "who" the students are, i.e., with a comparison of background factors that could affect the students' level of tolerance.

*Background Factors:* If students in classes using the *We the People...* curriculum are more cognitively able than the other students, their higher levels of tolerance might reflect this capacity and not what or how they were taught (Avery, *et al.*, 1992). However, this is not the case: Gaging cognitive ability by teachers' assessments of the reading levels of their students, we find those in the classes using the *We the People...* curriculum more likely to be judged as reading *below* grade level than students in classes using other curricula.<sup>6</sup> Two other background factors -- age and political cynicism -- could be relevant. We are led to include age among the background factors by two considerations: Jones (1980) and Owen and Dennis (1987) find that older preadults are more tolerant than younger preadults; students in courses using the *We the People...* curriculum are on average nearly six weeks older than students in the other group. In order to clarify the relationship of participation in the *We the People...* program to political tolerance, it is necessary to remove any confounding influence of age.<sup>7</sup> Political "cynicism" is related to political *intolerance*. Sniderman (1975, p.188) identifies a link between low self-esteem and self-confidence on the one hand and political cynicism on the other. Sniderman implies a link between cynicism and intolerance via low self-esteem's undermining of social tolerance and political restraint (1975, p. 189). Since students studying the *We the People...* curriculum are a bit more cynical than students following other curricula,<sup>8</sup> in order to get accurate estimates of the

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6. On a scale ranging from 1 "far above grade level" to 5 "far below grade level" the average rating of students in the program is 2.83 and average for students not in the program is 2.49; this third of a scale point difference is significant by standard statistical criteria.
  7. The difference in the average age of the two groups of students is 0.113 years (5.9 weeks). The t-ratio for this difference is  $t=1.86$  ( $p_t \leq .05$ ).
  8. On a scale ranging from 0 'low cynicism' to 3 'high cynicism' the average cynicism score of students studying the *We the People...* curriculum is 1.92; the average for the other group of students is 1.79. The difference in these averages is 0.14; the t-

effects of the *We the People...* curriculum on political tolerance, we will control for political cynicism in our multivariate models.

*Political Involvement and Effectiveness:* We expect that exposure to the materials and experiences that comprise the *We the People...* curriculum will increase the student's involvement with and interest in American politics and government. We also expect that these students will feel more politically effective. Table 2 indicates that both of these hypotheses are well supported -- students in the *We the People...* program are more involved

**Table 2: Effects of CCE Program Participation on Selected Political Values.**

Scale	Mean for Students in CCE Program	Mean for Students Not in CCE Program	$\Delta_{\mu}$	t-test <sup>a</sup>
Internal Political Efficacy <sup>b</sup>	3.53	2.97	.56	6.32
Interest in Politics <sup>c</sup>	14.59	13.44	1.15	8.51
Perceived Government Limit on Political Freedom <sup>d</sup>	1.21	1.49	.28	4.14
Behavioral Self-Censorship <sup>e</sup>	1.58	1.80	.22	3.08

a. Minimum degrees of freedom  $df=1,300$ ; t-ratios for differences in means ( $\Delta_{\mu}$ )  $t \geq 3.291$  have an associated one-tailed probability of  $p_i \leq .0005$ ; t-ratios  $3.291 \geq t \geq 2.576$  have an associated one-tailed probability of  $.0005 \leq p_i \leq .005$ .

b. Scale ranges from 0-6 low efficacy to high.

c. Scale ranges from 0-27 low interest in politics to high.

d. Scale ranges from 0-5 fewer restrictions on political freedom to more.

e. Scale ranges from 0-6 lower conformity to higher.

with, interested in American politics and government,<sup>9</sup> and are more likely to feel

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ratio of the difference is  $t=2.36$  ( $p_i \leq .05$ ). The items comprising this scale are drawn from the National Election Study and are the "industry standard" for assessing "trust in government" and other aspects of political cynicism.

politically effective than are students following other curricula.<sup>10</sup>

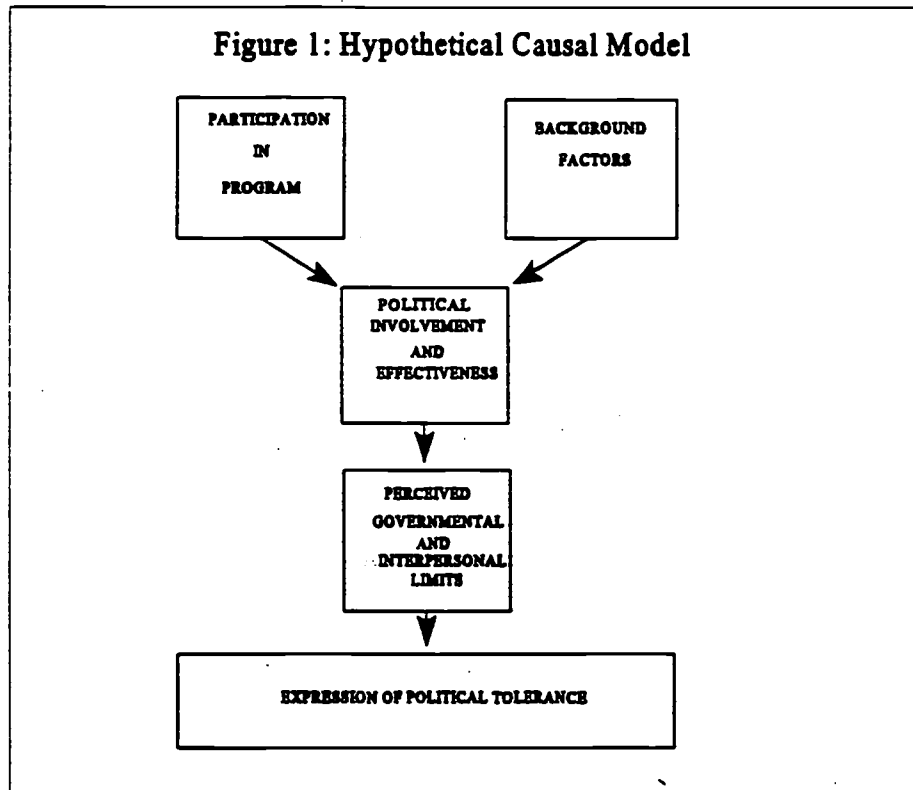
*Perceived Governmental and Interpersonal Limits:* Gibson (1992b) argues that intolerance stems in part from the perception that the government is likely to restrict one's right to protest and from the individual's unwillingness to express unpopular political opinions. In other words, he finds that both repression and conformity lead to intolerance. To test whether the differences in tolerance in the two groups of students stem from these perceptions we have used Gibson's measures.<sup>11</sup>

Table 2 indicates that students working with the *We the People...* curriculum are less likely to expect the government to impose restrictions than are students in other programs. Students studying the *We the People...* curriculum are on average about a fifth of a scale point less conforming than are students in other civics programs.

The fact that participation in the program is associated with many factors which are in

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9. A wide variety of behaviors are collated in the twenty-eight point "interest in politics" scale (see: Appendix C, Table C-1 for the text of the eight items comprising the scale and for the distribution of responses to these items). Students in the program have an average level of political interest that is 1.15 points higher than the average for students not in the program. This difference has a statistically significant t-ratio [ $t = 8.51$ ].
  10. Political efficacy is measured by six survey items that form a seven-point scale (see: Appendix A, Table C-2). The average student in the *We the People...* program is more than half a scale point (.56) more efficacious than the average student not in the program.
  11. Perceptions of governmental repression of the freedom to actively criticize its policies is measured by five of Gibson's items (see: Appendix C, Table C-3). Behavioral self-censorship is indexed by six of Gibson's items (see: Appendix C, Table C-4). On all six of these items students are much less likely to give the conformist response than is the mass public.

turn associated with tolerance suggests the need for multivariate models to estimate the impact of the program, *per se*. The hypothesized causal links that comprise the model are depicted in Figure 1. This model suggests the factors that we would expect to affect student's attitudes of tolerance.



The regression estimates reported in Tables 3, 4, and 5 confirm the expectation that participation in the program affects a student's political tolerance. Consider Table 3: Students in the program -- controlling for the fact that they are slightly older and a bit more cynical -- are more likely than students not in the program to grant due process rights to anti-democratic groups, to criminals caught red handed, and/or to demonstrators who may be inclined toward violence. The *We the People...* program also affects the expression of

tolerance via its effects on the students' greater sense of self-confidence (Owen and Dennis, 1987) and via their being more likely to perceive that they are free to dissent when they think government policy wrong (Gibson, 1992b). The program has an effect on this manifestation of tolerance with all the other specified effects controlled.

**Table 3: Sources of Restrictions on the Granting of Due-Process Rights.**

**Dependent Variable: Restrictions of Due Process**

Independent Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Statistic
one	2.24832	0.78828	2.85217
efficacy	-9.83375e-02	3.54841e-02	-2.77131*
interest	-5.05100e-03	9.97271e-03	-0.50648
age	3.56309e-03	4.50608e-02	7.90728e-02
govlimit	0.14649	4.38624e-02	3.33974*
selfcen	6.75440e-02	3.11842e-02	2.16597*
cynic	0.15258	4.80022e-02	3.17854*
program	-0.22071	0.10115	-2.18202*

Number of Observations	1198
R-squared	.056
Corrected R-squared	.051
Sum of Squared Residuals	3.20774e+03
Standard Error of the Regression	1.64182
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.87441
Mean of Dependent Variable	2.36144

\* Starred t-coefficients are statistically significant

The causal structuring of restrictions on freedom of assembly (Table 4) and on freedom of speech and the press (Table 5) differ in some details but are essentially similar to the structure of tolerance of due-process rights. Students in the *We the People...* program are more likely to grant the right of assembly to groups that are "out of the ordinary" and to be expansive -- rather than restrictive -- in their granting First Amendment rights because of their higher levels of political self-confidence and because they perceive fewer limits on their

own political freedom.

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Table 4: Sources of Restrictions on Freedom of Assembly  
Dependent Variable: Opposition to Freedom of Assembly

Independent Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Statistic
one	3.66194	1.07444	3.40822
efficacy	-0.10398	4.78244e-02	-2.17429*
interest	-2.30755e-02	1.34527e-02	-1.71530*
age	2.52283e-02	6.14053e-02	0.41085
govlimit	0.29246	5.85715e-02	4.99319*
selfcen	4.78444e-02	4.20196e-02	1.13862
cynic	4.02003e-02	6.45788e-02	0.62250
program	-0.48206	0.13636	-3.53523*
Number of Observations		1210	
R-squared		.069	
Corrected R-squared		.064	
Sum of Squared Residuals		5.94501e+03	
Standard Error of the Regression		2.22394	
Durbin-Watson Statistic		1.89281	
Mean of Dependent Variable		3.64793	

\* Starred t-coefficients are statistically significant

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Participation in the program, *i.e.*, in classes using the *We the People...* curriculum, appears to increase a student's grasp of the norms of democratic society. But what is there about the curriculum that produces this outcome? Thus far we have made only the simplest distinction between high school students following the *We the People...* curriculum to any extent and those who had no exposure to the curriculum. But we can go deeper than this; we can seek those features of the *We the People...* curriculum that lead students to express more support for democratic norms. Ideally, we would also like to account for the differences in the political attitudes of students in classes that have adopted the *We the People...* curriculum. In other words, is the program differentially effective depending

Table 5: Sources of Restrictions on Freedom of Speech, Press, etc.  
 Dependent Variable: Restrictions on Freedom of Speech, Press, Etc.

Independent Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Statistic
one	5.26596	1.69038	3.11524
efficacy	-0.20954	7.60916e-02	-2.75381*
interest	-1.32347e-02	2.13853e-02	-0.61887
age	-6.04615e-05	9.66278e-02	-6.25716e-04
govlimit	0.32656	9.40579e-02	3.47189*
selfcen	0.13900	6.68709e-02	2.07870*
cynic	0.29636	0.10294	2.87913*
program	-0.54618	0.21690	-2.51813*
Number of Observations		1198	
R-squared		.058	
Corrected R-squared		.052	
Sum of Squared Residuals		1.47504e+04	
Standard Error of the Regression		3.52070	
Durbin-Watson Statistic		1.86454	
Mean of Dependent Variable		5.24875	

\* Starred t-coefficients are statistically significant

upon how it is used by teachers and students?

Many aspects of pedagogy could affect attitude outcomes; two suggest themselves for further consideration: The time spent with materials dealing with American values and norms is a potential source of differences in outcomes. If students in classes using the *We the People...* curriculum spend more time on the subject they may, for this reason alone, be more politically tolerant. Teachers using the *We the People...* curriculum do spend more time with material on the United States Constitution, American government, and politics. On a seven-step scale of time spent teaching the material, teachers using the program's material report spending more than twice as much time on the subject.<sup>12</sup> "Time," as such, is not

12. On the seven-step scale, the mean score for teachers using the *We the People...* curriculum materials is 4.87; for teachers following other curricula the mean is 3.52. The difference in these means ( $\Delta = 1.35$ ) has an associated t-test ( $t = 11.59$ ) that is statistically significant ( $p \leq .005$ ).

theoretically interesting but we will have to take it into account in examining other factors.

The second teaching method worth considering is participation in district, state, and national competitions. Jackson (1992, p. 75) succinctly states the hypothesis: "... by asking students to apply the historical lessons to contemporary issues, the competition imparts a deep-seated appreciation of the values inherent in the Constitution and Bill of Rights." Beyond the application of historical lessons to contemporary issues, the competition, according to Jackson, "... fosters self-confidence, teamwork, tolerance of differing opinions, and self-esteem." In other words, participation in the competition should activate the political attitudinal process that have been found by Gibson (1992b) and Owen and Dennis (1987) to foster political tolerance.

To test this proposition we constructed a five-step measure indicating the highest level of competition at which the student participated. Of course students participating at the national level also took part at the state, district, and classroom levels. Similarly, students who are scored at the "state" level also took part in the competition at the district and classroom levels, and so forth. Scoring a student at the highest level at which she or he took part will permit us to establish whether the effects of competition are cumulative. The distribution of the measure (which we have called "level") is presented in Table 6:



**Table 6: Distribution of Highest Level of Participation in Competition**

Measure	No Competition or Hearing Level=0	In Class Hearing Level=1	Compete District Level=2	Compete State Level=3	Compete Nation Level=4
N	711	44	51	204	119
Percent	63.0%	3.9%	4.5%	18.1%	10.5%

About a third (n=221) of the 711 students at "level 0" were in classes using material from the *We the People...* curriculum. Indeed this is the modal level of competition for students in the program. The balance of students at level zero were in classes not participating in the program. Students in classes using the *We the People...* curriculum not at level zero tend to cluster at the state and national levels of competition.

The level of competition at which a student participates affects her or his level of political tolerance. The regression estimates presented in Table 7 indicate that, controlling for time spent with material on American political values, the higher the level of competition for which a student participates, the lower is her or his opposition to granting the right of assembly to unpopular groups.

Table 7: Effects of Level of Competition on Freedom of Assembly

Dependent Variable: Opposition to Freedom of Assembly

Independent Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Statistic
one	3.55231	0.19017	18.68011*
time	0.11636	4.89926e-02	2.37500
level	-0.44647	6.69805e-02	-6.66570*

Number of Observations	1059
R-squared	5.38602e-02
Corrected R-squared	5.20682e-02
Sum of Squared Residuals	5.24479e+03
Standard Error of the Regression	2.22860
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.89718
Mean of Dependent Variable	3.58357

\* Starred t-coefficients are statistically significant in the hypothesized direction

Tables 8 and 9 repeat this analysis for views on due-process rights and freedom of speech, press, and the like. The findings are essentially the same, viz., with time held constant the higher the level of competition worked into the curriculum, the less restrictive is the student toward extending due-process rights and freedom of expression to groups and individuals that are politically unusual and/or threatening.

Table 8: Effects of Level of Competition on Due-Process Rights

Dependent Variable: Willingness to Restrict Due-Process Rights

Independent Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Statistic
one	2.48460	0.14241	17.44637*
time	2.28757e-02	3.67524e-02	0.62243
level	-0.23123	5.02830e-02	-4.59847*

Number of Observations	1045
R-squared	3.63861e-02
Corrected R-squared	3.45365e-02
Sum of Squared Residuals	2.89024e+03
Standard Error of the Regression	1.66546
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.93450
Mean of Dependent Variable	2.32536

\* Starred t-coefficients are statistically significant in the hypothesized direction

Table 9: Effects of Level of Competition on Freedom of Speech, Press, etc.

Dependent Variable: Willingness to Restrict Free Speech, Press, etc.

Independent Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Statistic
one	5.59570	0.30548	18.31749*
time	3.40619e-02	7.88357e-02	0.43206
level	-0.50504	0.10786	-4.68234*

Number of Observations	1045
R-squared	4.01041e-02
Corrected R-squared	3.82617e-02
Sum of Squared Residuals	1.32987e+04
Standard Error of the Regression	3.57249
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.92460
Mean of Dependent Variable	5.17416

\* Starred t-coefficients are statistically significant in the hypothesized direction.

For due-process rights and attitudes toward freedom of speech, the press, and the like "level of competition" drives "time spent on the material" to statistical insignificance. However, taking account of the highest level at which the students compete leaves "time" with an anomalous relationship to opposition to freedom of assembly: With "level" controlled, the more time spent with the material the more a student is opposed to granting freedom of assembly to politically or socially deviant groups. This suggests that it isn't the time spent studying civics, *per se*, that increases tolerance, rather, it is what is done with the time that matters.

We can get a fuller picture of the impact on political tolerance of the We the People... curriculum by estimating the hypothetical model presented in Figure 1 with "time" and "level of competition" substituting for "participation in the program." Figure 2 presents

the first of these analyses with "freedom of assembly" as the dependent variable.<sup>13</sup> With age, cynicism and time with the material controlled these data indicate that the level of competition at which a student participates has significant direct and indirect effects on her or his support for the right of freedom of assembly. The direct effect of level of competition indicates that students in classes that competed at the national level are on average 1.5 scale points less restrictive of freedom of assembly than are students who participated in neither competition nor hearings. This understates the effects of competition by the size of the indirect effects of participation in competition on political interest, efficacy, and perceptions of governmental restrictions on political dissent; the indirect effects of competition reduce restrictions on freedom of assembly an additional eight one-hundredths of a scale point. Then total effect of participation in competition reduces restriction on freedom of assembly three eights of a scale point for each step increase in level of competition.

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13. In Figures 2, 3 and 4 only paths that are statistically significant with the correct sign are displayed. The path coefficients are unstandardized regression coefficients with t-ratios greater than 2.00.

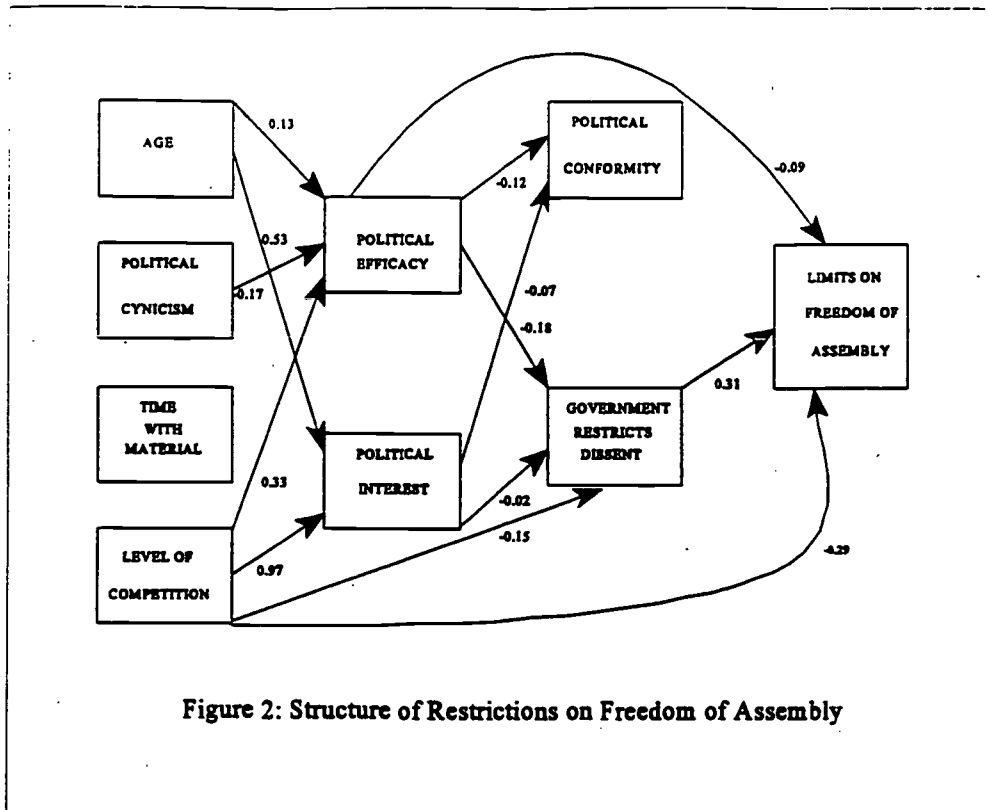


Figure 3 displays the structure of restriction on due-process rights. Here we find that, controlling for background factors and time spent on instruction in this subject matter area, participation in competition reduces limits on due-process rights. Compared to restrictions on freedom of assembly the impact of participation is more muted. Each level of competition step, *ceteris paribus*, reduces opposition to freedom of assembly nearly a third of a scale point but reduces limits on due process rights only a sixth of a scale point. Nevertheless, taking account of direct and indirect paths of impact, students who take part in competition at the national are more than a full scale point less restrictive<sup>ive</sup> of due process rights than are those who were not involved in a mock hearing or any level of competition.

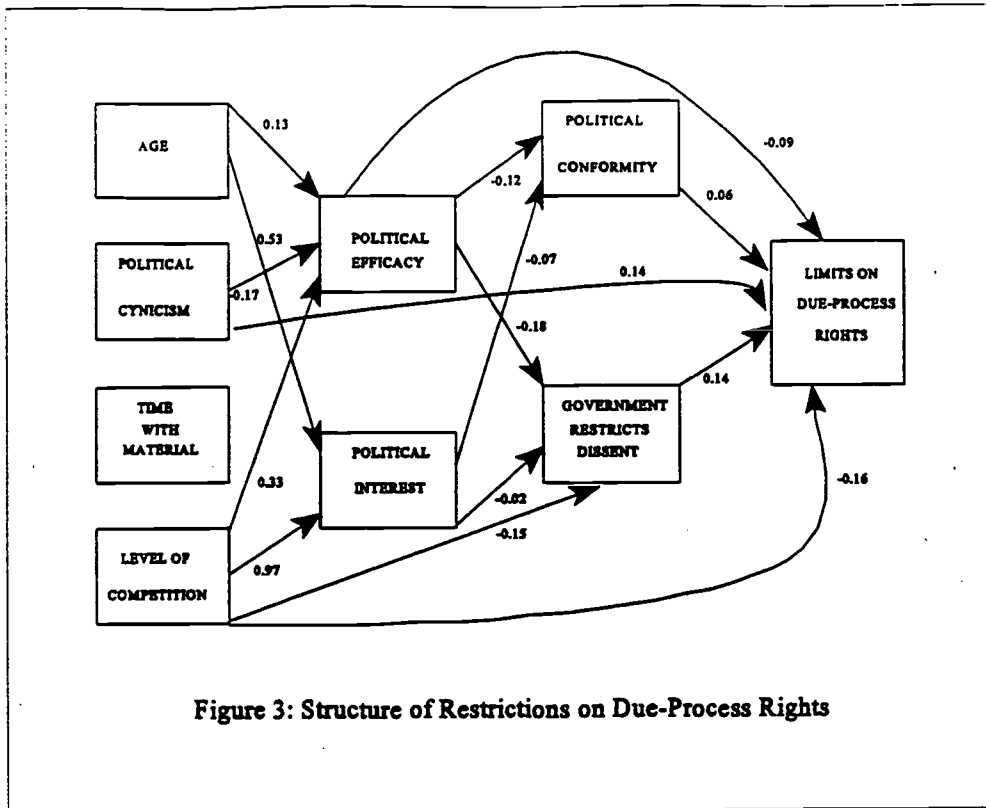
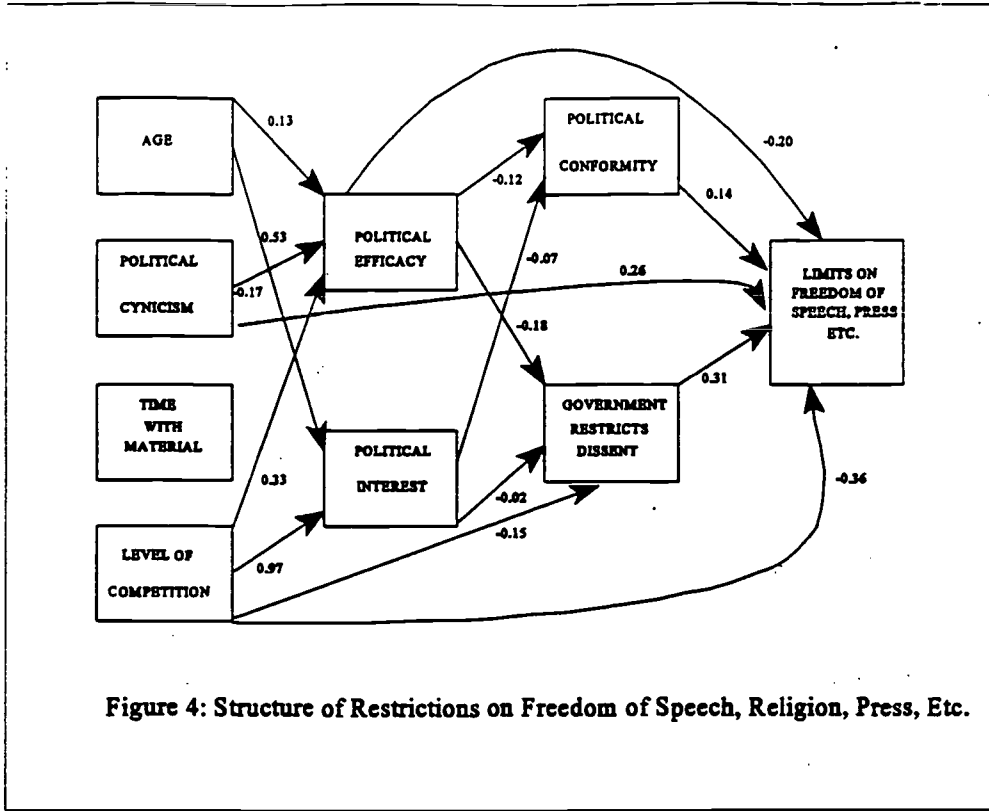


Figure 4 indicates that of the three aspects of political tolerance taking part in the competition has its greatest impact in reducing limits on freedom of speech, the press, and religion. Taking into account both direct and indirect effects, on average, each level of competition increases tolerance of offensive or objectional political speech nearly half a scale point. Students in classes which competed at the national level are nearly two and one-half steps more tolerant in this regard than are those in classes which were at the zero level of competition.



### Conclusion and Discussion

*Democracy* as a system of government, as a mode of peaceful conflict resolution, and as an abstract ideal which motivates people to participate in and, if necessary, to make personal sacrifices for a larger good, depends on the political beliefs, values and attitudes of ordinary people. The concept "political tolerance" encompasses many of the beliefs, values and attitudes that are essential to a functioning democracy. Respect for the political rights and civil liberties of minorities is a facet of "tolerance." The Center for Civic Education's *We the People...* curriculum and especially the activities involved in preparation for participating in the "competition" promote political tolerance.

The competition appears to have effects analogous to those found by Owen and

Dennis (1987) in family settings. Its role in the structure of tolerance lends support to Jackson's (1992) contention that "by encouraging active participation and self-expression by each student, the competition fosters self-confidence, teamwork, tolerance of differing opinions, and self-esteem." It appears that political tolerance can be taught. It can be taught at home by parents who respect their children's dissenting opinions and who encourage their children to express themselves politically (Owen and Dennis, 1987). It can be taught in school by teachers who increase students' interest in politics, who communicate the idea that political opinions are worthwhile, that dissent is to be encouraged and not stifled, that odd-ball ideas are worth considering, and however wrong they ought not be suppressed (Sniderman, *et al.*, 1991; Gibson, 1992b). Tolerance can be learned from experiences that expose one to the norms of American society (McClosky and Brill, 1983). And tolerance can be learned from experiences that require the individual to both explain and defend his or her point of view and listen carefully to the viewpoints of others.

Political tolerance can be taught but it is not easy to learn. It asks a lot of the individual to come to the realization that his or her own freedom depends on freedom being accorded to the politically weird individual, even to anti-democratic, and, perhaps, dangerous groups. But political diversity and even ideas that fail may be necessary for democracy to grow, develop, and prosper. This is a hard lesson to teach but attempt to teach it we must. As teachers we can take encouragement that some ways of teaching democratic values succeed.



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**APPENDIX A:**  
**STEPS TAKEN TO RECRUIT TEACHERS FOR ATTITUDE STUDY**

## APPENDIX A:

### STEPS TAKEN TO RECRUIT TEACHERS FOR ATTITUDE STUDY

#### Program Teachers:

A random list of approximately 100 high school teachers who had received free sets of *With Liberty and Justice for All* in Year Six was generated from the Center's computerized data system. These teachers were contacted by phone and told that a research study was being conducted to study the effects of the *With Liberty and Justice for All* materials on students' political attitudes. The teachers were asked if they had actually used or were using the materials. If they indicated they had used them, they were asked during which semester the materials were used. If the materials were used with a class in the fall semester, they were asked if they still had contact with the students. If they still had contact, they were asked to participate in the study. Teachers using the materials in the spring semester were asked when they expected to complete the materials. If they planned to complete use of the materials by the end of April, they were asked to participate. We told interested teachers that we would send them information about the study and an Agreement Form. Upon receipt of the Agreement Form, we would send them the questionnaire plus a \$50.00 honorarium.

The initial round of calls yielded 18 teachers who were interested in participating in the study. This process was repeated twice in order to enlist the cooperation of more teachers. Twelve teachers from the second list and 15 teachers from the third list were recruited for a total of 45 teachers.

Once a list of eligible teachers was compiled, letters explaining the study were mailed to the teachers with Agreement Forms. The Agreement Forms accompanying the letter requested information about the teachers' use of the materials. The Agreement Forms asked

the teachers during which semester they used the materials, how many students would be able to complete the questionnaire, and by what date they planned to complete the task. Of the 45 teachers, 30 returned the Agreement Forms. Questionnaires and an honorarium of \$50.00 were sent to the teachers who returned signed Agreement Forms stating that they would participate. Those 30 teachers provided 861 students to participate in the study.

### **Nonprogram Teachers:**

A random list of 60 civics and government high school teachers was requested from the National Council for the Social Studies. Upon receipt of the list containing 52 names, we eliminated people who would be inappropriate for the study because they were either not classroom teachers (e.g., supervisors) or they were using the *With Liberty and Justice for All* program. Some nonprogram teachers were also recruited from the calls to randomly selected program teachers who indicated they were not actually using *With Liberty and Justice for All* materials. Letters and agreement forms similar to the ones used for the program group were sent to those nonprogram teachers who might be eligible for the study. The teachers were asked to return their agreement forms with their responses. Letters were mailed to 32 nonprogram teachers, and we received 7 responses. Upon receipt of the agreement forms, questionnaires and a \$50.00 honorarium were sent to those teachers who agreed to participate in the study. Those 7 teachers provided 490 students to participate in the study.

**APPENDIX B: MEASURES OF POLITICAL TOLERANCE**

**Table B-1: Constituents of The Right of Assembly Scale <sup>1</sup>**

**What Activities Should a Community Allow?**

**Should a community allow its civic auditorium to be used by atheists who want to preach against God and religion?**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	18%	41%	66%	17%	40%	30%
No	71	44	24	73	34	47
It depends/ undecided	12	15	9	10	26	23

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=852, Students Not in Program n=486.

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1. The N's for the constituents of the scale vary due to non-response. Percentages in the tables may not total to 100 due to rounding.



**Should a community allow its civic auditorium to be used by right-to-life groups to preach against abortion?**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	65%	73%	81%	67%	70%	68%
No	18	14	10	18	11	14
It depends/ undecided	17	14	8	15	20	18

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=485,1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=854, Students Not in Program n=484.

**Should a community allow its civic auditorium to be used by Protestant groups who want to hold a revival meeting?**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	69%	72%	74%	71%	63%	55%
No	16	16	17	16	14	21
It depends/ undecided	16	13	9	13	23	25

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=854, Students Not in Program n=486.

Should a community allow its civic auditorium to be used by conservationists to protest the construction of a nuclear power plant?

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	60%	75%	87%	64%	74%	75%
No	19	12	7	21	7	8
It depends/ undecided	21	13	7	14	18	16

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=854, Students Not in Program n=485.

Should a community allow its civic auditorium to be used by gay liberation movements to organize for homosexual rights?

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	26%	46%	65%	21%	53%	46%
No	59	40	26	63	26	34
It depends/ undecided	15	15	8	17	20	21

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=850, Students Not in Program n=486.

Should a community allow its civic auditorium to be used by patriotic groups to advocate war against some foreign country?

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	13%	27%	52%	14%	46%	47%
No	67	51	30	66	25	28
It depends/ undecided	20	22	18	20	29	26

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=851, Students Not in Program n=483.

Should a community allow its civic auditorium to be used by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to attack Jews and call for the destruction of Israel?

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	6%	16%	33%	5%	13%	11%
No	87	74	53	89	67	77
It depends/ undecided	7	10	14	6	20	12

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=854, Students Not in Program n=485.

**Should a community allow its civic auditorium to be used by the American Nazi party to preach race hatred against Jews and other minorities?**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	6%	16%	37%	3%	17%	12%
No	89	74	51	92	64	73
It depends/ undecided	5	8	13	5	20	15

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=853, Students Not in Program n=485.

**Should a community allow its civic auditorium to be used by revolutionaries who advocate the violent overthrow of the American government?**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	5%	11%	21%	2%	16%	12%
No	89	81	68	96	64	73
It depends/ undecided	6	8	11	2	20	15

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=854, Students Not in Program n=485.

**Should a community allow its civic auditorium to be used by student protesters who call for a sit-in at city hall to shut down the city's offices?**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	15%	30%	44%	11%	48%	44%
No	66	53	43	76	21	27
It depends/ undecided	19	17	13	13	31	29

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=855, Students Not in Program n=485.

**Table B-2: Constituents of Support for Principles of Due Process Scale**

**All systems of justice make mistakes, but which do you think is worse?**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
To convict an innocent person.	60%	79%	91%	77%	56%	44%
To let a guilty person go free.	21	10	4	13	23	28
Neither/undecided	19	12	5	9	21	29

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=850, Students Not in Program n=480.

**When police catch a violent gangster, they should:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Treat him humanely, just as they should everyone they they arrest.	78%	90%	96%	92%	59%	51%
Be allowed to be a bit rough with him if he refuses to give them information they need.	15	6	3	6	31	37
Neither/ undecided	7	3	1	2	11	12

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=850, Students Not in Program n=480.

**If someone is caught red-handed beating and robbing an older person on the street:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
the suspect should still be entitled to a jury trial and all the usual legal protections.	72%	90%	97%	88%	65%	59%
it's just a waste of taxpayer's money to bother with the usual expensive trial.	16	6	2	8	25	30
Neither/undecided	13	4	1	5	10	10

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=852, Students Not in Program n=485.



**In order for the government to effectively prosecute the leaders of organized crime:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
it should stick strictly to the rules if the government wants other people to respect the law.	68%	79%	90%	88%	53%	46%
it may sometimes have to bend the rules if there is no other way to convict them.	20	13	7	17	29	34
Neither/undecided	13	8	3	9	19	19

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=853, Students Not in Program n=484.

When authorities have reason to believe that a political demonstration will become violent, they should:

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
keep an eye on the demonstration but allow it to be held.	50%	56%	63%	34%	68%	70%
seek a court order to stop the demonstration	43	40	33	60	21	19
Neither/ undecided	7	4	4	5	11	11

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=853, Students Not in Program n=484.

**If a group wanted to hold a protest demonstration in front of the city jail, would city officials be justified in banning it?**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Police Officials <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
No, because the protestors should be able to assemble wherever they believe would be most effective.	32%	46%	51%	32%	51%	50%
Yes, because it may stir up the prisoners.	41	28	22	45	28	26
Neither/undecided	27	25	27	23	21	24

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488, Police Officials n=224.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=851, Students Not in Program n=484.

**Is it a good idea or a bad idea for the government to keep a list of people who take part in a protest demonstration?**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Opinion Leaders <sup>a</sup>	ACLU <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
A bad idea.	25%	65%	89%	55%	45%
A good idea.	50	17	3	19	24
Neither/undecided	26	19	9	26	32

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=938, Opinion Leaders n=845, ACLU n=352.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=852, Students Not in Program n=485.

**Should a community allow the American Nazi party to use its town hall to hold a public meeting?**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Opinion Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	18%	41%	28%	19%
No	66	41	48	60
Neither/undecided	16	18	24	21

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=938, Opinion Leaders n=845.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=852, Students Not in Program n=485.

**Table B-3: Constituents of Free Press, Free Speech and the Advocacy of Radical or Unorthodox Ideas Scale**

**Should groups like the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan be allowed to appear on public television to state their views?**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes, they should be allowed no matter who is offended.	29%	55%	75%	38%	27%
No, because they would offend certain racial or religious groups.	41	21	10	40	54
It depends/ undecided	30	24	16	21	20

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=848, Students Not in Program n=485.

If the majority in a referendum votes to stop publication of newspapers that preach race hatred:

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
no one, not even the majority of voters, should have the right to close down a newspaper.	38%	62%	84%	33%	28%
such newspapers should be closed down.	36	22	7	42	44
Neither/undecided	25	16	9	25	28

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=849, Students Not in Program n=483.

Which of these comes closest to your own view?

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
The government has no right to decide what should or should not be published.	30%	45%	54%	35%	36%
To protect its moral values, a society sometimes has to forbid certain things.	55	43	35	48	47
It depends/ undecided	15	12	17	17	17

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=848, Students Not in Program n=485.

**A newspaper should be allowed to publish its opinions:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
no matter how false and twisted its facts are.	6%	24%	33%	15%	17%
only if it doesn't twist the facts and tell lies.	83	64	51	71	70
Neither/undecided	10	11	17	14	13

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=849, Students Not in Program n=483.



**Giving a federal board of censors the power to decide which TV programs can or cannot be shown:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
violates the public's right to watch what it pleases.	39%	45%	55%	48%	51%
is necessary to protect the public against violent or obscene shows.	46	36	27	32	30
It depends/ undecided	15	19	18	21	19

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=848, Students Not in Program n=483.

**The movie industry:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
should be free to make movies on any subject it chooses.	46%	61%	81%	64%	64%
should not be allowed to make movies that offend certain minorities or religious groups.	30	17	6	18	20
Neither/undecided	24	22	13	18	16

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=849, Students Not in Program n=483.

**Freedom to worship as one pleases:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
applies to all religious groups, regardless of how extreme their beliefs are.	69%	80%	85%	62%	60%
was never meant to apply to religious cults that the majority of people consider "strange."	18	11	4	16	18
It depends/ undecided	13	9	11	21	16

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=848, Students Not in Program n=485.

**The freedom of atheists to make fun of God and religion:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
should be legally protected no matter who might be offended.	26%	53%	75%	42%	33%
should not be allowed in a public place where religious groups gather.	53	30	15	36	46
Neither/undecided	21	17	11	23	21

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=852, Students Not in Program n=484.

**Books that preach the overthrow of the government should be:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
made available by the library, just like any other book.	32%	73%	54%	49%
banned from the library.	51	13	23	26
It depends/ undecided	17	14	23	25

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=848, Students Not in Program n=485.

Any television station that recommends the use of military action against demonstrators:

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
has a right to express its views on public affairs.	67%	68%	54%	59%
should have its license taken away.	8	12	16	12
Neither/undecided	25	20	21	20

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=847, Students Not in Program n=484.

**A person who publicly burns or spits on the flag:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
may be behaving badly but should not be punished for it by law.	18%	29%	43%	39%	25%
should be fined or punished in some way.	72	61	50	45	63
It depends/ undecided	10	10	7	16	12

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=849, Students Not in Program n=484.

**The use of obscene gestures to express anger against a public official:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
should be considered a constitutionally protected form of free speech.	22%	35%	54%	51%	51%
is so rude it should be outlawed.	45	34	21	22	21
Neither/undecided	33	31	25	27	28

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=844, Students Not in Program n=485.



**A teacher who refuses to salute the flag at a school assembly:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
should be allowed to refuse and follow his or her conscience.	32%	58%	87%	67%	33%
should be suspended or dismissed.	47	17	5	15	20
Neither/undecided	20	25	9	18	17

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=851, Students Not in Program n=484.

Should foreigners who dislike our government and criticize it be allowed to visit and study here?

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elites <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
Yes	41%	69%	81%	51%	41%
No	47	24	15	31	39
It depends/ undecided	12	7	4	18	20

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=852, Students Not in Program n=482.

If a teacher is suspected of spreading false ideas in his classes, officials:

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elites <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
should not interfere since it would violate his rights.	4%	10%	17%	8%	7%
should send someone into his classes to check on him.	77	61	58	71	77
It depends/ undecided	20	30	26	21	17

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=846, Students Not in Program n=482.

**Refusing to hire a teacher because of her unusual political beliefs:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
is never justified.	18%	19%	25%	50%	47%
may be necessary if her views are extreme.	66	66	57	30	29
It depends/ undecided	16	15	17	20	24

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=846, Students Not in Program n=482.

**Scientific research that might show women or minorities in a bad light:**

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Community Leaders <sup>a</sup>	Legal Elite <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>b</sup>
should be allowed because the goal of science is to discover truth whatever it may be.	59%	80%	90%	48%	41%
should be banned because the results might damage their self-respect.	13	5	0	22	27
Neither/undecided	28	16	10	30	33

a. Source: Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill *Dimensions of Tolerance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983) Appendix A; the N's for the four groups are Mass Public n=1993, Community Leaders n=1157, Legal Elite n=488.

b. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=845, Students Not in Program n=483.

**APPENDIX C: MEASURES OF POLITICAL INTEREST, EFFICACY, PERCEPTIONS  
OF GOVERNMENTAL LIMITS ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, AND  
BEHAVIORAL SELF-CENSORSHIP**

**Table C-1: Constituents of the Political Involvement/Interest Scale**

Some people don't pay much attention to the political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you were very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the 1992 elections?

Response	Mass Public 1984 <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students not in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>
Not much interested	25.0%	14.1%	9.7%
Somewhat interested	47.0	48.7	46.4
Very interested	28.0	41.5	39.5

- a. Source: Warren E. Miller and Santa Traugott. 1989. *National Election Study Data Sourcebook, 1952-1986*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, page 298; N=2251.
- b. Source: Center for Civic Education. 1992. "Survey of Political Beliefs and Opinions." The N's for the two groups are: Students in CCE Program, n=852; students not in CCE program, n=483.

**Did you watch any programs about the 1992 election campaigns on television?**

Response	Mass Public 1984 <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students not in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>
No	14.0%	10.1%	13.6%
Yes	86.0	89.9	86.4

- a. Source: Warren E. Miller and Santa Traugott. 1989. *National Election Study Data Sourcebook, 1952-1986*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, page 296; N=1943.
- b. Source: Center for Civic Education. 1992. "Survey of Political Beliefs and Opinions." The N's for the two groups are: Students in CCE Program, n=853; students not in CCE program, n=485.

**Did you read about the 1992 election campaigns in any magazines?**

Response	Mass Public 1984 <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students not in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>
No	65.0%	26.0%	33.8%
Yes	35.0	74.0	66.2

- a. Source: Warren E. Miller and Santa Traugott. 1989. *National Election Study Data Sourcebook, 1952-1986*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, page 296; N=1942.
- b. Source: Center for Civic Education. 1992. "Survey of Political Beliefs and Opinions." The N's for the two groups are: Students in CCE Program, n=854; students not in CCE program, n=485.

**Did you read much about the campaigns this year in any newspapers?**

Response	Mass Public 1984 <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students not in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>
No	23.0%	22.5%	28.3%
Yes	77.0	77.5	71.7

- a. Source: Warren E. Miller and Santa Traugott. 1989. *National Election Study Data Sourcebook, 1952-1986*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, page 297; N=2171.
- b. Source: Center for Civic Education. 1992. "Survey of Political Beliefs and Opinions." The N's for the two groups are: Students in CCE Program, n=857; students not in CCE program, n=484.



Thinking about your local community, how interested are you in local community politics and local community affairs? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, slightly interested, not at all interested?

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students not in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>
Not at all interested	3.2%	8.3%	12.0%
Slightly interested	13.8	40.7	35.3
Somewhat interested	46.9	40.7	42.8
Very interested	36.1	17.1	9.9

- a. Brady, Henry, Kay L. Schlozman and Sidney Verba. 1990. Participation Survey. n=2451.
- b. Source: Center for Civic Education. 1992. "Survey of Political Beliefs and Opinions." The N's for the two groups are: Students in CCE Program, n=857; students not in CCE program, n=484.

How often do you discuss local community politics and local community affairs with others? Is it every day, nearly every day, once or twice a week, less than once a week, or never?

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students not in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>
Never	11.3%	20.6%	22.4%
Less than once a week	36.2	37.8	41.8
Once or twice a week	34.1	25.9	25.3
Nearly every day	11.9	11.2	9.1
Daily	6.5	4.4	1.4

- a. Henry Brady, Kay L. Schlozman and Sidney Verba. 1990. Participation Survey. n=2451.
- b. Source: Center for Civic Education. 1992. "Survey of Political Beliefs and Opinions." The N's for the two groups are: Students in CCE Program, n=857; students not in CCE program, n=484.

How interested are you in national community politics and national community affairs? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, slightly interested, not at all interested?

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students not in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>
Not at all interested	7.4%	7.6%	8.1%
Slightly interested	17.8	22.8	27.7
Somewhat interested	41.5	42.2	41.7
Very interested	33.3	27.4	22.5

- a. Henry Brady, Kay L. Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 1990. Participation Survey. n=2450.
- b. Source: Center for Civic Education. 1992. "Survey of Political Beliefs and Opinions." The N's for the two groups are: Students in CCE Program, n=857; students not in CCE program, n=484.

How often do you discuss national community politics and national community affair with others? Is it every day, nearly every day, once or twice a week, less than once a week, or never?

Response	Mass Public <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students not in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>
Never	9.0%	15.1%	15.6%
Less than once a week	31.2	27.0	30.7
Once or twice a week	34.4	31.6	32.0
Nearly every day	15.9	20.1	16.8
Daily	9.5	6.2	5.0

- a. Henry Brady, Kay L. Schlozman and Sidney Verba. 1990. Participation Survey. n=2451.
- b. Source: Center for Civic Education. 1992. "Survey of Political Beliefs and Opinions." The N's for the two groups are: Students in CCE Program, n=857; students not in CCE program, n=484.

**Table C-2: Constituents of the Internal Efficacy Scale**

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

Response	Mass Public 1984 <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students not in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>
Agree	59.8%	33.3%	40.5%
Disagree	40.2	66.7	59.5

- a. Source: Warren E. Miller and Santa Traugott. 1989. *National Election Study Data Sourcebook, 1952-1986*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, page 261.
- b. Source: Center for Civic Education. 1992. "Survey of Political Beliefs and Opinions." The N's for the two groups are: Students in CCE Program, n=853; students not in CCE program, n=487.

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

Response	Mass Public 1984 <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students not in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>
Agree	33.3%	26.7%	38.6%
Disagree	66.7	73.3	61.4

- a. Source: Warren E. Miller and Santa Traugott. 1989. *National Election Study Data Sourcebook, 1952-1986*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, page 261.
- b. Source: Center for Civic Education. 1992. "Survey of Political Beliefs and Opinions." The N's for the two groups are: Students in CCE Program, n=857; students not in CCE program, n=482.

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

Response	Mass Public 1984 <sup>a</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>	Students not in CCE Program <sup>b</sup>
Agree	71.0%	56.8%	60.7%
Disagree	29.0	43.2	39.3

- a. Source: Warren E. Miller and Santa Traugott. 1989. *National Election Study Data Sourcebook, 1952-1986*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, page 261.
- b. Source: Center for Civic Education. 1992. "Survey of Political Beliefs and Opinions." The N's for the two groups are: Students in CCE Program, n=857; students not in CCE program, n=482.

Table C-3: Constituents of Governmental Limits on Political Freedom Scale

Believe government would not allow them to <sup>a</sup>	Mass Public <sup>b</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>c</sup>	Students Not in Program <sup>c</sup>
Organize a nationwide strike	81%	56%	64%*
Organize public meetings	48%	3%	4%*
Organize protest marches/ demonstrations	42%	23%	28%†
Make speech criticizing government actions	39%	31%	40%*
Publish pamphlets	37%	9%	11%*

a. The question leader read: "Suppose you felt strongly that something the government was doing was very wrong and you wanted to do something about it. Do you think the government would definitely allow, probably allow, probably not allow, or definitely not allow you to ..." The percentages shown collapse the *probably not* and *definitely not* responses.

b. Computed by combining black and white subsamples in Table 2, James L. Gibson "The Political Consequences of Intolerance: Cultural Conformity and Political Freedom." *American Political Science Review*, 86(1992)338-356.

c. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=852, Students Not in Program n=486.

\* Chi-square for comparison between students in the CCE program and students not in the program has an associated probability  $p_x^2 \leq .05$ .

† =  $p_x^2 \leq .10$ .

**Table C-4: Constituents of Behavioral Self-censorship Scale**

Unwilling to <sup>a</sup>	Mass Public <sup>b</sup>	Students in CCE Program <sup>c</sup>	Students Not in CCE Program <sup>c</sup>
Put up a sign in front of home/apartment	75%	47%	51%
Put a bumper sticker on car	66%	36%	38%
Participate in a demonstration	60%	22%	25%
Wear a button to work or in public	54%	30%	37%*
Sign petition for publication in a local paper	43%	12%	14%
Write letter to elected representative	33%	13%	14%

a. The question leader read: "Let's say you did have a political view that you knew would be very unpopular with others. Would you be willing to ..."

b. Computed by combining black and white subsamples in Table 2, James L. Gibson "The Political Consequences of Intolerance: Cultural Conformity and Political Freedom." *American Political Science Review*, 86(1992)338-356.

c. Source: Center for Civic Education "Survey of Political Belief and Opinions," 1992, the N's for the two groups are Students in CCE Program n=852, Students Not in Program n=486.

\* Chi-square for comparison between students in the CCE program and students not in the program has an associated probability  $p_x^2 \leq .05$ .





# *We the People...* *The Citizen and the Constitution*



Directed by the Center for Civic Education  
Funded by the U.S. Department of Education by act of Congress

## An Evaluation of the Instructional Effects of the *We the People... The Citizen and the Constitution* Program Using *With Liberty and Justice for All*

Robert Leming, Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University  
December 1993

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The study compared 375 high school students using *With Liberty and Justice for All* with 477 high school students using traditional textbooks in the 1992 Spring semester. The students were from twelve different states.

The results of the study showed that students who participated in the program scored significantly higher on a "Test on the History and Principles of the Bill of Rights" than similar students enrolled in government and civics classes using traditional textbooks.

Furthermore, nearly 80% of the students participating in the *We the People...* program scored higher on the test than did the average of students in the traditional classes.

Based on these results, the study concludes that students participating in the *We the People...* program gained knowledge and understanding of the Bill of Rights that is superior to students in government and civics classes using traditional textbooks.

The results from this study concur with similar results reported in a number of studies conducted by the Educational Testing Service which found that students using the textbook *We the People...* learned more about the U.S. Constitution than students who were enrolled in government or civics classes using traditional textbooks.

Please see the reverse side for examples of the kind of knowledge that characterized the test performance of students using *With Liberty and Justice for All*.

For copies of the complete report please contact the Center for Civic Education.

## We the People... Students' Test Performance Compared to Students Using Traditional Textbooks

What Students Knew:	We the People... Students	Comparison Students
Students knew that the Bill of Rights was originally written to protect individual rights from interference by the federal government.	60%	39%
Students knew that an agreement among people to form a government to protect their rights is known as a social contract.	77%	46%
Students knew that the main purpose of government, according to the natural rights philosophy, is to protect the individual's rights.	71%	47%
Students knew that some of our Founders believed a bill of rights could be dangerous because omitted rights might not be protected.	70%	40%
Students knew that some Founders believed that majority rule could be a threat to natural rights.	64%	39%
Students knew that the primary argument of the Anti-Federalists was that the Constitution contained no bill of rights.	67%	40%
Students knew that the right to equal protection of the laws means that the government may not unfairly treat people differently.	70%	45%
Students knew that the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment protects Bill of Rights freedoms from state actions.	65%	35%
Students knew that after passing the Civil Rights Act of 1957 Congress continued to extend civil rights with more legislation.	60%	36%
Students knew that bills of rights may be found in state constitutions.	60%	36%
Students knew that a basic difference between the Bill of Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is that the Bill of Rights is enforced.	63%	30%
Students knew that the most fundamental need of a constitutional democracy is an enlightened and responsible citizenry.	60%	31%

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