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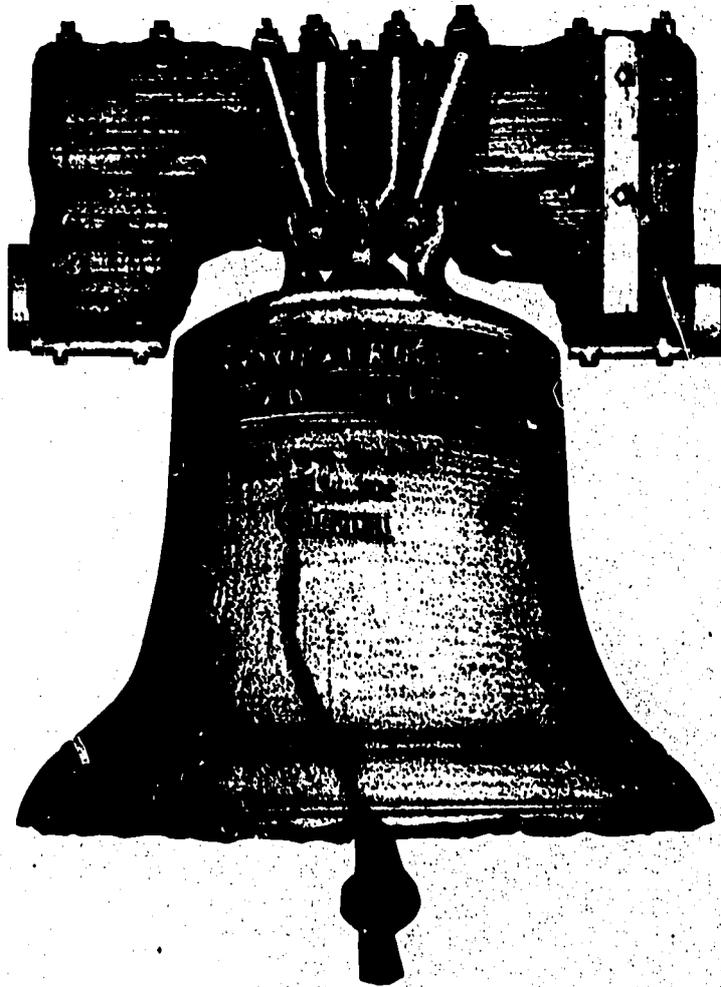
ABSTRACT

This resource guide was prepared to provide government and political science teachers with information on recent trends and developments in political science, sources of classroom materials, and a listing of professional references. It is hoped that the guide will be helpful to social studies supervisors, librarians, political science educators and teacher education specialists. The guide includes: 1) a reprint of an article by John Patrick, "Implications of Political Socialization Research for the Reform of Civic Education", and comments by Robert E. Cleary; 2) references to political science readings for the professional; 3) a directory of relevant professional organizations; 4) a briefly annotated list of paperback reading sets available for instructional purposes; and, 5) a listing of taped student materials. (Author/JLB)

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# **GOVERNMENT and POLITICAL SCIENCE**

## **A Resource Guide**



**Social Studies Section  
Division of Program Development  
Texas Education Agency  
March, 1970**

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RESOURCE GUIDE

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The resource guide has been prepared to provide government teachers with information on recent trends and developments in political science, sources of classroom materials for government classes, and a listing of professional references in political science. It is hoped that this guide will be helpful to social studies supervisors, librarians, political science educators and teacher education specialists interested in the instruction of government courses in the Texas schools.

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# Implications of Political Socialization Research for the Reform of Civic Education

by JOHN J. PATRICK

JOHN J. PATRICK, a member of the staff of the High School Curriculum Center in Government, Indiana University, believes that "central to the improvement of political socialization strategies of American schools should be a revision of current civics and government courses to bring them into line with current scholarship in the social and behavioral sciences." His article is based on an address delivered at the 1968 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington-Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C. September 7, 1968.

RESEARCH about political socialization practices in American schools, the content of courses, and the development of student political values and attitudes suggests several implications for the reform of civic education.<sup>1</sup> These implications for curriculum and instructional reform can be considered in terms of the following topics: (a) impact of formal instruction upon political learning; (b) lack of articulation between course content and student political values, attitudes, and beliefs; (c) political disabilities of the lower classes; (d) over-emphasis upon conformity in schools; (e) cosmopolitanism and political orientation; and (f) the development of political sophistication.

<sup>1</sup> Lewis Froman, Jr. defines political socialization as "the learning of politically relevant social patterns corresponding to societal positions as mediated through various agencies of society." Fred I. Greenstein says that political socialization is "all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle. . ." See: Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "Personality and Political Socialization," *Journal of Politics* 23:342, 1961; and Fred I. Greenstein, "Political Socialization," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: Crowell-Collier Publishing Co., 1965.

## The Impact of Formal Instruction Upon Political Learning

According to many curriculum guides, teacher's guides, and prefaces in textbooks the following outcomes are among the more important objectives of instruction in civic education: to increase political knowledge and sophistication, to increase political interest, to increase one's sense of political efficacy, to increase desire to participate in politics, to increase civic tolerance, and to decrease political cynicism. *While not conclusive, several research studies have indicated that formal instructional programs in civic education have little or no impact upon political attitudes and values, that students are not moved very far toward attainment of the previously stated common objectives of instruction. Furthermore, high school civics and government courses appear to contribute only slightly to increased political knowledge and sophistication.* These conclusions about the impact of formal high school instruction in civics and government, even if highly tentative, are shocking and devastating to educators who have long made inflated claims about the worth of civic education curricula.

The most important study about the impact of formal instruction in civics upon student political values, attitudes, and beliefs was done recently by Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings.<sup>2</sup> They reported that the civic education curricula of American

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan, May, 1967. (Unpublished paper.)

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schools appear to have little or no influence upon the political values, attitudes, and beliefs of most high school students. They measured the impact of civic education in terms of typical objectives of instruction, such as increasing student political interest, sense of political efficacy, civic tolerance, and desire to participate in politics. Using a national probability sample of 1,669 twelfth-grade students from 77 secondary schools, Langton and Jennings compared students who had taken courses in civics and/or government with students who had not taken these courses. Langton and Jennings found that the impact of the curriculum was very slight. Students who had taken one or more courses in civics and/or government tended to show only slightly more political interest, sense of political efficacy, civic tolerance, and desire to participate in politics than those who had not taken these courses. "Thus, the claims made for the importance of the civic education courses in the senior high school are indicated if one only considers the direction of the results. However, it is perfectly obvious from the size of the correlations that the magnitude of the relationship is extremely weak, in most cases bordering on the trivial."<sup>3</sup>

Langton and Jennings noted one important exception to their generalization that civic education courses in American secondary schools have little or no impact upon the political values, attitudes, and beliefs of most students. When Negro youth in their sample were isolated and compared to white youth, Langton and Jennings found that secondary school civic education had a greater impact upon Negroes than whites. After exposure to civics courses, Negroes indicated significantly increased political knowledge, political toleration, sense of political efficacy, and desire to participate in politics. However, most of these Negro students still lagged far behind most white students in political knowledge, toleration, sense of political efficacy, and desire to participate in politics. These findings suggest that the political ability gap between Negroes and whites would be even greater than it is without the influence of the Civics curriculum.<sup>4</sup>

Langton and Jennings have offered a "theory of redundancy" to explain the lack of impact of secondary school civic education upon white students as compared to Negro students.

The clear inference as to why Negro students' responses

<sup>3</sup> Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-32.

are improved by taking the courses is that new information is being added where relatively less existed before. White students enrolled in the courses appear to receive nothing beyond that to which their non-enrolled cohorts are being exposed. This, coupled with the great lead which whites, in general, already have over Negro students, makes for greater redundancy among whites than Negroes.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, most culturally disadvantaged Negro students find some new political information and insights in their civics and government courses. By contrast, most white students find that their civics and government courses offer much information that already has been presented to them either through a previous social studies course or through some out-of-school experience.

Several other studies indicate little or no association between formal instruction and the development of political attitudes, values, and beliefs. Roy E. Horton, Jr. reports that formal courses in civics have no effect in shaping favorable attitudes toward the Bill of Rights.<sup>6</sup> At the college level, Marvin Schick and Albert Somit investigated the assumption that greater knowledge of politics leads to greater political interest and participation. *They concluded that greater knowledge of subject matter leads neither to a greater student interest in politics nor to greater student political participation.*<sup>7</sup>

On the basis of a quasi-experimental study of the impact of course content on student attitudes, Edgar Litt reports that civic education in Boston area high schools appears to influence students towards endorsement of the "democratic creed" and away from "chauvinism."<sup>8</sup> However, these students were not influenced in the direction of greater political interest or participation. Litt attributed a great deal of the impact of formal education upon students in his study to community influences that he analyzed. He concluded that "without some degree of reinforcement from . . . the political environment, the school system's effort at political indoctrination also fails."<sup>9</sup>

In the absence of evidence that indicates a strong direct relationship between formal instruction about politics and the formation of political values, atti-

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Roy E. Horton, Jr., "American Freedom and the Values of Youth," in *Anti-Democratic Attitudes in American Schools*, H. H. Remmers, editor. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern Press, 1963, pp. 18-60.

<sup>7</sup> Marvin Schick and Albert Somit, "The Failure to Teach Political Activity," *American Behavioral Scientist* 6:3-8, 1963.

<sup>8</sup> Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," *American Sociological Review* 28:69-75, 1963.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

tudes, and beliefs, most social scientists have accepted the hypothesis that any influence that the school might have upon political socialization emanates mainly from its prevailing climate of opinion and educational atmosphere rather than from its program of formal studies. This conclusion does not necessarily mean that formal political education programs in secondary schools can only reinforce values, attitudes, and beliefs instilled by other agents of political socialization. The lack of impact that formal political instruction appears to have had upon the formation of political values, attitudes, and beliefs could derive mainly from inadequate methods of teaching and inappropriate course content.

Langton and Jennings, on the basis of their "redundancy theory," have concluded that a radically reconstructed civic education program *might* have a greater impact upon student values, attitudes, and beliefs.

If the educational system continues to invest sizeable resources in government at the secondary level—as seems most probable—there must be a radical restructuring of these courses in order for them to have any appreciable pay-off. Changes in goals, course content, pedagogical methods, timing of exposure, teacher training, and school environmental factors are all points of leverage. Until such changes come about, one must continue to expect little contribution from the formal civics curriculum in the political socialization of American pre-adults.<sup>10</sup>

Several important questions about curriculum development and instruction in civic education are raised by the finding that formal instruction has little or no impact upon student political values, attitudes, and beliefs. *Can persistent emphasis upon engaging the learner in inquiry about politics lead individuals to alter their political orientations? Would reorganizing civics and government courses around the concepts of the behavioral and social sciences make civic education programs less redundant, more stimulating, and more likely to have an impact upon the political values, attitudes, and beliefs of students? Would formal instruction about political culture and political socialization that led to student understanding of their significance and possible consequences enable individuals to feel more politically efficacious and to be somewhat more free and flexible in their political choices?*

<sup>10</sup> Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," p. 36.

#### Lack of Articulation between Course Content and Student Political Values, Attitudes, and Beliefs

Another main implication of political socialization research for civic education concerns the positive tone of young peoples' attitudes about the political system. Numerous studies of the political socialization process in American society have documented the conclusion that American youth, prior to entering high school, have thoroughly developed, positive, supportive attitudes towards the American political system. Contrary to sensationalized reports about a minority of our youth in the mass media, the typical American fourteen-year-old is a loyal citizen who accepts the authority of government as legitimate and just. These positive, supportive feelings emerge at an early age; they are well developed among fourth-grade children. American elementary school children revere the role of President, feel that political leaders generally are benevolent, accept the authority of government, and venerate patriotic symbols.<sup>11</sup>

As they approach adolescence, children begin a slow process of political "de-idealization." Seventh and eighth-graders recognize that the President is not always wise, benevolent, and just; that he makes errors; that he is not necessarily benign and warm-hearted. Children grow to differentiate between the Presidential institution and the personal attributes of the incumbent. This allows for criticism of the President without diminishing basic allegiance to government and country. An appreciation develops for the demands of the Presidential role and for political expediency.<sup>12</sup>

However, it is important to stress that despite obvious "de-idealization" and increased sophistication about political matters, most American adolescents retain a generally positive image of government; and like a vast majority of American adults, most American adolescents seldom, if ever, impugn the basic features of their political order. *Like a vast majority of American adults, most American adolescents are not political radicals.*

<sup>11</sup> David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World." David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 361:40-57, 1965. Fred I. Greenstein, *Children and Politics*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965. Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children*.

<sup>12</sup> Fred I. Greenstein, *Children and Politics*. Roberta S. Sigel, "Political Socialization: Some Reactions on Current Approaches and Conceptualizations." Delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1966. (Unpublished paper.)

Given the positive, supportive tone of student political feelings, is it inefficient of time and effort to continue stressing inculcation of loyalty toward the political system in our high school civics and government courses? Our textbooks remain filled with pious political precepts; and considerable time and effort is devoted to the prescription of the political values, attitudes, and beliefs every patriotic American should hold. Are these political prescriptions inappropriate and ineffective because they are redundant and unnecessary? Textbook writers and teachers often shield students from sordid political realities, from controversial topics, because they fear to breed cynicism or to undermine loyalty to our nation. Do the research findings about the staunch basic political loyalties of American youth indicate that teachers need *not* omit or gloss over controversial subjects on the grounds that this censorship protects students from sordid realities that could weaken their positive, supportive political orientations? Would inquiry into the integrative and systems maintenance functions of patriotism and political loyalty in a political system be a more efficient and effective approach to the study of patriotism and loyalty? *Would student political loyalties be magnified if they refined their knowledge of patriotism and loyalty by investigating the sources of political norms, the relationship between norms and behavior, and the consequences of acting in terms of or contrary to various political norms? Should a civic education program attempt to build upon the political values, attitudes, and beliefs that students have developed prior to entering the program, to use student values, attitudes, and beliefs as "springboards" for inquiry?*

#### Political Disabilities of the Lower Classes

Another educational problem indicated by political socialization research relates to the widespread political apathy, alienation, and authoritarianism of lower and working-class people. Unlike their age-mates who enjoy higher socio-economic status, low status children have much less feeling for certain basic American political ideals. Lower-status children have less of a sense of political efficacy, less political interest, less political tolerance, and less political sophistication than middle- and upper-class youth. Lower-class children have a propensity to defer to authority symbols. They tend to believe that they cannot influence political decisions, to feel incompetent to assume leadership roles, to accept unthinkingly the domination of others, and to feel inade-

quate to cope with social forces that appear overwhelming.<sup>13</sup>

A striking association between low socio-economic status and negative political attitudes is revealed in a recent study by Jaros, Hirsch, and Fleron of deprived, socially isolated rural children, grades five through twelve, in Eastern Kentucky. Compared to most young people in the United States, these children of Appalachia hold much less favorable attitudes toward their political leaders and political system. The Appalachian children were generally distrustful of political authority, disrespectful of the Presidential role, and disinterested in political affairs. They expressed a very low sense of political efficacy. These negative political attitudes appear to develop early and are static through the child's development.<sup>14</sup>

The school often contributes to the political disabilities of lower-class youth. Curriculum content experienced by the lower-status child is often geared toward the simple and direct indoctrination of the clichés of Americanism and the prescription of idealistic virtues as viewed from middle-class perspectives. Political education programs are devoid of information about the realities of government functions or political behavior and are scarcely relevant to the needs of underprivileged youth. Lower-status children are not given an understanding of how the political system can help them to achieve desired social and economic objectives. Usually the educational climate is authoritarian in schools with predominately lower-status children. Such children are not encouraged to express readily or freely their own opinions, to participate in decision-making activities, to assume important responsibilities at school, or to think critically or divergently. Furthermore, school authorities tend to discriminate against lower-class children when dispensing punishments and rewards.

Kenneth Langton has suggested that altering the school environment of the lower-class child may help to overcome typical political disabilities. Langton studied the political attitudes of lower-status stu-

<sup>13</sup> Fred I Greenstein, *Children and Politics*, pp. 94-106. David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms," p. 35. Roy E. Horton, Jr., "American Freedom and the Values of Youth," pp. 56-58. Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955, p. 139. Herbert H. Hyman, *Political Socialization*, p. 35.

<sup>14</sup> Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," *The American Political Science Review* 62:564-574, 1968.

dents in homogeneous working-class schools and in heterogeneous schools. He reports that homogeneous working-class schools tend to reinforce lack of political efficacy, low political interest, and political intolerance. By contrast, working-class students in heterogeneous schools tend to express higher levels of political efficacy, political interest, and political toleration. Exposure to a school environment dominated by higher class norms appears to influence resocialization in the direction of higher class political norms.<sup>15</sup>

*Can the schools help to overcome the politically debilitating effects of family and neighborhood life among lower socio-economic status individuals through heterogeneous grouping of students across socio-economic status levels? Can the schools boost the political competencies of lower-status youth through changing school environments to include more opportunities for student assumption of rights and responsibilities? Can a reconstructed civic education curriculum, emphasizing the realities of the political process and the acquisition of political skills, contribute to the development of positive political attitudes among lower-class youth?*

#### Emphasis Upon Conformity In Schools

Political socialization research indicates the proclivity of our schools to approach the task of political socialization in a one-sided manner, especially in schools serving mainly lower and working class children. For example, Hess and Torney reported that public school elementary teachers whom they studied tended to focus upon the importance of authority, obedience to law, and conformity to school regulations and to disregard the importance of active democratic participation. This concern was characteristic of teachers from grades one through eight. Teachers stressed political duties and underemphasized the rights and powers of citizens. Hess and Torney concluded that the consequences of teacher preoccupation with authority and conformity were inimical to democratic objectives of instruction.<sup>16</sup>

Certain consequences may flow from overemphasis upon conformity that are inconsistent with many of the professed objectives of American public schools and with certain democratic ideals. For example, overemphasis upon conformity appears to be associated with authoritarian school atmospheres where docile

children are prized above active, deeply probing thinkers; where strict adherence to authoritative pronouncements takes precedence over student inquiry into pressing socio-political concerns; where strict obedience to rules is stressed to the exclusion of inquiry into the need for rules. *Does this overemphasis on conformity contribute to some unanticipated and undesired consequences for adult political behavior, such as alienation or cynicism, apathy, and intolerance?*

#### Cosmopolitanism and Political Orientation

The relationship between an individual's degree of cosmopolitanism and his political orientation suggests some changes in social studies education. Cosmopolitanism appears to be associated with political toleration and political sophistication. Jennings reports that twelfth-grade students who reveal a cosmopolitan political orientation tend to be more interested in and informed about both specific international affairs and public affairs generally than students who indicate a more provincial political orientation.<sup>17</sup> Also, students who show a cosmopolitan political orientation are inclined to tolerate international political diversity. Less cosmopolitan students are less open-minded, and provincial students show a propensity for chauvinism.<sup>18</sup> Jennings' cosmopolitan students are not as open-minded about domestic, deviant political and social behavior as they are about alien political systems. Only a moderate relationship exists between a cosmopolitan political orientation and a general tolerance of non-conforming social and political behavior.<sup>19</sup> Research with adult subjects also shows that internationally minded persons are more likely to be active in politics, informed about politics, and to have a higher sense of political efficacy than do isolationists.<sup>20</sup>

*Does this relationship between cosmopolitanism and political toleration, political sophistication, political participation, and sense of political efficacy mean that we should devote more effort in school to increasing the cosmopolitanism of our students? Does this relationship imply that we should increase the amount of content about non-Western areas in our social studies curricula?*

<sup>17</sup> M. Kent Jennings, "Pre-Adult Orientations to Multiple Systems of Government." Prepared for the Midwest Conference of Political Scientists, April 6, 1966, p. 25. (Unpublished paper)

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>20</sup> Angus Campbell, P. E. Converse, W. E. Miller, and D. E. Stokes, *The American Voter*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960, pp. 200-201.

<sup>15</sup> Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Groups and School and the Political Socialization Process," *American Political Science Review* 61:751-758, 1967.

<sup>16</sup> Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children*.

### Development of Political Sophistication

All students of the political socialization process agree that youngsters increase their fund of political information throughout adolescence. Twelfth-graders typically possess more political information than ninth-graders. However, given the content of typical high school civics and government courses, as revealed by curriculum guides and textbooks, it is unlikely that the school contributes substantially to high levels of student political sophistication and understanding. *In the absence of out-of-school political experiences, it is doubtful that the typical twelfth-grader has a vastly more profound understanding of the political system and political behavior than the typical ninth- or tenth-grader.*

Some civic education curriculum reformers advocate a social science approach to the study of politics as a means of developing student political sophistication. This approach is based upon conceptual tools developed by social scientists for the generation and ordering of data about political behavior and political systems.<sup>21</sup>

To what extent are adolescents capable of managing a social science approach to the study of politics? Can high school students, especially ninth- and tenth-graders, deal meaningfully with highly abstract concepts such as political culture, political socialization, and political role? Research by Joseph Adelson and Robert P. O'Neil suggests that thirteen-year-olds are at the threshold of ability to deal with political abstractions, to reason from premises, to engage in hypothetico-deductive modes of analysis.<sup>22</sup> The fifteen-year-old can think competently and consistently in terms of political abstractions. There appears to be no substantial difference between the ability of fifteen-year-olds and eighteen-year-olds to deal with political abstractions. According to Adelson and O'Neil:

The fifteen-year-old has an assured grasp of formal thought. He neither hesitates nor falters in dealing with the abstract; when he seems to falter it is more likely due to a lack of information or from a weakness in knowing and using general principles. His failures are likely to be in content and fluency, rather than in abstract quality *per se*. Taking our data as a whole we

<sup>21</sup> Howard D. Mehlinger, *The Study of American Political Behavior*, Bloomington: The High School Curriculum Center in Government at Indiana University, 1967. (Unpublished paper)

<sup>22</sup> Joseph Adelson and Robert P. O'Neil, "The Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence." (Mimeographed paper) This paper is published in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 4:294-306, 1966.

usually find only moderate differences between fifteen and eighteen.<sup>23</sup>

Prior to age thirteen, according to Adelson and O'Neil, most children do not have the cognitive capacity to engage in complex abstract mental operations about political processes. Their research seems to indicate that prior to age thirteen, most children do not have the cognitive capacity to master mental operations fundamental to a well-developed social science approach to the study of politics. However, from age thirteen, children appear to become increasingly capable of handling political abstractions and hypothetico-deductive reasoning. It would appear that social studies curricula, in particular civic education curricula, do not take full advantage of the cognitive capacities of adolescents. *It would also appear that for secondary school students a thoroughgoing social science approach to the study of politics is feasible.*

### New Directions for Civic Education

This presentation raises many questions and provides few firm answers because the research findings that have been discussed do *not* prescribe programs of curriculum development or pedagogical methods. The questions that have been raised can be answered variously, in terms of various value-laden criteria.

My answers to these questions are reflected by the program of curriculum development now under way at Indiana University's High School Curriculum Center in Government. These answers have been developed in terms of the value judgments of our Curriculum Center staff about what constitutes a good citizen and a good general education about mankind.

Even the questions that have been raised might have been different had someone else written this article, because the value orientation of another person might have led him to view this body of research in a different way. However, careful consideration of questions raised by political socialization research, whether these questions or others, is a prerequisite to any substantial efforts to improve political socialization strategies through formal education.

It is beyond the scope of this presentation to offer thoroughgoing answers to the previously stated questions, although the phrasing of the questions and the discussion preceding them certainly suggest my disposition concerning answers. In terms of my values, the implication of political socialization research for social studies education is that reform of curriculum

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

and pedagogical strategies in civic education is needed badly. *Course content should be reorganized around key concepts from the behavioral and social sciences. Pedagogical strategies should be based upon engaging students actively in the quest for knowledge.* It is assumed that central to the improvement of political socialization strategies of American schools should be efforts to keep the socialization process open-ended by providing young people with the tools to think reflectively about their political values, attitudes, and beliefs, with dispositions to examine traditional practices critically, and with an educational atmosphere conducive to inquiry.

*It is assumed that central to the improvement of political socialization strategies of American schools should be a revision of current civics and government courses to bring them into line with current scholarship in the social and behavioral sciences.* This would involve discarding many American myths that are taught as facts in typical civics and government courses and that may be dysfunctional if acted upon in the real political world. It also would involve replacement of the traditional legalistic-historical-structural framework for organizing information in civic education. Related concepts about political behavior and political systems, drawn from the social and behavioral sciences, would provide a more useful framework for organizing course content and assisting student interpretation of information.

If secondary school civic education programs move in the direction suggested by these ideas, then perhaps a beginning will be made toward increasing the influence of formal civic education upon student political values, attitudes, and beliefs. This impact will result not from preachment and moralizing but from providing students with new perspectives for the interpretation of political phenomena. These new perspectives stem from looking at political behavior through devices such as political culture, political socialization, political roles, and other social science concepts.

Contrary to our "folk wisdom," facts are not impartial or neutral; they do not lead to the same cognitions for all people. Rather, the concepts that an individual has acquired, his cognitive maps of the world, determine the way he perceives things, the way he organizes, interprets, and evaluates the facts in his world.

Viewed in this way, the content of a course in political behavior is something more than a mass of information to be surveyed or a collection of "neutral" facts to be absorbed. It becomes a determiner of the

learner's thought processes and attitude structure; it has an impact upon the way the learner perceives, organizes, and evaluates the objects in his environment. As Bruce Joyce says:

The selection of content may affect not only the factual knowledge which children acquire but also the thinking processes which they develop. . . . In other words, the selection of content determines to some extent the way the student will be taught to think while he is in school.<sup>24</sup>

The content of new high school courses in social science, and in particular political science, should be aimed at influencing the learner to think in such a way that he extracts more meaning from his experiences and is imbued with the norms that our culture holds forth concerning the validation of meaning. These norms might be labeled the "scientific disposition" or the "scientific ethic." Through this kind of learning, we expect that some student values based upon "folk wisdom" will be washed away. As Kenneth Boulding says:

Science is corrosive of all values based exclusively on simpler epistemological processes. The natural sciences have created an image of the world in which ghosts, witches, and things that go bump in the night are so little valued that they have withered and died in the human imagination. Biology has created a world in which the folk ideas of racial purity can no longer survive. Similarly, the social sciences are creating a world in which national loyalty and the national state can no longer be taken for granted as sacred institutions, in which religion has to change profoundly its views on the nature of man and of sin, in which family loyalty and affection becomes a much more self-conscious and less simple-minded affair, and in which, indeed, all ethical systems are profoundly desacralized.<sup>25</sup>

If these assumptions about the possible impact of course content on student thinking are correct, then new courses about politics that are grounded in social science will enable students to think about politics quite differently than students who have not studied these courses. They will enable them to interpret more powerfully their politically relevant experiences. They will enable students to extract more meaning from their politically relevant experiences and to cope more adequately with political affairs. Certainly this hope is consistent with a basic democratic ideal of our society, the ideal that an informed and politically efficacious citizenry is an essential condition of a democracy.

<sup>24</sup>Bruce R. Joyce, *Strategies For Elementary Social Science Education*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1965, p. 69.

<sup>25</sup>Kenneth E. Boulding, "Dare We Take the Social Sciences Seriously?" *American Behavioral Scientist* 10:10, June, 1967, p. 15.

## *A Comment on "Implications of Political Socialization Research For the Reform of Civic Education"*

by ROBERT E. CLEARY  
Associate Dean, The American University, Washington, D.C

While I am in substantial agreement with the brunt of the argument made by John Patrick in this stimulating article, I would like to elaborate briefly on three of his points, and I appreciate being given the opportunity to do so. To turn first to the impact of formal instruction on learning, Patrick correctly observes that the various indications we have that formal programs of civic education do not seem to have much effect on students do not preclude restructured and better conceived civic education programs from having a significant impact. At present a relationship does exist between the number of years spent in school and a person's political orientations as well as his ability to think in an analytical way.

In general, the more schooling an individual has the more effect there is likely to be on his capacity for reasoned analysis. Thus, after completing his extensive survey of the impact of a college education on attitudes, Philip E. Jacob wrote that college graduates tend to be less dogmatic, more flexible in their beliefs, and more open to different points of view than they were when they entered college. Finding an increasing tendency among college students "to reject dogmatism *per se*," Jacob concluded that: "Tests of 'critical thinking in social science' show students acquiring greater capacity to reach judgments by reasoned thought instead of blind opinion or on the basis of someone's unchallenged authority."<sup>1</sup> In more cases than not, he declares, a college education "... softens an individual's extremist views and persuades him to reconsider aberrant values. It increases the tolerance potential of students toward differing beliefs, social groups and standards of conduct."<sup>2</sup>

The overall educational experience thus seems to have an appreciable influence on the outlook toward

life exhibited by an individual. The number of years spent in school also tends to correlate with a person's basic orientations toward politics. V. O. Key's analysis of data gathered by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan indicates, for instance, that a strong positive correlation exists between amount of formal education and level of political knowledge, political interest, political participation, feeling of political efficacy, sense of citizen duty, toleration of diverse political values, and ability to assess the complex ramifications of a political problem. Clearly, factors other than the school itself affect such attitudes (for one illustration, students from higher socioeconomic levels are more likely to stay in school), but Key points out that even when occupation was held constant the data revealed significant variations according to the level of formal schooling attained by the individual queried.<sup>3</sup>

### Impact of Civic Education Courses

The school in its overall program and environment can have a significant impact, then, on its students. What about carefully constructed courses in civic education? Can such courses *per se* have an appreciable impact upon learning? The limited effect of many courses on the intellectual development of students is due to a wide variety of factors, including some in the larger society that cannot be controlled by educators. Among those factors for which educators are directly responsible, however, are a too frequent emphasis in the classroom on form rather than on learning, a widespread affirmation of the importance of facts rather than understandings, the evasion of real issues and problems as subjects for discussion, and attempts to inculcate value rather than to educate. Too many educators are continuing to teach in traditional ways and are not taking sufficient advantage of the psychological knowledge that is slowly being amassed about how and why youngsters learn.

The school can enhance the analytic ability of children in a wide variety of ways, including: a

<sup>1</sup> Philip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of College Teaching*. New York: Harper and Row, 1957, pp. 45-46.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53. Also see Norval D. Glenn, "The Trend of Differences in Attitudes and Behavior by Educational Level," *Sociology of Education*, 39, Summer 1966, pp. 255-275. For a useful critique of Jacob's work which does not negate his central points, see Allen H. Barton, *Studying the Effects of College Education: A Methodological Examination of "Changing Values in College"*. New Haven: Edward H. Hazen Foundation, 1959.

<sup>3</sup> V. O. Key, Jr., *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961, pp. 315-43.

greater reliance on methods of teaching which encourage student participation, more emphasis on classroom discussion, greater use of concrete aids to learning, a stronger attempt to relate new phenomena to those with which the students are already familiar, a more open classroom atmosphere, earlier efforts to help children learn, and increased attempts to engender internalized reward systems in students. When employed with intelligence and care, these methods show results in the elementary school as well as in the secondary school. In fact, despite the difficulties that elementary school students have in dealing with abstract ideas, many of these ways of teaching may even be more helpful for grammar school youngsters whose intellectual development is still in a more formative stage and whose capacity for reasoned analysis does seem susceptible to enlargement through practice and experience.

It is clear that a number of those children who usually do not do well in school can learn, when given sufficient encouragement and when certain teaching methods are employed. In an extremely interesting study Robert Rosenthal of Harvard University found that teachers' expectations influence how well children learn. Rosenthal gave I.Q. tests to some 300 children, first through sixth grade, in an inner city school in San Francisco. Then he chose 20 per cent of the pupils at random and told their teachers that these youngsters had scored very high on the test and would probably show marked intellectual development during the coming school year. Eight months later the selected students showed an average gain of 12.2 I.Q. points as compared with an 8.4 point average gain for the control group. In first grade the specially identified children advanced an average of 27.4 points as compared to 12.0 for those in the control group.<sup>4</sup> Teachers must be wary, therefore, of a tendency to assume that a particular child just cannot learn.

One of the questions John Patrick raises in his article concerns the content of civic education programs in terms of a stress on national loyalty and system support. Some scholars, like David Easton and Jack Dennis, argue that such an emphasis is useful in the American society on the grounds that the idealized sense of political efficacy now developed by most children during the elementary school years is a factor in offsetting widespread political frustration as

adults. As a result, they declare, the development of a feeling of political efficacy in elementary school students is a stabilizing force in the American society.<sup>5</sup> This writer disagrees.

It is true that early learning has a strong impact on attitudes, and that as an individual gradually develops a relatively permanent value structure, changes in his attitudes become more and more difficult. Nevertheless, individuals can and do break with their past. Change is particularly likely to occur in regard to situations on which they have amassed direct evidence. This is true of politics. A sizeable number of American youngsters develop at least a nodding acquaintance with some of the less ideal realities of politics and government by the time they reach high school. Some students who discover at firsthand that certain political leaders are selfish, narrow-minded, or even dishonest will be sustained in their faith in democracy by an underlying belief and idealism, but others—contrary to Easton and Dennis—will react so strongly as to change the basic direction of their feelings regarding politics. For these youngsters disillusionment will follow the discovery of illusion.

In this connection the relatively high sense of political efficacy in young children may in itself be a contributing factor to later disillusionment when individuals discover the limits of their effect on the political system. The young child sees government as benevolent and feels that he can influence it whenever he wishes in order to accomplish a desired result. He develops these attitudes, though, before he knows very much about the operation of the political system. Then as he gradually begins to realize that men inexorably have differences of opinion and policy which are due to conflicting values and goals, and that compromise is often necessary in life as a consequence, he may well react negatively to his previous impressions and ideas—particularly if he feels he has been purposely misled. An attempt to persuade students that government is ever benevolent is likely, therefore, to be self-defeating in the long run.

It is becoming more and more clear that attempts to inculcate certain beliefs and attitudes in children are extremely short-sighted. The school does not operate in a vacuum, and simplistic support of democracy and freedom is not enough. Rather, a democracy should aim at the development of citizens

<sup>4</sup>Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, *Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupils' Intellectual Development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968, pp. 47-146, especially p. 75.

<sup>5</sup>See David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," *American Political Science Review*, 61, March, 1967, p. 38.

who are more than passive observers, who do more than mouth the right slogans without having an understanding of how to apply them in specific situations. What is needed in civic education is an attempt to help youngsters develop their ability to investigate problems in order that they might understand the world around them—why it is like it is, what it might take to improve it, and how it might be improved.

In the last section of his paper Patrick offers a number of valuable suggestions on how to accomplish this goal. The reader should consult other specialists working in the curriculum field for further suggestions.<sup>6</sup> While I agree with the main cast of Patrick's recommendations, I would like to offer one caution with which I feel reasonably sure he will agree: no one knows enough yet about social science and human psychology to be able to say with cer-

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<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Donald W. Oliver and James P. Shaver, *Teaching Public Issues in the High School*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966; Edwin Fenton, *The New Social Studies*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967; and Jerome S. Bruner, *Toward a Theory of Instruction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

tainty that he has the answers for civic education curriculum construction. While the Indiana University curriculum project in Government is proceeding along a path that promises to pay high dividends, it is rapidly becoming clear that knowledge in a number of the social sciences can be presented in different ways under varied patterns of organization, with several approaches being just as effective for learning purposes as others.

The various social sciences are so nebulous as to their boundaries and so complex in their subject matter that no one has yet evolved a structure for any one of them which is obviously the definitive way of organizing that particular discipline. The problem is compounded insofar as a structure for the social studies curriculum or for civic education is concerned, given the wide variety of scholarly disciplines from which the material included in the social studies or in civic education is drawn. Nevertheless, the approaches to civic education being developed at Indiana and elsewhere are of vital importance because of their promise in this regard as well as their extremely useful suggestions on how to advance the analytic abilities of students.

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PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL SCIENCE TEACHERS

A Directory

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1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036  
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Annual Membership, \$15.00

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A Listing

This listing has been prepared to list the various paperback series of readings and references known to be currently in print and available for instructional purposes in political science and government. Schools desiring to purchase such materials for supplementary purposes should, therefore, examine several or all of the series available to determine which will best meet their needs.

**AMERICAN PROBLEM SERIES** (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 383 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10017) Designed for the study of certain governmental problems or topics with each investigating a specific aspect of government written by an authority in the field. (Secondary)

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**FOREIGN RELATIONS SERIES** (Laidlaw Brothers, Thatcher and Madison Streets, River Forest, Illinois 60305) Designed specifically to provide secondary students with materials for understanding current foreign policy problems. Teacher guides are available for each booklet. (Secondary)

**FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN POLITICAL SCIENCE SERIES** (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632) Designed to provide a scientific analytic approach to the complete introductory course in political science or American government. (Secondary-College)

**GRASS ROOTS GUIDES ON DEMOCRACY AND PRACTICAL POLITICAL SERIES** (The Center for Information on America, Educational Books Division, Washington, Connecticut 06793) A series of pamphlets oriented toward political science. (Secondary)

**HARPER'S COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT SERIES** (Harper and Row, Publishers, 49 East 33rd Street, New York, New York 10016) Designed for college-level readers and useful to able secondary students stressing comparative governments. (Upper Secondary-College)

**HARCOURT CASEBOOKS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE** (Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10007) Designed to present original case materials--studies in depth that illustrate major areas or institutions of government and politics. (Secondary-College)

**NEW PERSPECTIVES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE** (Van Nostrand, 120 Alexander Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540) A series of paperbound originals with each volume augmenting available materials and adding new perspectives to the study of a subject or topic basic to an understanding of government and politics. (Secondary)

**THE MERRILL STUDIES OF AMERICAN DOCUMENTS** (Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., Educational Books Division, 1300 Alum Creek Drive, Columbus, Ohio 43216) Designed for senior high school history and government courses to analyze, interpret, and outline the backgrounds of the respective historic documents such as The Declaration of Independence, Bill of Rights, Monroe Doctrine, Articles of Confederation, etc. (Secondary)

**RAND McNALLY PUBLIC AFFAIRS SERIES** (Rand McNally and Company, Education Division, P. O. Box 7600, Chicago, Illinois 60680) Designed to present opposing points of view and a political life. Each volume in the series contains a collection of essays prepared for and presented at the Public Affairs Conference Center of the University of Chicago. (Secondary)

**STUDIES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE** (Random House, Inc., 475 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10022) Designed to stress political science content in the classroom. (Upper Secondary-College)

**WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW SERIES** (Scholastic Book Services, 904 Sylvan Avenue, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632) A series emphasizing communism, democracy, the U. S. Constitution, and other topics pertinent to the study of government. (Secondary)

## TAPED PROGRAMS FOR GOVERNMENT

## Student Materials

Americans Speak Up Series

This series for junior and senior high school students was written by Floyd and Leila Whitney. The four parts with appropriate silent intervals between program units will run about eighteen minutes.

<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Title</u>
152-30	The Flag of the United States of America Pilgrims--Minute Men--Concord--Lexington--Washington-- Jefferson--Franklin and John Marshall.
	The Republic for Which It Stands A companion piece which stirs young people with a new understanding of America and love of their flag.
	American Patriots Speak Timely quotations from Lincoln, Webster, and Washington.
	The Gettysburg Address Beautifully spoken, with all the inspiration and simplicity of that great speech.

Lest We Forget These Great Americans Series

This series by the Institute for Democratic Education is designed to bring stories of men and women who dedicated their lives to the principles set down by our American founders. The teacher should preaudition these programs to determine their suitability for senior high school students.

<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Title</u>
1205-15	The Story of Woodrow Wilson
1207-15	The Story of Justices Brandeis and Holmes
1209-15	The Story of Wendell Wilkie
1210-15	The Story of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Part I
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Miscellaneous Topics and Personalities

These programs are designed for high school students with emphasis on contemporary topics and personalities.

Code Number

- 1486-30                    Joseph McCarthy (Biography)  
Account of McCarthy's early life and education; investigation of alleged Communism in State Department and its effect on his senatorial career; his illness ending in death in 1957.
- AB1490-30                An Hour with Dean Rusk, Secretary of State  
History and description of the U.S. State Department, its role in the Cuban Crisis, Race Relations, and Disarmament Conflict of ideologies between Red China and Russia and the situation in India.
- AB1491-30                Eisenhower 1963  
Dwight D. Eisenhower discusses the situation in the Cuban Crisis, Bay of Pigs invasion, news security, defense budget, Sino-Soviet Split, Common Market, Republican Party and where the United States stands today.
- 1493-30                    President Kennedy's Cuban Crisis Speech  
President Kennedy's speech to the American people on October 22, 1962, in which he reports on the missile buildup on the Island of Cuba. (18 minutes)
- AB1494-30                Adlai Stevenson's Cuban Crisis Speech before United Nations  
U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson in an address before the United Nations Security Council during the Cuban Crisis.
- AB1496-30                The Missile Crisis  
A documentary and chronological report on the thirteen days of the missile crisis of October, 1962.
- 2473-15                    The Berlin Crisis  
The problem of preserving German unity and of maintaining West Berlin as a free city is described through a series of statements by Douglas Dillion and Dr. Henry A. Kissinger. (13½ minutes)
- 1332-30                    Foreign Policy Address  
President Lyndon B. Johnson delivered address at Omaha, Nebraska, in July of 1966.

- 1783-30            The Global Task of Agency for International Development  
Discussed by W. Steen McCall, Senior Evaluation Officer,  
of the Office of the Administrator for AID.
- AB1419-30        Lyndon B. Johnson's State of the Union Address of 1966.
- AB1939-60        Lyndon B. Johnson's State of the Union Address of 1967.
- AB1492-30        John F. Kennedy's State of the Union Address of 1963.
- 1498-30           How Is Our Foreign Policy Made?  
The content and direction of our foreign policy is  
increasingly the subject of discussion all over America,  
and the debate on foreign policy is both legitimate and  
desirable. This program presents two panelists from the  
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foreign policy with the foreign affairs editor of a national  
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- AB1500-30        The Warren Commission Report on President Kennedy's  
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to destroy us militarily, beat us in space, rate of eco-  
nomic growth, and education. The true challenge is all  
of these and more: the Soviets hope to convince the  
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