

THE TEENAGE JOINER AND HIS ORIENTATIONS
TOWARD PUBLIC AFFAIRS: A TEST OF TWO
MULTIPLE GROUP MEMBERSHIP HYPOTHESES

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Helenan Sonnenburg Lewis
1962

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

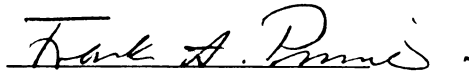
**The Teenage Joiner and his Orientations Toward Public
Affairs: A Test of Two Multiple Group Member-
ship Hypotheses**

presented by

Helenan Sonnenburg Lewis

**has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for**

Ph. D. degree in Political Science


Major professor

Date May 15, 1962



THE TEENAGE JOINER AND HIS ORIENTATIONS TOWARD PUBLIC
AFFAIRS: A TEST OF TWO MULTIPLE GROUP
MEMBERSHIP HYPOTHESES

By

Helenan Sonnenburg Lewis

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Political Science

1962

ABSTRACT

THE TEENAGE JOINER AND HIS ORIENTATIONS TOWARD PUBLIC AFFAIRS: A TEST OF TWO MULTIPLE GROUP MEMBERSHIP HYPOTHESES

by Helenan Sonnenburg Lewis

This dissertation is a test of two hypotheses concerning the consequences of multiple group membership in high school extra-curricular activities on the development of favorable orientations toward public affairs. The first hypothesis states that membership in extra-curricular activities is associated with a sense of political efficacy, belief in the legitimacy of and satisfaction with political institutions, and interest and expectation of future participation in politics. This hypothesis is based on Arnold Rose's theory of the functions of voluntary associations in a democratic society.¹ The second hypothesis is based on Georg Simmel's theory of pluralistic participation.² Simmel states that individuals who join organizations to satisfy several interests will be exposed to cross-pressures, and that this experience will contribute to personality integration. A corollary of this is that individuals who join several types of voluntary associations should perceive

institutions normally involved in conflict as less threatening than those who do not. The hypothesis holds that membership in different types of extra-curricular activities or membership in activities whose other members belong to activities of different types is associated with interest and expectation of future participation in politics, open-mindedness about political belief systems, and weak political party identification.

The data were collected in Holt, a suburb of Lansing, Michigan. Questionnaires were administered in May, 1960, to the entire student body of the community's only high school. Indexes measuring sense of political efficacy, legitimacy of political institutions, satisfaction with political parties, interest and expectation of future participation in politics, and open-mindedness about political belief systems were developed through a factor analysis of the responses to the political items in the questionnaire. Students prepared lists of their school activities which were supplemented with information from the school yearbook. These were used to construct three indexes of multiple group membership: (1) number of memberships in extra-curricular activities; (2) number of different types

of group memberships; and, (3) single- and multi-factor group memberships. The third index was constructed through a factor analysis of phi-coefficients computed between pairs of groups in the high school. This index distinguishes between groups in which the members belong to different types of groups, and groups whose members belong primarily to one type of group.

Significant chi-square values were obtained when the index of number of memberships in extra-curricular activities was compared with the responses of students on the political indexes. Students who had three or more memberships expressed a greater sense of political efficacy, belief in the legitimacy of political institutions, satisfaction with political parties, and interest and expectation of future participation in politics than students with no memberships or only one or two memberships. These findings confirm the hypothesis derived from two of Rose's three functions of voluntary associations: the distribution of power in society, and the development of satisfaction with democratic processes.

When the number of types of memberships index and the single- and plural-factor index were compared with the

students' responses on the political indexes, significant chi-squares were again obtained. Students who belonged to two or more types of groups and those who belonged to groups in which the members belonged to different types of groups expressed greater interest and expectation of future participation in politics, were more open-minded about political belief systems, and had weaker political party identifications than the students who belonged to one type of group or those who belonged to groups whose members belonged to only one type of group. These findings seem generally to confirm Georg Simmel's theory of pluralistic participation as it applies to politics.

¹Arnold M. Rose, Theory and Method in the Social Sciences (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), pp. 51-69.

²Georg Simmel, The Web of Group-Affiliations, translated by Reinhard Bendix (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 125-195.

THE TEENAGE JOINER AND HIS ORIENTATIONS TOWARD PUBLIC
AFFAIRS: A TEST OF TWO MULTIPLE GROUP
MEMBERSHIP HYPOTHESES

By

Helenan Sonnenburg Lewis

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Political Science

1962

6 22051
10/10/62

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is part of a larger study of political socialization conducted by the Bureau of Social and Political Research at Michigan State University. I am indebted to all the members of the Bureau staff for their contributions of time, imagination, and enthusiasm to the entire study and to my own small part of it. Special mention and warm thanks are due, however, to the following:

To Dr. Frank A. Pinner, Director of the Bureau and Chairman of my Guidance Committee, for his genuine concern, throughout the years of my graduate study, for my development as a political scientist and as a person. His own talents are many, and he has not hesitated to share any and all of them with me in the attainment of my education.

To Francis M. Sim, Research Analyst, for the application of his vast knowledge of research techniques, statistics, and computers to the development of indexes to measure students' political orientations and multiple group membership. From him, I have learned to probe deeply into the meanings of each methodological and statistical technique which I have employed.

To Hilda Jaffe, Editor, for her creative editing of this manuscript. Her insistence that the logical development

of a problem be preserved in its description has made this dissertation a more ordered and readable presentation.

To Ira Rohter and Phyllis Carlson, graduate assistants, for their precise execution of my data processing instructions. They themselves did much of the IBM and computer work for this dissertation.

Acknowledgment is also due two professors in the Department of Political Science who served on my Guidance Committee and read this manuscript in its many versions:

To Dr. Alan P. Grimes, for his many years of encouragement and advice, and for his wise counsel as to the organization of the theoretical chapter of this dissertation.

To Dr. Samuel Krislov, for his wonderful good humor and his firm contact with reality. To him I owe the realization that even my modest findings about the consequences of membership in extra-curricular activities for the political socialization of teenagers were surprising in view of the realities of the extra-curricular activity program in high schools.

Finally, I am indebted above all to my husband, David M. Lewis, Instructor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Without his love, his devotion, and his

attentive supervision of our son and our household, this dissertation and the degree that I have sought so long could not have been completed. He has been delayed in his own doctoral program because of the share of his time, talents, and energy he generously gave so I could complete mine. My gratitude for this sacrifice has no bounds.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	vii
 Chapter	
I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	1
Introduction	1
Groups in Society	1
Arnold Rose's Theory of the Function of Voluntary Associations in Democratic Societies	12
The First Multiple Group Membership Hypothesis	21
Georg Simmel and Pluralistic Participation	23
The Second Multiple Group Membership Hypothesis	33
II. COMPOSITION OF THE STUDENT BODY	36
Sex, Grade, and Curriculum	38
Occupational Aspiration	40
Social Class Identification and Other Indicators of Socio-economic Status	46
Religious Affiliation	50
Perceived Ethnicity	52
III. THE STUDENTS' POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS	54
Responses to the Questionnaire	57
Construction of Indexes to Measure Political Orientations	79
Association of the Indexes with Sex, Grade in School, and Social Class Identification	89

Chapter	Page
IV. MEMBERSHIP IN EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS	98
Construction of an Index Measuring the Amount of Participation in Extra- Curricular Activities	98
Correlates of Membership in Extra- Curricular Activities	103
Test of the First Multiple Group Membership Hypothesis	117
V. PLURALISTIC PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS	144
Construction of Indexes to Measure Pluralistic Participation	145
Test of the Second Multiple Group Membership Hypothesis	146
VI. CONCLUSIONS	166
APPENDIX	176
A. Questionnaire Administered in Holt High School on May 18, 1960	176
B. Questionnaire Administered in Holt High School on May 20, 1960	197
BIBLIOGRAPHY	222

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Frequency distribution of students' curricula . .	39
2. Percentage distribution of students choosing occupations which they had considered entering, expected to enter, preferred to enter, and preferred to have by the time they were thirty years of age.	42
3. Percentage distribution of students choosing occupations they expected to enter and the occupations of their fathers	44
4. Frequency distribution of social class identification	46
5. Frequency distribution of scores on Duncan's socio-economic index by population deciles . . .	49
6. Frequency distribution of religious affiliation .	51
7. Percentage distribution of students assigning motives for entering politics, religion, and business	59
8. Frequency distribution of responses to questions about why political parties exist	62
9. Percentage distribution of responses for boys and girls to a check list of things which are very important to know about a person you might want to marry	66
10. Frequency distribution of responses to questions about political interest	67
11. Frequency of political, religious, and financial discussion with father, mother, friends, teacher, and minister by sex	70

Table	Page
12. Frequency of political, religious, and financial discussion with father, mother, friends, teacher and minister by grade in school	71
13. Percentage distribution of responses concerning newspaper sections read regularly by sex	76
14. Percentage distribution of responses concerning favorite television program by sex	77
15. Percentage distribution of responses concerning kinds of books and magazines preferred by sex . .	77
16. Varimax rotation of a factor matrix of twenty-two agree-disagree items concerning the political orientations of students	83
17. Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by sex, grade, and social class identification	92
18. Political party appreciation by sex, grade, and social class identification	93
19. Sense of political efficacy by sex, grade, and social class identification	94
20. Belief in the legitimacy of political institutions by sex, grade, and social class identification	95
21. Open-mindedness about political belief systems by sex, grade, and social class identification. .	96
22. Membership in extra-curricular activities at Holt High School	101
23. Frequency distribution of number of memberships in extra-curricular activities	102

Table	Page
24. Correlates of group membership	108
25. Bivariate distribution in percentages of occupations of Denver residents by number of group memberships	113
26. Sense of political efficacy by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities . .	119
27. Political party appreciation by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities . .	123
28. Political party appreciation by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of ninth and tenth grade students	124
29. Political party appreciation by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of eleventh and twelfth grade students	125
30. Chi-square values and probabilities for items in the political party appreciation index by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities	127
31. Belief in the legitimacy of political institutions by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities	130
32. Belief in the legitimacy of political institutions by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of ninth and tenth grade students	131
33. Belief in the legitimacy of political institutions by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of eleventh and twelfth grade students	132

Table	Page
34. Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities	135
35. Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of students who identify with the upper or middle class.	137
36. Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of students who identify with the working or lower class	138
37. Frequency of political discussion with father by member of memberships in extra-curricular activities	139
38. Frequency of political discussion with mother by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities	140
39. Frequency of political discussion with friends by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities	141
40. Frequency of political discussion with teachers by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities	142
41. Exposure to mass media on public affairs questions by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities	143
42. Frequency distribution of membership in different types of extra-curricular activities .	147
43. Frequency distribution of number of different types of group memberships	149

Table		Page
44.	Varimax rotation of a factor matrix of phi-coefficients computed on memberships in extra-curricular activities in Holt High School, Spring, 1960	149
45.	Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by single- and multi-factor group membership	153
46.	Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by number of types of group membership	154
47.	Open-mindedness about political belief systems by single- and multi-factor group membership. . .	158
48.	Open-mindedness about political belief systems by number of types of group memberships	159
49.	Strength of political party identification by single- and multi-factor group membership	162
50.	Strength of political party identification by number of types of group memberships	163
51.	Weak and strong political party identification by number of types of group memberships	165

LIST OF APPENDICES

	Page
Questionnaire Administered May 18, 1960 in Holt High School, Holt, Michigan	176
Questionnaire Administered May 20, 1960 in Holt High School, Holt, Michigan	197

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The functions which secondary associations should and do serve in a democratic society are questions of political philosophy and political sociology. One of the great debates of the 17th century democratic theorists was whether the state was the supreme sovereign association or whether it shared this sovereignty with certain other groups, particularly religious associations. Rousseau argued that secondary associations were divisive forces in society because they tended to create in the citizen conflicting loyalties. Locke, on the other hand, viewed such associations as cohesive forces that mediated between the individual and his society.¹ His argument is so generally accepted in the United States today that social scientists are less concerned with the functions that secondary associations should serve than they are with the consequences association membership has for its

¹George H. Sabine, "The Two Democratic Traditions," Philosophical Review, LXI (October, 1952), pp. 451-474.

members--the functions they actually do serve. This dissertation is an example of the latter, being concerned with the functions that a particular type of secondary association, the extra-curricular activities of high school students, serve in preparing their members for participation in a democratic society.

Two general theories of the consequences of group membership for the development of political orientations are appropriate to this study. The first is American sociologist Arnold Rose's theory of the functions of voluntary associations in a democratic society.² The second is German sociologist Georg Simmel's theory of the consequences of pluralistic participation, that is, membership in different types of groups or groups with different membership characteristics.³ These theories underlie the two hypotheses about membership in voluntary associations which were tested on a teenage population, the student body of Holt High School, in May, 1960.

²Arnold H. Rose, Theory and Method in the Social Sciences (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), pp. 51-69.

³Georg Simmel, The Web of Group-Affiliations, translated by Reinhard Bendix (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 125-195.

The hypotheses are as follows:

1) Membership in extra-curricular activities is associated with a sense of political efficacy, belief in the legitimacy of and satisfaction with political institutions, and interest and expectation of future participation in politics.

2) Membership in different types of extra-curricular activities or membership in activities whose other members belong to different types of activities is associated with interest and expectation of future participation in politics, open-mindedness about political belief systems, and weak political party identification.

In the first chapter groups will be classified into categoric groups, ascribed groups, and voluntary associations, and it will be shown how the latter have their origins in the Renaissance and how extra-curricular activities fit the definition of voluntary associations; Arnold Rose's theory and the first hypothesis above will then be discussed, followed by a discussion of the Simmel theory and the second hypothesis. Chapter II is a description of the student body of Holt High School. The third, fourth, and fifth chapters present the findings of the study, the construction of indexes on the political and group variables, and the results of the tests of the two hypotheses. The Conclusions discuss the implications of this study for political science and for future research.

Groups in Society

Modern society is a mosaic of groups, large and small, among whose members there are varying amounts of interaction and varying degrees of affection. According to the schema of Arnold Rose⁴ groups can be classified into three types: categoric groups, ascribed groups, and voluntary associations.⁵ Categoric groups are broad population classifications, like sex, age, racial, ethnic, socio-economic, and religious groupings. No face-to-face contact among members of categoric groups is implied in the definition. Ascribed groups are social structures into which people are born--the family, church, community, and state. Voluntary associations are groups joined by individual choice. Rose defines them as follows:

A small group of people, finding they have a certain interest (or purpose) in common, agree to meet and to act together in order to try to satisfy that interest or achieve that purpose. Frequently their action requires that they urge other like-minded persons to join them, so that the associations may

⁴Rose, op. cit., p. 53.

⁵Charles H. Cooley classified groups into primary and secondary, the former being characterized as more intimate than the latter. (Social Organization [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909], p. 23.)

become very large and extend throughout the whole country. They have absolutely no formal contact with the government (unless, of course, they commit an offense against the general criminal law, which is naturally extremely rare). As social structures they have distinct features of formal leadership, specialized activity, rules for operating, place and time of meeting, and so on.⁶

Voluntary associations have a history in Western society of only a few hundred years. They did not exist in primitive society or even as late as the Middle Ages. In primitive society, all of one's affiliations are based on ascribed status characteristics. The individual primitive belongs to an age group, a sex group, a family, a tribe and, if the population is so divided, to a phratry, a moiety, a sib, or a gens. He may also belong to a totemic (religious) association which includes all or part of his tribe. Intricate rules prescribe patterns of interaction with members of each of these groups, particularly across sex lines, and the individual's chances for free association with other people on the basis of common interests are severely limited.⁷

⁶ Rose, op. cit., p. 52.

⁷ Simmel, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

Even as late as the Middle Ages, most group memberships were ascribed. The individual was born to membership in a church, a family, a military unit, a community, and an occupation. Associations joining cities together, like the Hansa League, permitted wide geographical participation for the individual, but limited to groups having the same occupation in other cities. Crossing stratification lines, except for priests who were drawn from all strata and were obliged to give up all private ties, was virtually impossible.⁸

According to Georg Simmel, "free association" in groups had its origin in the Renaissance.

The period of the Renaissance demonstrated most clearly the power of intellectual and educational interests to bring together in a new community like-minded people from a large variety of different groups. Humanistic interests broke down the medieval isolation of social groups and of estates. They gave to people who represented the most diverse points of view and who remained faithful to the most diverse occupations, a common interest in ideas and in knowledge. This common interest, whether one of active pursuit or of passive appreciation, cut across all previously established forms and institutions of medieval life. Humanism at that time entered the experience of all peoples and groups from the outside as something that was equally strange to all. And this very fact made it possible for Humanism to become a common area of

⁸ Simmel, op. cit., p. 144.

interest for them all, or at any rate for certain people among them.⁹

Simmel argues that after the beginning of the Renaissance the bases of social differentiation and group formation differed from those of the pre-Renaissance period. Earlier the formation of groups had been based either on self-interest (economic, military, or political groups), emotion (religious groups), or a mixture of both (the family). After the beginning of the Renaissance, intellectual and rational interests came to be the basis of group formation as well. Simmel writes,

This is a striking example of the general trend, that the formation of groups, which has occurred more recently, often bears a rational character, and that the substantive purpose of these groups is the result of conscious reflection and intelligent planning. Thus, secondary groups, because of their rational formation give the appearance of being determined by a purpose, since their affairs revolve around intellectually articulated interests.¹⁰

Although the phenomenon of voluntary associations had its origin in Europe, it is in the United States that the formation of groups around all likely interests became widespread. Both Alexis de Toqueville and Lord James Bryce

⁹Ibid., pp. 135-136.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 137.

commented on the number of voluntary associations they observed when they visited the United States.¹¹

Social scientists have recently, however, presented data to show that the United States is less a nation of joiners than had been assumed. Komarovsky¹² and Axelrod¹³ have studied urban dwellers, to whom extensive group memberships have long been attributed, and provided evidence that membership in a large number of associations is by no means characteristic of all segments of the population. A national sample survey of adults conducted by the National Opinion Research Center in 1954 revealed that 36% of the sample claimed membership in one or more voluntary associations, while 64% claimed none.¹⁴ The

¹¹Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1954), I, p. 199; James Bryce, Modern Democracies (New York: Macmillan, 1921), I, p. 132.

¹²Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, XI (December, 1946), 686-698.

¹³Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 13-18.

¹⁴Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), 286.

same study reported that 47% of the sample belonged to families in which no member was affiliated with an association.¹⁵ Membership tends to increase with income, education, level of living, and home ownership. It is more prevalent among professionals, proprietors, and managers than among other occupational groups.¹⁶

Extra-curricular activities are among the more important voluntary associations open to teenagers. They had their origin in the United States in the middle of the 19th century. Before then school was considered such a serious business that any kind of recreation was barely condoned. Even feast days and holidays had an uphill fight to win acceptance in the school program.¹⁷

School activities beyond the formal curriculum were first introduced along the Eastern Seaboard, the older and more settled section of the country. The Phillips Debating Club was founded in 1841, Exeter's first game of football took place in 1859, and in the same year the first dramatic

¹⁵ Idem.

¹⁶ Idem.

¹⁷ Robert W. Frederick, The Third Curriculum (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.), p. 22.

society was established at the Hartford Public School.¹⁸

Since that time, educational institutions have moved from intense antipathy toward athletic and literary activities of students to a capitalization of the educative values of extraclass activities. Today, no one would think of building a school that did not include a running track, a football and baseball field, an auditorium, a gymnasium, social rooms and, frequently, student council and publications offices. Since student activities are now thought to be an integral phase of the educational process, they are made easily available and participation in them is encouraged. They are, in fact, the third curriculum (the required and elective curricula are the first and second).¹⁹

Participation in extra-curricular activities is fairly extensive among high school students, both in number of students participating and number of activities per student. Carol Stone found, for example, that only 6 percent of the students in five Washington (state) high schools belonged to no school organizations, while she found the

¹⁸Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁹Idem.

average participation rate was 2.5 organizations per boy and 3.7 organizations per girl.²⁰ In its Holt, Michigan, study, the Bureau of Social and Political Research at Michigan State University found that only 17.9% of the students of Holt High School belonged to no extra-curricular school groups and that the average participation rate was 2.2 groups per student.

In his theory of the consequences of membership in adult voluntary associations, Rose distinguishes between groups that "act only to express or satisfy the interests of their members in relations to themselves"²¹ and those that "are directed outward, . . . wish to achieve some condition or change in some limited segment of the society as a whole."²² The former, Rose calls "expressive" groups, and the latter, "social influence" groups. His theory of the functions of voluntary associations in a democratic society applies more to the latter, although not exclusively.

²⁰ Carol L. Stone, Pacific County Teenagers' Activities and Social Relations (Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations Circular 373 [May, 1960]), p. 15.

²¹ Rose, op. cit., p. 52.

²² Idem.

There is no question that extra-curricular activities are mainly "expressive" groups. They act only to satisfy the interests of their members, and thus are unlikely to serve all the functions suggested by Rose's theory, as will be noted below.

Arnold Rose's Theory of the Functions of
Voluntary Associations in
Democratic Societies

Rose's theory singles out voluntary associations as the primary supporters of political democracy in the United States. He says that while other groups like the family, the church, the community, and the state tend to be totalitarian, voluntary associations distribute and diversify power and influence.²³ He notes that the establishment of modern totalitarian regimes has regularly been "attended by the destruction or 'integration' of voluntary associations."²⁴

His theory proposes the following three functions for voluntary associations: (1) they prevent a concentration and centralization of power; (2) they help individuals to understand how political processes operate; and, (3) they

²³ Ibid., p. 58.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 54.

are mechanisms for social change.²⁵

Voluntary associations prevent a concentration and centralization of power, Rose writes, by distributing power over social life among a very large proportion of the citizenry, instead of allowing its concentration solely in the hands of elected representatives. He says that this feature of voluntary associations gives the United States "a little of the character of the ancient Greek democratic city-state as well as of the modern European centralized republic"²⁶ and continues:

Through the voluntary association the ordinary citizen can acquire as much power in the community or the nation as his free time, ability, and inclination permit him to, without going into the government service, provided he accepts the competition for power of other like-minded citizens. . . . Political power, or influence, in the United States is not concentrated in the government but is distributed over as many citizens, working through their associations, as want to take the responsibility for power.²⁷

Voluntary associations help individuals understand how political processes operate by showing them these processes in limited circumstances which are of direct interest to the individual himself. Rose feels that the individual gains a greater sense of satisfaction with the democratic

²⁵Ibid., p. 51.

²⁶Idem.

²⁷Ibid., p. 69.

process when his interests are directly involved than when these processes seem to "grind away in a distant, impersonal, and incomprehensible fashion," as they do in most government activities.²⁸ He writes:

Those who thus participate become aware of how processes function in their society, they learn how things are done in at least the limited sphere in which they operate. The voluntary association informs its members on matters occurring in the society at large that affect the association's purpose. This does not make the members satisfied in the sense that they always like what they learn, but it makes them satisfied in the sense that they understand some of the complex mechanisms that control them. As society grows more and more complex, the average citizen is usually less and less able to understand the devious controls within it, and this creates dissatisfaction. The voluntary association provides him an avenue for understanding some of the controls and thus a degree of social satisfaction.²⁹

Finally, voluntary associations can be mechanisms for social change if, as the need for change is felt, new groups are formed to accomplish the change or exert pressure on the government to take action.³⁰ Rose does not hold that each felt need should necessarily be met but, rather, that in a healthy society there is a constant search for solutions to long standing problems. He has noted that most associations continue to exist only as

²⁸ Ibid., p. 51.

²⁹ Idem.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 69.

long as the need for them exists, that individuals join the group in the first place because of a specific interest in its goal, and they will withdraw if its goal changes; when the goal changes, the group in effect becomes a new group.³¹

The implications of Rose's theory have generally been recognized by political theorists and political sociologists. G. D. H. Cole and James Bryce recognized that groups mediate between the individual and his society and involve him in democratic participation. Cole writes:

. . . [men] can control great affairs only by acting together in the control of small affairs, and finding, through the experience of neighborhood, men whom they entrust with larger decisions than they can make rationally for themselves. Democracy can work in the great States (and a fortiori between great States or over Europe or the world) only if each State is made up of a host of little democracies, and rests finally, not on isolated individuals, but on groups small enough to express the spirit of neighborhood and personal acquaintance Democracies have either to be small, or to be broken up into small, human groups in which men and women can know and love one another.³²

Similarly, James Bryce wrote, "An essential ingredient of a satisfactory democracy is that a considerable proportion of

³¹Ibid., p. 58.

³²G. D. H. Cole, Essays in Social Theory (London: Macmillan, 1950), pp. 94-95.

the people should have experience of active participation in the work of small self-governing groups, whether in connection with local government, trade unions, cooperatives or other forms of activity."³³ Sidney Verba, a present-day political scientist who has recently published a study of small groups and political behavior, concurs with this viewpoint. He asserts that the individual's experiences with small groups gives him certain generalized expectations from political relationships and trains him for participation in them. He writes:

Participation in small face-to-face groups where the individual can have some grasp of the alternatives available for choice is preparation for participation in decisions that are more complex, less immediate, and engage only a small part of an individual's attention. . . . Participation in decisions on levels below that of the political system is a requisite or, at least, a desirable adjunct to a democratic political system. In the first place, insofar as significant political decisions are made in such sub-groups, effective participation in the political system will not exist unless members can participate on these lower levels. In larger units, the organizational necessities associated with a larger structure make participation difficult, if not impossible.³⁴

³³ Bryce, loc. cit.

³⁴ Sidney Verba, Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 33-36.

Sociological and political research in the last three decades has tended to support an extension of the second point in Rose's theory, that people who have experienced and been satisfied with democratic processes will also become actively involved in politics, if only by being more active voters. This research has sought relationships between voluntary association membership and voting, interest in public issues, and involvement in civic affairs. Wayne Dennis, for example, found that a greater proportion of the members of the Lansing chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution registered to vote in the 1928 presidential election than did either a random sample of the women in the community or of the neighbors of the D.A.R. members.³⁵ Hastings found that voluntary association members in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, were more likely to state that they voted regularly than were non-members.³⁶ Agger and Ostrom found statistical associations between

³⁵Wayne Dennis, "Registration and Voting in a Patriotic Organization," Journal of Social Psychology, I (May, 1930), 317-318.

³⁶Philip K. Hastings, "The Non-Voter in 1952: A Study of Pittsfield, Massachusetts," Journal of Psychology, XXXVIII (Fall, 1954), 301-312.

the number of memberships in voluntary associations of people in a rural Oregon community and the kinds of political activity they engaged in,³⁷ and Hyman and Wright observed in Denver, Colorado, that the more memberships individuals had, the greater was their interest and involvement in civic affairs.³⁸

Murray Hausknecht has recently completed a study of the correlates of voluntary association membership in the United States. Using data from national sample surveys conducted by National Opinion Research Center and the American Institute of Public Opinion, he found that voluntary association members read more magazines, spent on the average more time each week reading books, had more knowledge about community organizations, community problems, and March of Dimes sponsorship, and participated in greater numbers in community public service work.³⁹ However, he

³⁷Robert E. Agger and Vincent Ostrom, "The Political Structure of a Small Community," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Spring, 1956), 81-89.

³⁸Charles B. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, op. cit., pp. 284-294.

³⁹Murray Hausknecht, The Joiners: A Sociological Description of Voluntary Association Membership in the United States (New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962), pp. 102-109.

was not willing to maintain absolutely that these data really confirmed Arnold Rose's theory. His reservations result from other data about voluntary association members that he included in his study, wherein it appears that the people who would benefit most from voluntary association membership (the poorly-educated, lower income urban dwellers) are not members, while the people who are better educated and generally better informed on public issues are members. He concludes from this that the citizenship functions of voluntary association membership are "somewhat irrelevant." He suggests a second reason for being critical of the Rose theory, which is that voluntary associations are not as democratically organized as Rose says.

It is possible to argue, of course, that almost all associations in our society are democratic, and even a hobby club reproduces in miniature the processes of the larger society. The validity of the assumption that experience in microcosm fits one to understand and interact in macrocosm is doubtful, but there are more pragmatic grounds for scepticism here. Most organizations are "democratic" in name only; for the American Medical Association as well as the local social and athletic club "oligarchical" is a more apt descriptive term. Membership and participation within these organizations hardly leads to the type of experience functional for the survival of political democracy within the larger society.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 112.

Hausknecht's arguments may, however, be less relevant for teenagers' voluntary associations than they are for adult associations, for two reasons: (1) Studies of the organizational affiliations of adolescents tend to indicate that adolescents belong to groups in proportionately larger numbers, and belong to more groups on the average, than adults do. In the Holt data and in the study of Carol Stone referred to above, the same proportion of students from lower income families belong to school organizations as students from upper and middle income families.⁴¹

(2) Student organizations are small and their membership is temporary and thus, they are less inclined toward oligarchy. Organizations in high schools rarely have as many as 100 members, usually less than thirty. There is a turnover in membership in each group every three or four years. If the organizations are in any way undemocratic, it is through control of school authorities, rather than through internal bureaucratic and oligarchic tendencies.

⁴¹Stone, loc. cit.

The First Multiple Group Membership Hypothesis

Arnold Rose's theory suggests hypotheses about voluntary association membership that can be tested on a teenage population. One of the functions of voluntary associations he stresses is that they prevent the concentration of power by distributing it among as many citizens as are willing to take responsibility for power. Accordingly, the extent to which students assume responsibility for decisions made in school organizations may also result in giving these students a sense of efficacy. There is no boundary line dividing the school from the community; the high school voluntary associations touch the community through the students themselves, the teachers, and the families of the students. Their ties to the community are direct when the high school basketball team defends the town's honor against a local rival, when the seniors present their class play for their parents, or when the science club tests the local water supply and finds it polluted. In all of these cases, the students are exercising a responsibility to their fellow club members and to the community, and an increase in their sense of social or political efficacy is a likely consequence.

Another function which Rose believes voluntary association membership serves is in helping individuals to understand how political processes operate and in giving them satisfaction with these processes. Association members see how elections are conducted, how decisions are made, and how members cooperate with one another in attempting to solve group problems. Their experience should result in their becoming less distrustful of similar behavior in the larger community, i.e., less distrustful of political institutions.

Rose's third function of voluntary associations is that they are mechanisms for social change. He believes that individuals join groups because they have a common interest in some goal, frequently a goal connected with a desire for changes in the environment. This is less true of extra-curricular activities, however, than of adult voluntary associations, since extra-curricular activities tend to be "expressive" rather than "social influence" organizations. Therefore, no test of a hypothesis about membership in extra-curricular activities and readiness to attempt social or political change will be attempted in this dissertation.

To summarize, the hypothesis which is related to Rose's theory that will be tested is the following:

Membership in extra-curricular activities is associated with a sense of political efficacy, belief in the legitimacy of and satisfaction with political institutions, and interest and expectation of future participation in politics.

Georg Simmel and Pluralistic
Participation

The Rose theory and the hypothesis based on it assumes that all voluntary associations affect the individual in roughly the same way. From each of his group affiliations the individual learns something about democratic processes, and may exercise responsibility in each. A logical consequence of this argument is that additional group affiliations must simply mean that the individual learns more and has increased opportunity for responsibility in more situations.

The Simmel theory proposes that an increase in the number of group memberships has more than an additive value to the individual. Each new group affiliation contributes something new to his socialization and, in addition, provides a widened basis for his individuality. No two organizations are alike; they have different members,

interests, and norms.⁴² In Simmel's words, when an individual joins a new group, he "surrenders himself" to the group, and he gains from the group its own "heritage," that is, the group socializes the new member to accept its interests and the norms its members value. The consequence of this exchange is that the members individuality is enhanced.

The groups with which the individual is affiliated constitute a system of coordinates, as it were, such that each new group with which he becomes affiliated circumscribes him more exactly and more unambiguously. To belong to any of these groups leaves the individual considerable leeway. But the larger the number of groups to which an individual belongs, the more improbable it is that other persons will exhibit the same combination of group affiliations, that these particular groups will "intersect" once again (in a second individual). . . . As a person becomes affiliated with a social group, he surrenders himself to it. A synthesis of such subjective affiliations creates a group in an objective sense. But the person also regains his individuality because his pattern of participation is unique; hence the fact of multiple group-participation creates in turn a new subjective element. Causal determinations of, and purposive action by, the individual appear as two sides of the same coin. The genesis of the personality has been interpreted as the point of intersection for innumerable social influences, as the end-product of heritages derived from the most diverse groups and periods of adjustment. Hence, individuality was interpreted as that particular set of constituent elements which in their quality and

⁴² If two groups were alike in members, interests, and norms, they would really be the same group.

combination make up the individual. But as the individual becomes affiliated with social groups in accordance with the diversity of his drives and interests, he thereby expresses and returns what he has "received," though he does so consciously and on a higher level.⁴³

Simmel says that groups socialize their members, but he does not really say how this is accomplished. Modern social scientists have offered some answers: political scientist Robert Lane suggests that socialization is accomplished through group communication--what the members of the group say to one another and what they write in their magazines, specialized newspapers, and bulletins. Lane describes the phenomena as follows:

. . . more specifically, the mechanisms whereby groups affect their members involve an understanding of what takes place in this group communication. In the first place, a person gets his standard of judgment of right and wrong from a group. Here, then, he learns the nature and content of civic duty. In the same way, he acquires beliefs about his social environment. There is considerable justification for anchoring social opinions in group opinion. A person cannot test most of the relevant propositions for himself; by drawing on a pool of beliefs and experience he is more likely to be right than by relying on his own private experience. He learns about himself from the group. This is true in two ways. As George Herbert Mead has pointed out, a person derives his self image from the images which others have of him; he "discovers" that he is a

⁴³ Simmel, op. cit., pp. 140-141.

leader, a friendly person, a "responsible citizen." But also, in another sense, he learns about himself by finding his identity partially defined by his group memberships. He comes to think of himself as a "member of the country-club set" or a "shantytowner" or simply a "Rotarian." He develops new life goals through group contacts, such as changes of career or value changes. Thus, from the group he learns what to think about the political world and what to think about himself as a political individual. And, in most groups, he learns to act out his beliefs and is encouraged to do so.⁴⁴

Lane's use of the word "encouraged" in his last sentence is an understatement of what happens in many groups. Social scientists have regularly noted, in studies of both experimental and real groups, very definite internal and external pressures toward conformity. In fact, these pressures have been observed even in experimental groups whose participants did not know one another. Muzafer Sherif, for example, recorded that persons viewing the illusory movement of a fixed point of light together gave estimates of movement within a narrow range, whereas persons viewing the illusion separately reported a much wider range of movement. Furthermore, he found that someone who had established a certain range of movement when he viewed the illusion alone, in a second trial in which he heard the reports of

⁴⁴ Robert E. Lane, Political Life (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 189-190.

of others, adjusted his own standard to conform more closely with the group norm.⁴⁵ Solomon Asch found that experimental subjects, even in situations in which the group opinion was objectively wrong, would change their estimate of the length of lines to conform to the group.⁴⁶

Verba suggests that if experimental subjects modify correct judgments where there are clear empirical referents for incorrect group opinions, it is easy to see how individuals who belong to real groups might be willing to modify social or political opinions for which there are no clear objective referents, to conform with those of other group members.⁴⁷ This need not be necessarily true, however, since the judgments made in experimental situations hold little significance for the individual, but his social and political attitudes are likely to be of greater importance to him.

⁴⁵ Muzafer Sherif, The Psychology of Social Norms (New York: Harper, 1936).

⁴⁶ Solomon E. Asch, "Effects of Group Pressures upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgments," in Cartwright and Zander, Group Dynamics (Evanston: Row, Peterson, and Co., 1953), pp. 151-162.

⁴⁷ Sidney Verba, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

There is also ample evidence from research on real groups to demonstrate that individuals are willing to change their social and political opinions to bring them into conformity with group norms, as well as to show that individuals who refuse to modify their opinions are the ones less frequently chosen as "best liked." Newcomb found this to be true of college girls, Kelley and Volkhart of a boy scout troop, and Festinger, Schacter, and Back of a housing project.⁴⁸

Why does the individual feel he must conform to the norms of his group? Two explanations appear frequently in the literature. Festinger suggests that the willingness to conform derives from the individual's desire to reduce the unpleasantness of a situation in which he perceives that his views conflict with the views of others present--a situation which Festinger calls "cognitive dissonance." For the individual this is an internal

⁴⁸Theodore M. Newcomb, Personality and Social Change (New York: Dryden Press, 1943); H. H. Kelley and E. H. Volkhart, "The Resistance to Change of Group-anchored Attitudes," American Sociological Review, XVII (1952), 453-465; Leon Festinger, Stanley Schacter, and Kurt W. Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harper, 1950), Chapters 5 and 6.

pressure. In addition, however, he is subjected to external pressure from other members of the group who have similarly felt the dissonance and are trying to reduce the unpleasantness they feel by coercing him to change his views to conform with those of the group.⁴⁹

The second explanation considers the individual's reason for joining the group in the first place. If he joined to satisfy certain needs (perhaps the need for acceptance by others or for a sense of belonging) then he is not likely to give up these goals easily. Lane writes:

The truth of the matter is that he has much at stake in the conditions of his group life. He has joined the group to satisfy certain needs. If it is a need for social adjustment, he has valued friendships at stake and he will adjust his interests and behavior so that he alienates as few fellow members as possible. If he seeks power within the group, he will accommodate his political views so that he can gratify these power drives. If the group offers economic rewards he will extract these better from the group if he retains his membership in good standing. In short, as Lewin has pointed out, the group is a "life-space" in which a person can achieve some part of his life goals. He will not lightly sacrifice these goals.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, and Company, 1957).

⁵⁰ Lane, op. cit., p. 191.

Pressures exerted on the individual to make him conform would be of little consequence if all of his affiliations were mutually supporting--that is, if they socialized him toward belief in a common value system. The individual would probably not even be aware of the pressure. Thus, politically, supportive group affiliations usually enhance partisanship and lead to heightened interest and participation in politics.⁵¹

Membership in different groups can, however, subject the individual to cross-pressures when the value systems of two or more of his groups are conflicting. The notion of cross-pressure originated with Georg Simmel, who emphasized that membership in groups pursuing different interests has a positive value in helping to integrate the personality of the individual. He wrote, "It is true that external and internal conflicts arise through the multiplicity of group affiliations, which threaten the individual with psychological tensions, or even a schizophrenic break. But it is also true that multiple group affiliations can strengthen

⁵¹Angus Campbell and Homer C. Cooper, Group Differences in Attitudes and Votes (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1956), p. 107.

the individual and reinforce the integration of his personality."⁵² Political scientists who have employed the term "cross-pressure" since Simmel's time have been more concerned with its consequences for political behavior than for personality integration. They see the consequences of being subjected to political cross-pressures as likely to be withdrawal from politics, apathy, or the assumption of a more moderate position.

. . . many individuals belong to several groups, and when these conflict they feel the "cross-pressures" of conflicting group loyalties. One way to escape these cross-pressures is by political apathy--a flight from the conflict. Another, however, is to reduce the conflict by compromise through bargaining.⁵³

Lipset, Trow and Coleman found in union shops that where there was a high degree of consensus on politics, political interest was higher than where the numbers were divided in political allegiance.⁵⁴ Lazarsfeld and his associates found that where a group's members supported

⁵² Simmel, op. cit., pp. 141-142.

⁵³ Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, Politics, Economics, and Welfare (New York: Harper and Bros., 1953), p. 329.

⁵⁴ Seymour M. Lipset, M. A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, Union Democracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 163-171.

opposing political parties, there was a substantial decrease in interest in the presidential election the closer election-time came. They also found that the more an individual was subjected to cross-pressures, the more his interest in politics declined.⁵⁵

The Second Multiple Group
Membership Hypothesis

In most of the research concerned with cross-pressures exerted on the individual with membership in two or more groups having conflicting values, at least one of the groups has been either a categoric or primary group. Both are groups in which membership is not easily relinquished, and the individual is thus under the necessity of responding to the cross-pressure directly by either withdrawing or moderating his values.

Extra-curricular activities, however, are neither categoric groups nor primary groups; membership is voluntary and temporary, and the option of quitting the group is always available. In addition, the groups are similar to

⁵⁵Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, 2nd edition), p. 62.

one another in at least two respects important to this dissertation: (1) they are all non-political, and (2) they are all "expressive" groups, i.e., groups pursuing interests that contribute to the personal satisfaction or enrichment of the individual. As a consequence, we should not expect membership in two or more of these groups to subject the individual to directly political cross-pressures. Rather, if the groups do submit the student to cross-pressures, the pressures are more likely to arise between groups that he joins for his own enrichment and those which are career-oriented; e.g., musical societies versus the science club.

A third variable also involved in the question of cross-pressures is the factor of personality--can the particular individual tolerate cross-pressures? An individual may join groups whose interests are different because his personality is such that he can tolerate cross-pressures, or he may gain from his experiences with cross-pressures a greater capacity to tolerate them. As the Simmel theory suggests, membership in two groups pursuing different interests can contribute to the integration of personality. Another kind of student may avoid groups that pursue

different interests and join, for example, only athletic groups; or if he joins two groups that pursue different interests and then subjected to their conflicting pressures, he may withdraw from one or the other. This dissertation does not control for this variation in personality. Because of this, caution is necessary and will be applied in the interpretation of any statistical associations discovered between membership in different types of groups or in groups whose members pursue different interests and the political variables. When statistical associations are found they will be treated as such, and no conclusion will be drawn as to which is the independent and which is the dependent variable.

The Simmel theory implies that people who join different types of groups are already capable of tolerating cross-pressures or, if they are able to remain in the groups, will have their personalities modified in such a way that they will be able to tolerate cross-pressures. These individuals, when confronted by a potentially threatening institution like politics, should be able to adjust to the conflict and should, as a consequence, be more interested in politics, more willing to consider alternative political

belief systems, and more moderate in their political behavior. A hypothesis drawn from this implication can be applied to membership in extra-curricular activities:

Membership in different types of extra-curricular activities or membership in activities whose other members belong to different types of activities is associated with interest and expectation of future participation in politics, open-mindedness about political belief systems, and weak political party identification.

CHAPTER II

COMPOSITION OF THE STUDENT BODY

The data for this dissertation were collected by means of questionnaires administered to the student body of Holt High School, the only high school in the town of Holt, a suburb of Lansing, Michigan. The Bureau of Social and Political Research of Michigan State University did not select Holt High School according to any specific research criteria but, rather, because it was accessible late in the school year (May, 1960) when other schools in the Lansing area were not.

There is at least one advantage in selecting a high school that draws its students from an entire community--the student body represents accurately the social, religious, economic, and ethnic strata of that community. If the community is homogeneous, the student population will also be homogeneous, which tends to be the case in Holt. As the data reveal, Holt is primarily a middle-class community of skilled and semi-skilled automobile and forge plant workers, the owners and proprietors of small businesses, and local

professionals.¹ Most families own or are buying their own homes and own one or more cars of recent manufacture. The town is predominantly Protestant. It contains almost no Negroes and apparently no Asians or Latin Americans.

The disadvantage of studying a homogeneous community like Holt is that the researcher cannot expect to find great extremes in either experience or attitude. The findings are not likely to offer strong and highly suggestive contrasts. However, the researcher does have this advantage: he can regard his test as conservative and assume that any differences he finds in a homogeneous community are worth consideration. If differences do exist in such a homogeneous population, it is likely that even greater differences will be found in a more heterogeneous environment.

There is an additional advantage in homogeneity for this particular study, whose concern is with the consequences

¹Holt is an unincorporated village in a township mainly rural and suburban. Economically it is almost entirely an adjunct of the Lansing industrial complex. Since the Holt community was not treated as a municipal unit by the United States Census, no official data are available. All data presented in this chapter are, therefore, taken from the students' questionnaires.

of multiple group membership. Since the experiences of the high school students are so similar, fewer variables have to be controlled in testing for consequences of membership in extra-curricular activities.

In May, 1960, Holt High School had 407 students enrolled. The Bureau was able to administer questionnaires to 397 of them who had been attending school regularly. The questionnaire's two parts were administered on May 18th and May 20th respectively. On May 25th both parts of the questionnaire were again administered for the benefit of students who had been absent or who had failed to complete the questionnaire when it was first administered. Even so, six students did not complete major portions of the first half, and one failed to complete the major portion of the second half. As a consequence, totals of 391 and 396 will appear in the following distributions:

Sex, Grade, and Curriculum

The student body of Holt High School included 215 boys and 182 girls of which 103 were ninth graders, 110 were tenth graders, 96 were eleventh graders, and 88 were twelfth graders. They reported taking the following courses or combinations of courses:

TABLE 1.--Frequency distribution of students' curricula

Curricula	Number	Percentage
Commercial or Business Education	91	23.3
College Preparatory	154	39.4
General	112	28.6
Vocational Education or Agriculture	12	3.1
Commercial and College Preparatory	16	4.1
Commercial and General	2	.5
General and Vocational Education	1	.3
No Response	6	1.5
Total	391	100.0

Asked if they planned to complete high school, all of the 368 students who answered the question said they planned to do so. The question was so placed in the questionnaire that it could easily be overlooked, so there is no reason to assume that the other 23 would have answered in the negative. When asked about their post-graduation plans, 154 stated an intention either to attend a junior college or a four year college or university. These students were all registered in the college preparatory program. The

others reported plans to attend technical or trade schools, join the military, get married, or get a job right away.

Occupational Aspirations

The questionnaire included four questions on occupational aspiration, following a format developed by Archibald O. Haller of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State. The first asked the student to put down four occupations he had considered entering. The purpose of the question was to start the student thinking about possible occupations before he went on to the other three, more specific, questions. The second question was intended to elicit a more definite choice; it asked what occupation the student expected to enter. The third question was designed to provide insight into the student's image of his occupational ideal; it asked him to write down the occupation he preferred to enter. The fourth question, probing a combination of expectation and preference, asked what job he preferred to have by age 30.

The responses to these questions showed that many students, particularly the ninth graders, had not previously considered their future jobs. All but 22 students were able to mention one job that they had considered, but there was

an increasing number of no response answers for the second, third, and fourth considerations. Only 30 percent of the students were able to list four jobs. To the questions asking what job one "expected," "preferred," and "preferred to have by age 30," the no-response rate was, respectively, 21.7%, 12.8%, and 16.9%.

Professional jobs were those most frequently mentioned in answer to all four questions. Of the jobs listed first as those to which the students had given some consideration, 42.8% were professional. Similarly, 31.0% said that they "expected" to obtain a professional job; 43.8% said that they "preferred" a professional job; and, 28.5% said that they "preferred" a professional job "by age 30." Managerial and skilled labor jobs were the second and third most frequently mentioned.

In these four questions, each student tended to supply different answers for each of the categories. Hence, there is a good deal of variation in the proportion of answers of any given type of job or occupation. The greatest difference is in the number of times "housewife" was listed in answer to each of the questions. When girls were listing jobs which they had considered, expected to enter, or

preferred to enter, "housewife" was rarely given as an answer. However, in the fourth question where the time dimension is introduced, 89 girls (almost half of the female students) reported that they preferred to be housewives by the time they were thirty years old.

TABLE 2.--Percentage distribution of students choosing occupations which they considered entering, expected to enter, preferred to enter, and preferred to have by the time they were thirty years of age

Occupations	Occupational Aspirations			
	Con- sidered	Ex- pected	Pre- ferred	Preferred by 30
Professional, technical and kindred workers	42.8%	31.0%	43.8%	28.5%
Managers, proprietors, and officials	4.5	3.3	6.8	6.5
Farmers and farm managers	2.5	3.0	3.5	3.3
Clerical and kindred workers	16.4	17.1	12.3	6.3
Sales workers	1.8	1.3	.5	1.3
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	15.4	12.8	9.6	9.3
Operatives and kindred workers	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.5
Private household and service workers	9.8	6.2	8.9	4.0
Housewives	.3	2.3	.5	22.4
No response	5.5	21.7	12.8	16.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Another difference is in the number of responses to the various questions in which professional jobs are mentioned. While 42.8% and 43.8% have, respectively, considered and prefer professional jobs, only 31.0% expect to obtain such jobs, and 28.5% prefer to have professional jobs when they are thirty years old. Haller has found that the time dimension in the fourth question forces a more realistic or mature response, similar to the response to the question regarding jobs one expects to obtain. The difference between preference and expectation of professional jobs for these students, then, is roughly twelve to thirteen percent.

The responses to all four occupational aspiration questions are probably somewhat optimistic, in view of the jobs held by the parents or guardians of the students. There are considerable differences even between the students' expected occupations and their fathers' occupations as the distributions below demonstrate:

TABLE 3.--Percentage distribution of students choosing occupations they expect to enter and the occupations of their fathers

	Expected	Father's
Professional, technical and kindred workers	31.0%	9.1%
Managers, proprietors, and officials	3.3	23.2
Farmers and farm managers	3.0	2.8
Clerical and kindred workers	17.1	5.3
Sales workers	1.3	2.5
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	12.8	27.8
Operatives and kindred workers	1.3	23.7
Private household service workers	6.2	3.3
Housewives	2.3	
No response	21.7	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0

It is apparent that some of the differences in percentage between father's occupations and the job each student expects to get can be accounted for by the sex of the respondents. The girls planning secretarial and clerical careers account for the 11.8% difference in the clerical category. The girls planning to enter the teaching

profession account for some of the 21.9% difference in the professional category. However, there is still a noticeable rejection of skilled and unskilled labor among these high school students and a surprising rejection of managerial and proprietary jobs. The stated preference for professional jobs is apparently a common one today for high school students, as we have obtained similar responses from high school students in Pontiac and Marshall, Michigan, in other Bureau studies.

The distribution of fathers' occupations gives us some information about the community of Holt: it is primarily a "dormitory" community for Lansing's industrial workers. Half the fathers are engaged in skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled labor jobs. Most of these are jobs held at the Oldsmobile, Drop Forge, and REO Motors plants in Lansing. Many of the managerial, clerical, and sales jobs are also with these corporations or with Lansing stores. On the other hand, the professional and proprietor jobs tend mostly to be local. This suggests a possible stratification within the community between people employed locally and people employed by Lansing firms.

Social Class Identification and Other Indicators
of Socio-economic status

The questionnaire asked students to indicate family status by checking one of the following: upper class, middle class, working class, or lower class. The resulting distribution was as follows:

TABLE 4.--Frequency distribution of social class self-identification

Social Class Identification	Number	Percent
Upper class	22	5.5
Middle class	258	65.0
Working class	94	23.7
Lower class	11	2.8
No response	12	3.0
Total	397	100.0

This distribution supports the contention that Holt is a rather homogeneous community. Two-thirds of the students identify themselves as middle class, while one quarter see themselves as working class members. There are relatively few who identify with either an upper or a lower class.

An interesting comparison can be made between these data and Richard Centers' findings regarding the social class identification of 1100 white males in a national sample survey in 1945.² Centers set out to test the Marxist proposition that the individual's position relative to the system of production leads him to consciousness of membership in a particular social class. Only 2% of his sample responded that they did not know to which class they belonged, which led him to conclude that class consciousness did exist in the United States, at least to some extent. In his findings, 3% classified themselves as upper class, 43% as middle class, 51% as working class, and 1% as lower class.

The big differences between the Centers data and the Holt data are in the middle and working class categories. Twenty-two percent more of the Holt students identify with the middle class and 27.3% fewer of them identify with the working class than do the adult males in Centers' survey. Since Centers' findings were confirmed by a national

²Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 77.

sample survey of adult voters conducted by the Survey Research Center in 1956 (with the exception that one-third of the respondents said that they did not think of themselves as belonging to a social class), Holt students apparently have more middle-class consciousness than do national adult samples.³

As a further indication of socio-economic status, we assigned positions on Otis Dudley Duncan's Socio-economic Index to each student on the basis of his father's occupation. This index places the individual objectively, using income and education as the criteria, while Table 4 placed him subjectively. Duncan's index runs theoretically from 0 - 100, but actually the highest score he shows is 96 (dentists and osteopaths). The scores for the fathers of Holt High School students run from 9 to 87. From United States Census data Duncan divided the index into population deciles. For example, the top 10% of the population would have scores between 67 and 96 on Duncan's index.

³Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960), p. 343.

TABLE 5.--Frequency distribution of scores on Duncan's
socio-economic index by U.S. population deciles.

Decile (U.S.)	Scores on Socio-economic Index	Number	Percent
10	67 - 96	43	11.1
9	51 - 65	93	24.0
8	39 - 50	68	17.6
7	31 - 38	31	8.0
6	22 - 30	40	10.4
5	19 - 21	60	15.5
4	15 - 18	40	10.4
3	13 - 14	3	.7
2	7 - 12	9	2.3
1	0 - 6	0	
Total		387	100.0

If the distribution for Holt were to parallel that for the United States, there would be 38.7 fathers in each decile. Instead, considerably more of the fathers fell into the ninth, eighth, and fifth deciles and considerably fewer into the first, second, and third deciles than would occur by chance. This means that the students' fathers hold

positions requiring more education and paying higher wages than do employed people generally in the United States. These objective findings tend to confirm the subjective social-class identifications of the students. Holt is therefore both in reality and in the minds of the students a middle-class community.

Other indicators of socio-economic status support this latter conclusion. The students reported that 334, or 84.1% of their families own their own homes. They live in houses of from two to nine rooms, with an average of 6.1 rooms each. Every student answered that his family owned at least one car, and for 31.4% the car was less than one year old. Over half reported that their families owned a car less than three years old.

Religious Affiliation

The community of Holt is not only homogeneous in socio-economic status, but there is little variation in its religious affiliations. With the exception of 34 Catholics, one Jew, 16 who claimed no affiliation, and 38 who failed to answer the question, the remaining 77.6% of the students reported some type of Protestant affiliation. The

denominations most frequently listed were Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Nazarene, as the distribution below demonstrates:

TABLE 6.--Frequency distribution of religious affiliation.

Religious Affiliation	Number	Percent
Lutheran	16	4.0%
Presbyterian	74	18.5
Methodist	69	17.4
Baptist	35	8.8
Nazarene	13	3.3
Fundamentalist	18	4.5
Protestant (not specified)	88	22.2
Catholic	40	10.1
Jewish	1	.3
Unitarian	1	.3
None or don't know	29	7.3
No response	13	3.3
Total	397	100.0

The students report frequent and regular church attendance. Almost one-half of the students (47.1%) report that they attend church every week, and another 24.4% report that they go to church once or twice a month. Only 19 students (4.8%) said that they never went to church at all, while the rest reported church attendance for major holidays. In addition to attending church services, 169 students (57.5%) belong to a church choir; 302 (77.2%) attend Sunday School, and 241 (61.6%) belong to a church youth group. These findings, supported by responses to several of the attitudinal questions to be discussed below, indicate that the church was the main center of activity for these students outside of school.

Perceived Ethnicity

In answer to a question asking the students to fill in their race, nationality, or cultural background, 62.2% write that they were white and American. Another 21.2% did not answer the question, possibly because they did not understand what was meant. One student reported being Negro while five students reported that they were partly Indian. The fifty-six remaining students, 14.3% of the student body, reported European nationality or cultural ties. The

nationalities most frequently mentioned were English, Irish, German, French, and Italian. There were no Orientals, Middle Easterners, or even Eastern Europeans. The picture that emerges from this listing is of a community that is racially, ethnically, and culturally homogeneous, for even the students who mentioned ties with Europe tended to list two or three nationalities and did not identify with any of them. Except for two German exchange students, none of the students had been born abroad.

Holt, then, is a community homogeneous in race, religion, ethnic background and social class. This means that great differences in attitude and experience are unlikely to be revealed in research conducted here. It means also, however, that the researcher need not introduce many control variables when attempting to probe the consequences of a particular independent variable, like multiple group membership.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDENT'S POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

The questionnaire which the Bureau of Social and Political Research used in the Holt study was designed to find out what students thought about politics and how they perceived their relationship to political institutions. Some of the items were developed for other studies by Milton Rokeach, the Survey Research Center, and Daniel Goldrich of our own Bureau.¹ Others were written especially for this questionnaire, and all items were pretested in a homeroom in another Lansing area school for their efficacy in discriminating among high school students.

Some of the questions that we wanted to answer were: whether students felt politics had any real personal relevance, and whether political processes seemed immediate and understandable or remote and complicated; whether they felt that an individual's political activity has any effect

¹Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960), pp. 71-100; Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1954); Daniel Goldrich and Edward W. Scott, "Developing Political Orientations of Panamanian Students," Journal of Politics, XXIII (February, 1961), 84-107.

on how the government is run in this country; what things they felt motivated people to go into politics; their perceptions of the function of political parties; the relative importance of politics to these students as compared to the importance of other institutions or social relationships; the frequency with which they discussed politics; and their use of the mass media on political matters.

The items about the personal relevance and understandability of politics and the items about the individual's influence on governmental activity were included to measure the students' sense of political efficacy. We found that they generally consider politics understandable and regard the citizen's vote as the main factor which government takes into account in deciding what activities it will engage in.

We included the items about people's motivations for entering politics to find out whether students perceived politics as an institution wherein people participated for reasons of public interest, or one in which the participants are motivated by self-interest. The findings show that the Holt High School students generally view politics favorably,

that is, as an institution in which the public spirited participate.

The questions about the function of political parties were designed to find out whether students view political parties as organizations which mediate between conflicting political interests or as conspiracies which deprive the individual of his voice in public affairs. We found again that their view was generally favorable. Most reported that political parties bring people together so that they can work for their common interests. Only a few felt that political parties existed to benefit a small number of people pursuing their own selfish interests.

Responses to the questions about the degree to which the students were interested in politics, their expectation of future participation, the frequency with which they discussed politics, the frequency of their use of the mass media, and their political party identification indicated that their interest was generally low, that they seldom discussed politics, paid only irregular attention to political topics presented by the mass media, and did not plan to work actively for a political party or run for office. They identified weakly with political parties, if at all.

We also found that politics, compared to other institutions or social relationships, was of very low salience for these students.

Through a factor analysis of all the agree-disagree type of items in the questionnaire having to do with politics, we developed indexes measuring political efficacy, political party appreciation, active interest in politics, and political legitimacy. The arrangement of the items in the indexes differs considerably from that originally intended for analysis when the questionnaire was constructed. For this reason I present the items below in the originally-planned arrangement, with frequency distributions, and will take up the actual construction of the indexes at the end of the chapter.

Responses to the Questionnaire

The following items were used to measure whether students considered politics understandable and whether they felt any degree of efficacy in political matters: "Politics and government are so complicated it is hard to understand what is really going on" and "Voting is the main thing that decides how government is run in this country." We also included comparable items about business and religion.

The responses showed that students felt politics and government were more complicated than either business or religion. Forty-five percent reported agreement with the first item, while only 28.9% agreed with similar statements about business or religion; 41.6% disagreed with the statement that government and politics were complicated. Although less than half of the students regarded politics as understandable, 72.1% expressed feelings of efficacy in politics by agreeing with the item about voting. Fewer students expressed feelings of efficacy in business affairs--only 64.7% agreed that the things people buy determine how the business world is run. There was no comparable item about religion. Efficacy in political matters is not related to understanding of politics and government ($r = -.04$), but both of these items are related to other favorable attitudes about politics to be discussed later.

People's motives for entering politics

Why people go into politics is a question which few of the Holt High School students had previously considered. Anticipating this, we provided various motivations for political participation for them to choose from: to serve the community; to represent a particular group; to make

personal contacts; to make money; and because they are unsuccessful in other areas. The first two are, of course, public interest responses, the second two are self-interest responses, and the third is probably a measure of cynicism about politics generally.

For purposes of comparison, the students were given the opportunity for parallel evaluation of people's reasons for going into two other institutions: business and religion. The percentage of students agreeing with each of the five motives listed for the three institutions are given below:

TABLE 7.--Percentage distribution of students assigning motives for entering politics, religion and business.

Reasons for Entering	Politics	Religion	Business
<u>Public interest responses</u>			
To serve the community	61.6%	56.6%	61.9%
To represent a particular group	59.8	9.8	33.4
<u>Self-interest responses</u>			
To make personal contacts	35.7	21.3	33.6
To make money	30.8	6.8	90.6
<u>Cynical response</u>			
Because they are unsuccessful in other areas	10.5	8.4	13.5

Politics emerges from the comparison as a slightly more public spirited activity than either religion or business. While the response "to serve the community" is checked by approximately three-fifths of the students for each of the three institutions, the response "to represent a particular group" is checked by three-fifths of the students for politics, by only one-third for business, and by one-tenth for religion. The responses to this item are perhaps biased. Since the students learn in school that the American political system is founded on the principle of representation, they undoubtedly attribute representation more to political behavior than to behavior in any other type of institution. This possible bias is indicated by the difference in responses to this question and the one discussed next.

One-third of the students regarded politics as an institution dominated by the pursuit of selfish interests, which people enter to make personal contacts (35.7%) or make money (30.8%). While 33.6% felt people entered business to make personal contacts, 90.6% naturally attributed the desire to make money to businessmen. The students attributed less selfish motivation to those entering religion as an institution--personal contacts, 21.3%, and

money-making, only 6.8%. The percentage of students who gave cynical responses for the three institutions was low; and varied only slightly: 13.5% for business, 10.5% for politics, and 8.4% for religion. Those who were cynical about politics also tended to regard it as complicated and express the belief that there shouldn't be any political parties.

Some interesting results emerge from a consideration of the intercorrelations of these statements about politics. The students who regard politics and government as understandable also tend to agree that politics is public spirited and disagree that people go into politics to make money ($r = -.149$ and $-.233$, respectively). On the other hand, the students who think politics is complicated regard politics as self-interest-motivated rather than public spirited.

Political parties

The city machines gave political parties a bad public image for a long time. This image is beginning to disappear, but it has not completely vanished. To determine what students think about political parties, we included six agree-disagree items in the questionnaire which gave

possible reasons for the existence of political parties. The distribution of responses indicates that students see in political parties institutions which bring together people with common interests and provide them with a means for fighting for these interests. The responses also demonstrate a student opinion that political parties help voters make up their minds where there are many sides to the issues. Only a few students agree with the more negative statements that political parties exist for the benefit of a few big men or because people can't agree on anything. More than half of the students who agreed to the item about the "few big men" also felt there shouldn't be any political parties.

TABLE 8.--Frequency distribution of responses to questions about why political parties exist.

Why Political Parties Exist	Number Agree	Percent Agree
There is more than one side to every issue	277	69.8%
People who believe the same things like to stick together	205	51.6
There has to be some way people can fight for their own interests	203	51.1
They help the voters make up their minds	183	46.1
People can never agree on anything	89	22.4
They give a few big men a chance to get their own way	62	15.6

There are some interesting significant intercorrelations of these items. If a student believes that political parties exist for the benefit of a few big men, he also tends to agree that political parties exist because people can never agree on anything and that, consequently, they help the voters to make up their minds. Some of the same students felt government and politics were complicated. On the other hand, students who believe that political parties exist so that people can fight for their own interests agree that there are several sides to every issue and that political parties bring together people of like interests. The intercorrelations are relatively low, about .20, but they are all significant at the .001 level. Although the picture is far from clear, it does indicate the existence of two groups of students--one group that views politics as understandable and motivated by the public interest, who think of political parties as giving people of like interests a chance to work for their common aims, and another group that sees politics as complicated, self-interest motivated, and existing for the benefit of a few "big men" who take advantage of the inability of most people to agree on anything or make up their minds as to what they want. This

latter group tends to agree that there shouldn't be any political parties, and they register a low interest in politics.

Importance of politics

Two sets of items were included in the questionnaire to ascertain the relative importance of politics to these students as compared to other institutions and social relationships. One of these sets of items is so weak that it precludes detailed analysis. It asked students to rank politics, religion, their parents, getting married and having a family, career, earning a living, getting more education, and friendships in order of their importance in later life. When compared with institutions of such high personal importance to the lives of these students, politics of necessity ranked last. In fact, it received an average rank of 7.35. The other institutions received average ranks of 3.19 ("my parents") to 4.80 ("getting married and having a family").

The second set of items requires the students to make more meaningful comparisons. It asks them to rank ten items of information about someone they plan to marry as "very important," "somewhat important," "somewhat unimportant,"

"very unimportant," or "not sure" of its importance. Some of the items of information listed are admittedly of much greater importance to one's marriage than political beliefs, but we expected that others would rank at about the same level. This was not the case. When only the "very important"² responses are compared, the political beliefs item was chosen by only 4.2% of the boys and 5.5% of the girls. In fact, 51.9% of the students considered political beliefs to be unimportant or very unimportant in the choice of a marriage partner. This is the only item of the ten regarded by as many as one-quarter of the students as being this unimportant.

These findings should be kept in mind when the questions about the students' expressed interest in politics are discussed below. Although the students may say that they are interested in politics, they certainly do not think that politics is likely to be important to them in their later life. This suggests that all the responses to the questionnaire may be superficial, ideological responses.

²The students tended to regard most of the ten things listed as either "very important" or "somewhat important." As a consequence, the "very important" category discriminates best among the responses.

This possibility will be discussed in the conclusions to this dissertation.

TABLE 9.--Percentage distribution of responses for boys and girls to a check list of things which are very important to know about a person you might want to marry.

Things Which Are Very Important To Know About a Person You Might Want To Marry:	Boys	Girls
Beliefs about raising children	56.7%	78.0%
Ability to manage money	36.3	68.1
Acceptability to your family	34.9	68.1
Religion	37.2	53.3
Interest in getting ahead financially	31.2	50.5
Acceptability to your friends	20.5	34.1
Family background	22.3	28.6
Interest in getting ahead socially	20.0	20.3
Personal attractiveness	16.7	18.1
Political beliefs	4.2	5.5

Interest in politics

When asked directly whether they were interested in politics, the students at Holt High School gave a general indication of interest. More than three-fifths of the students agree with the statement "I am interested in politics." In order to determine the significance of this

agreement for future participation in politics, we asked a series of questions about the kinds of such activity they were likely to engage in later. These include questions on intention to vote, whether they would consider jobs with a party or the government, and the possibility of running for public office under certain circumstances. The number and percentage of students giving favorable response to these questions are listed below:

TABLE 10.--Frequency distribution of responses to questions about political interest.

Political Interest Items	Number	Percentage
When I am old enough, I plan to vote in every election	319	81.6%
I am interested in politics	242	61.9
I would consider taking a full-time job with the government	231	59.3
I would consider taking a full-time job with a political party	93	23.5
If I sincerely felt the government was not run right, I would become a candidate for public office	88	22.3

Four-fifths of the students agree that they will vote when they are old enough, even when the question specifies "every election." Since students are so well taught in school that voting is an indication of responsible civic behavior, it is rather surprising that 18% fail to express agreement with this statement. There are considerable differences in the numbers of students willing to engage in other types of political behavior. Many more are willing to consider working for the government than to consider working for a political party or becoming a candidate for public office. This may indicate that working for the government is seen as a possible career, while working for a political party or being a candidate for public office is not. Only a little more than one-fifth of the students are willing to consider either of the latter.

Responses to these job statements differ according to sex. Boys express more willingness to take a government or party job than girls do. However, the sexes are alike in their expressed interest in politics, willingness to vote, and willingness to become a candidate for public office. The word "job" in the two employment statements may be responsible for the differences. The Holt girls are

less willing to consider jobs in general; many plan to marry as soon as they finish high school.

These items elicit few differences in percentage of favorable response among the four grades in the school. The eleventh and twelfth graders express a greater intention than the ninth and tenth graders, which is probably an indication that voting is the only meaningful political activity most students are likely ever to engage in, and the eleventh and twelfth graders are naturally nearer to voting age.

Frequency of political discussion

As a further indication of political interest, we asked the students to rank the frequency with which they discuss politics with their fathers, mothers, friends, teachers, and ministers (very often, often, sometime, hardly ever, or never). For comparison with other possible topics of discussion they might have with these same people, the same question was asked about discussion of religious and money matters. Tables 11 and 12 summarize the findings. The former is cross-tabulated by sex, and the latter by grade in school. Percentages for the responses "very often" and "often" are combined into "often."

TABLE 11.--Frequency of political, religious, and financial discussion with father, mother, friends, teachers, and ministers by sex.

Referents	Sex	Frequency of Discussion								Total
		Political		Religious		Money Matters				
		Often	Never	Often	Never	Often	Never			
Father	Boys	17.3%	15.0%	18.7%	14.5%	43.3%	2.8%	214		
	Girls	13.7	15.9	26.9	10.4	43.4	2.7		182	
Mother	Boys	13.6	15.4	29.0	9.3	46.5	2.3	214		
	Girls	12.0	17.0	42.3	2.7	62.1			182	
Friends	Boys	20.1	11.7	11.2	14.5	35.8	7.0	214		
	Girls	12.0	13.2	26.4	4.4	43.9	3.8		182	
Teachers	Boys	15.0	26.6	3.3	37.9	4.2	40.9	214		
	Girls	15.9	31.9	3.2	36.3	.5	51.1		182	
Minister	Boys	1.0	59.8	28.5	23.8	2.4	49.8	214		
	Girls	1.0	63.2	35.7	17.0	1.6	57.1		182	

TABLE 12.--Frequency of political, religious, and financial discussion with father, mother, friends, teacher, and minister by grade in school.

Referents	Grade	Frequency of Discussion						Total
		Political		Religious		Money Matters		
		Often	Never	Often	Never	Often	Never	
Father	9th	10.8%	21.6%	23.5%	13.7%	40.8%	4.9%	102
	10th	10.0	18.2	19.9	12.7	41.8	3.6	110
	11th	15.7	9.4	21.9	10.4	44.8	1.0	96
	12th	28.4	11.4	25.0	13.6	46.6	1.1	88
Mother	9th	11.8	21.6	31.4	7.8	46.6	3.9	102
	10th	8.2	15.5	28.2	4.5	53.6	.9	110
	11th	17.7	11.5	44.8	6.3	58.4		96
	12th	14.7	15.9	37.5	6.8	56.8		88
Friends	9th	15.7	18.6	15.7	15.7	35.0	10.7	102
	10th	11.8	16.4	14.5	10.0	33.6	5.5	110
	11th	16.6	9.4	17.7	5.2	45.8	4.2	96
	12th	22.7	3.4	26.1	8.0	45.4	1.1	88
Teacher	9th	5.9	48.1	2.0	50.0	1.0	46.6	102
	10th	7.3	33.6	4.5	39.1	3.6	48.2	110
	11th	19.8	22.9	2.0	32.3	2.0	49.0	96
	12th	31.8	12.5	4.4	25.0	3.3	37.5	88
Minister	9th		61.8	31.4	25.5	2.0	53.4	102
	10th	.9	59.1	27.3	14.5	3.6	50.0	110
	11th	2.0	54.2	37.5	16.7	2.1	53.1	96
	12th	1.1	71.6	31.9	27.3		56.8	88

The responses indicate that the students discuss money matters more often than religion, and religion more often than politics. The people with whom they discuss the topics often are their fathers, mothers, and friends. In addition, they talk frequently with their teachers about politics and with their ministers (logically) about religion.

The boys discuss politics more often than girls do; this is generally consistent with the general findings of political scientists about the relative political interest of men and women. Women at every social level vote less than men, they are less active in public affairs, and have a lower sense of efficacy in political matters than men do.³ Lane suggests that this is because American culture "emphasizes moral, dependent, and politically less competent images of women."⁴

On the other hand, girls in Holt discuss religious matters more often than boys, and both girls and boys discuss religious matters more often with their mothers than their fathers. This corresponds to the findings of other studies

³Lane, op. cit., pp. 209-215.

⁴Ibid., p. 215.

of sex roles in American society. Women are responsible for continuing religious traditions and socializing their children in religious matters.⁵

The mother also appears to be the major recipient of discussion on money matters. It may be that since mothers are at home more than fathers, they are approached for allowances and loans more frequently. A study by Aberle and Naegele indicates, however, that on policy questions about money, as for instance, the establishment of the amount of the allowance, fathers play the greater role.⁶

Another interesting finding is that boys discuss politics more often with their friends, and girls with their teachers, than either do with their own families. The differences in percentage are not great, but they are surprising in light of another finding, that only one-fourth of the students know the party identification of their two best friends, while 67.4% and 66.2% respectively could name the party identifications of their fathers and

⁵G. H. Seward, "Sex Roles in Postwar Planning," Journal of Social Psychology, XIX (1944), pp. 163-185.

⁶David F. Aberle and Kasper D. Naegele, "Middle-class Fathers' Occupational Role and Attitudes Toward Children," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXII (1952), pp. 366-378.

mothers. If they talk with their friends more often about politics than they do with their parents, one wonders what they talk about that does not require an occasional reference to party preference.

The relationship between frequency of political discussion and grade is in the same direction as the responses to the question about future voting and grade in school. Eleventh and twelfth graders discuss politics more often than ninth and tenth graders, and the percentage of students who never talk about politics with anyone decreases from the ninth to the twelfth grade. Meine found that boys discuss political and other news stories increasingly as they become older, but that girls discussion remained at a consistently low level.⁷ In the Holt data, there are no significant differences between boys and girls on the amount and frequency of political discussion when grade is held constant. However, it is really consistently low for all grades and both sexes, when one considers that overall less than one-third of the students report that they discuss politics with anyone often.

⁷F. J. Meine, "Radio and the Press Among Young People," in P. F. Lazarsfeld and F. Stanton, eds., Radio Research--1941 (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941), p. 215.

Use of the Mass Media on Public
Affairs Questions

As a final measure of interest in politics, we asked the students what type of television programs were their favorites, what sections of the newspaper they read regularly, and what subjects they preferred to read about in magazines and books. We found that news, politics, and government affairs all rank relatively low in the percentage of choices received for each of the three questions, except that about half of the students report that they read the news section of the newspaper regularly.

Hausknecht, in his study of adult voluntary association members, suggests that use of the mass media is functionally equivalent to membership in associations in that it provides a link with the community and is a means for disseminating information and contributing to the understanding of the world.⁸ He found that about two-fifths of the NORC national sample did not read magazines at all and that almost one-half did not spend as much as one hour a week reading books.⁹ Although the questions in the Holt study are not

⁸Hausknecht, op. cit., p. 92.

⁹Ibid., p. 102.

exactly the same as those in the NORC study, it would seem that Holt students make greater use of the mass media generally than the adults in the NORC study. Only 3% report that they do not watch television, 3.3% that they do not read the newspaper regularly, and 1% that they do not read magazines and books outside of school. According to Hausknecht's thesis, all but a small percentage of the students experience the functional equivalent of membership in voluntary associations. However, this would seem to be tempered by the selectivity of their use of these media.

TABLE 13.--Percentage distribution of responses concerning newspaper sections read regularly by sex.

Newspaper Sections Read Regularly	Boys	Girls	Total
Comics	54.4%	56.0%	55.2%
Sports	60.5	38.5	50.4
News	47.0	51.1	48.9
Teen	32.6	65.4	47.6
Fashion/Women's	.5	52.2	24.2
Editorial	17.2	20.9	18.9
Politics	11.6	14.3	12.8
Financial and Business	10.2	4.9	7.8
Religious	3.3	12.1	7.3

TABLE 14.--Percentage distribution of responses concerning favorite television programs by sex.

Favorite Television Programs	Boys	Girls	Total
Western, adventure and mystery	61.4%	56.0%	58.9%
Musical variety shows and comedies	35.3	53.8	43.8
Sports	49.3	24.2	37.8
Dramas	24.2	45.1	33.8
News, documentaries, and current events	26.0	26.4	26.2

TABLE 15.--Percentage distribution of responses concerning kinds of books and magazines preferred by sex.

Kinds of Books and Magazines Preferred	Boys	Girls	Total
Novels and short stories	37.2%	62.1%	48.6%
Humor and comic strips	29.8	39.6	34.3
Sports	50.2	12.6	33.0
Science fiction	34.4	14.8	25.4
History and biography	22.8	39.6	34.3
Automobiles, electronics, and other technical subjects	38.6	1.6	21.7
Home and family	1.9	34.1	16.6
Entertainment and the arts	6.0	18.1	11.6
Religion	6.0	13.7	9.6
Politics and government	5.6	3.3	4.5
Business or farm affairs	5.6	1.6	3.8

There are considerable differences between boys and girls in their use of the mass media. Girls watch musical variety shows, comedies and dramas on their television sets, while the boys are watching sports and Westerns. Only one-fourth of both the boys and girls consider news, documentaries, and current events programs as their favorites.

Boys read the sports and financial sections of the newspaper more regularly than do the girls. The latter read the teen, fashion, women's and religious sections more regularly than the boys. The news section is read regularly by about half of the students of each sex, and the political section is read by 11.6% of the boys and 14.3% of the girls.

Sports, science fiction, and automobiles, electronics, and other technical subjects are the preferred magazines and books which the boys read, while the girls prefer magazines and books about home and family, entertainment and the arts, history and biography, and religion. They also prefer novels and short stories more than boys do. Politics and government rank very low as subject matter for magazine and book reading. Only 5.6% of the boys and 3.3% of the girls checked this category.

These findings support the ones earlier reported that politics is not regarded with much interest by Holt High School students. Little of the attention which they direct toward use of the mass media is centered on political or governmental subjects. Only one-fifth of the students discuss politics with anyone often. Slightly more than one-fifth would consider working for a political party or being a candidate for public office. Politics ranks eighth of eight categories in importance in one's future life, and it ranks tenth of ten categories in importance in choosing a mate. The attitudes of the students toward politics may be generally favorable, but they certainly do not represent much involvement in things political.

The Construction of Indexes To Measure Political Orientations

As a first step toward constructing indexes to measure the attitudes of Holt High School students toward public affairs, correlation coefficients were computed between each pair of agree-disagree items in the questionnaire that had political content. Of the 325 coefficients, 173 were found to be significant at the five percent level or better. This

finding suggested that a factor analysis of the political items would yield two or three identifiable factors. The various rotation of the factor matrix of 22 items yielded four identifiable factors, although these accounted for only an average of half the variance for each of the items. We identified these factors as measuring interest and expectation of future political participation, legitimacy of political institutions, satisfaction with political parties, and sense of political efficacy. (See Table 16.) A .400 loading on a factor was regarded as sufficiently high for the item to be considered in naming the factor and later for it to be used in constructing an index of responses to the items on each factor. In constructing the index, we dichotomized the items either between agreement and neutrality (if the statement was positive) or between disagreement and neutrality (if the statement was negative). The indexes that resulted are as follows:

Index of sense of political efficacy

"Sense of political efficacy may be defined as the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process, i.e., that it

is worth while to perform one's civic duties."¹⁰ This is how Campbell, Gurin, and Miller defined sense of political efficacy for a study of adult political behavior. They constructed a Guttman type scale from the responses of a national sample of adult voters to the following items:

1. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.
2. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.
3. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.
4. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.
5. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

They coded "disagree" responses to items 1, 3, 4, and 5 and an "agree" response to item 2 as "efficacious." We included two of these items in the Holt questionnaire and added others that were thought to measure feelings that policy decisions were the work of "wire pullers" in "back-room deals." Six of these items loaded together on the factor we identified as measuring political efficacy. These were:

¹⁰ Angus Campbell, et al., The Voter Decides, op. cit., p. 187.

1. Politics and government are so complicated it is hard to understand what really is going on.
2. People go into politics to make money.
3. Political parties exist because they help the voters make up their minds.
4. Political parties exist because they give a few big men a chance to get their own way.
5. Political parties exist because there has to be some way people can fight for their interests.
6. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to betrayal of our own side.

"Disagree" responses to each of these items were coded as "efficacious." The index of political efficacy divides responses into three classes: high efficacy, medium efficacy, and low efficacy. Disagreement with one or two items is classified as low efficacy; with three or four items, medium efficacy; and, with five or six items, high efficacy.

Index of interest and expectation of future political participation

In studies of adult political behavior, indexes and scales of political participation have been developed from responses to items about actual political participation.¹¹

¹¹Julien L. Woodward and Elmo Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens," American Political Science Review, XLIV (1950), p. 876; Robert E. Agger and Vincent Ostrom, "Political Participation in a Small Community," in Political Behavior, edited by Heinz Eulau, Samuel J. Eldersveld, and Morris Janowitz (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 138-148.

TABLE 16.--Varimax rotation of a factor matrix of twenty-two agree-disagree items concerning the political orientations of students

Political Orientations	Active Interest	Legitimacy	Party Appreciation	Efficacy
I am interested in politics	<u>+ .567</u>	+ .093	- .227	+ .127
I would consider taking a full-time job with the government	<u>+ .688</u>	+ .004	- .123	- .069
I would consider taking a full-time job with a political party	<u>+ .728</u>	- .095	- .098	- .009
If I sincerely felt the government was not run right, I would become a candidate for public office	<u>+ .642</u>	+ .096	+ .023	+ .070
Politics and government are so complicated it is hard to understand what really is going on	<u>- .473</u>	- .069	+ .052	<u>- .456</u>
People go into politics to make money	<u>- .027</u>	- .356	+ .089	<u>- .500</u>
Political parties exist to help the voters make up their minds	- .051	+ .187	+ .069	<u>- .504</u>
To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side	- .159	+ .099	+ .221	<u>- .555</u>
Political parties exist because there has to be some way people can fight for their interests	+ .316	+ .025	- .347	<u>- .474</u>
Political parties exist because they give a few big men a chance to get their own way	+ .005	- .037	<u>+ .473</u>	<u>- .424</u>
People go into politics because they are unsuccessful in other areas	- .129	- .315	<u>+ .417</u>	- .169

TABLE 16. --Continued

Political Orientations	Active Interest	Legitimacy	Party Appreciation	Efficacy
Political parties exist because people can never agree on anything	-.041	+ .139	<u>+ .424</u>	-.361
Political parties don't belong in national elections	-.171	-.121	<u>+ .550</u>	+ .113
There shouldn't be any political parties	-.116	-.181	<u>+ .623</u>	-.084
Political parties don't belong in state elections	-.105	+ .082	<u>+ .769</u>	-.040
Political parties don't belong in city elections	-.026	-.007	<u>+ .704</u>	-.052
When I am old enough I plan to vote in every election	+ .257	+ .248	<u>-.437</u>	-.042
Voting is the main thing that decides how government is run in this country	-.043	<u>+ .559</u>	<u>+ .013</u>	+ .103
People go into politics to represent a particular group	-.113	<u>+ .512</u>	<u>+ .049</u>	-.167
The highest form of government is democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by the most intelligent	+ .054	<u>+ .468</u>	-.085	-.178
Political parties exist because there is more than one side to every issue	+ .067	<u>+ .531</u>	-.142	+ .001
People go into politics to serve the community	+ .135	<u>+ .421</u>	<u>+ .094</u>	+ .042

In studying high school students this is hardly possible, since few students engage in any activity, except perhaps in school elections, that can accurately be called political participation. As a consequence, we were forced to ask them about activities that they might consider in the future. Four of these items loaded together on a single factor in the matrix, and these have been combined to form an index of interest and expectation of future participation in politics. The items are:

1. I am interested in politics.
2. I would consider taking a full-time job with the government.
3. I would consider taking a full-time job with a political party.
4. If I sincerely felt the government was not run right, I would become a candidate for public office.

Four "agree" responses were considered "very high"; three, "high"; two, "medium"; one, "low"; and, none, "very low", on this index. Where additional collapsing of these categories was required so that a control variable could be introduced into the statistical analysis, "high" and "very high," and "low" and "very low," were collapsed into two categories.

Political party appreciation index

In the factor matrix, eight items loaded together which can only be interpreted as measuring satisfaction with the political party institutions in the United States. These items are:

1. Political parties don't belong in national elections.
2. There shouldn't be any political parties.
3. Political parties don't belong in state elections.
4. Political parties don't belong in city elections.
5. People go into politics because they are unsuccessful in other areas.
6. Political parties exist because people can never agree on anything.
7. Political parties exist because they give a few big men a chance to get their own way.
8. When I am old enough, I plan to vote in every election.

"Disagree" responses to the first seven items and an "agree" response to the eighth item were coded as responses that indicated satisfaction with or appreciation of political parties. Seven or eight responses in this direction is called "high"; four, five or six such responses is called "medium"; and none, one, two, or three such responses is called "low" political party appreciation.

Index of belief in the legitimacy
of political institutions

There are four items which loaded together on one factor which seemed to suggest that politics was viewed as being responsive to community and group interests. These items together present a picture of politics as being concerned with issues that are many-sided, that people make choices among these issues through their votes, and that these choices are probably made with the interests of the community and particular groups in mind. The negative end of the index could probably be interpreted as measuring cynicism about politics.

The items which are included in this index are as follows:

1. Voting is the main thing that decides how government is run in this country.
2. Political parties exist because there is more than one side to every issue.
3. People go into politics to serve the community.
4. People go into politics to represent a particular group.

Three or four "agree" responses is classified as "high"; two "agree" responses, as "medium"; and one or no "agree" responses, as "low" on the index of belief in the legitimacy of the political process.

Index of open-mindedness
about political belief systems

In a factor analysis of 19 items in the questionnaire which had to do with personality characteristics, four of six Rokeach dogmatism items factored together with loadings above .400. The items and their loadings are as follows:

- + .403 Where religious opinions are concerned we can't compromise with those who disagree with us.
- + .744 To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to a betrayal of our own side.
- + .544 There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.
- + .553 The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common.

The first and second items are classified by Rokeach under authoritarianism, specifically in the sub-category of authoritarianism which represents "belief in a cause."

Rokeach argues that the more closed-minded an individual is, the more he will see authority as absolute and the more he will tend to accept or reject people because they agree or disagree with his belief system. Such individuals are, therefore, unable to compromise.¹²

¹² Rokeach, op. cit., p. 77.

The third item measures intolerance toward the disbeliever,¹³ while the fourth measures isolation of one's own belief system from others' belief systems.¹⁴

In order to construct an index where the political system, particularly the United States political system, was the referent, the item about religious compromise was eliminated. The index using three items measures open-mindedness about political belief systems. Students who disagree with all three items are classified as "very high" on this index; with two statements, as "high"; with one statement, as "low"; and, with none of the statements, as "very low."

Association of the Indexes with Sex, Grade
in School, and Social Class
Identification

In order to determine what control variables should be introduced when the statistical associations between the group membership measures and these indexes are considered, chi-squares were computed between sex, grade in school, and social class identification and these indexes. Tables 17-21

¹³Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 73.

are bivariate distributions of the indexes of political efficacy, interest and expectation of future participation in politics, political party appreciation, belief in the legitimacy of political institutions, and open-mindedness about political belief systems.

None of the chi-squares computed on the political efficacy index are significant. This means that in Holt, political efficacy is not associated with these variables. This is surprising in light of numerous other studies of adult political behavior which show political efficacy to be related to sex, education, income, status, geographical region of the United States, and urbanization.¹⁵ Of course, the range on any of these variables for Holt High School students is much smaller than for national samples of adults, which may be a partial explanation for the lack of association.

Grade in school, but not sex or social class identification, is associated with political party appreciation. The direction of association is such that the higher the grade in school, the more favorable the attitudes toward political parties. The explanation for this association may have to

¹⁵Lane, op. cit., pp. 149-150.

do with when government courses are offered in schools. Usually, they are taught in the eleventh and twelfth grades. On the other hand, it may suggest that more eleventh and twelfth grade students have learned the conventional responses to these questionnaire items than have ninth and tenth grade students.

The index of interest and expectation of future participation in politics is associated with social class identification, but not with sex or grade. Students who identify with the upper and middle classes claim they have a greater interest and declare themselves more willing to actively participate in politics in the future than do students who identify with the lower and working class. Remmers' data reveal a difference of from 10% to 25% on various interest variables in the same direction.¹⁶ These data also established an association between grade in school and political interest which was not borne out in the Holt study. The percentage of students who said that they hardly followed the 1952 presidential election

¹⁶The Purdue Opinion Panel, Poll #32 (May, 1952), (Lafayette: Purdue University Division of Educational Reference).

campaign at all decreased from 35% for ninth graders to 22% for twelfth graders.¹⁷

Grade in school also is associated with the index of belief in the legitimacy of potential institutions. Students in the eleventh and twelfth grades tend to regard political institutions as legitimate more than do ninth and tenth graders.

The index of open-mindedness about political belief systems is not associated with sex, grade, or social class identification.

As a consequence of these statistical associations, grade in school will be introduced as a control variable where the political party appreciation and belief in the legitimacy of political institutions indexes are involved; social class identification will be introduced as a control variable when interest and expectation of future participation in politics is being considered.

¹⁷The Purdue Opinion Panel, Poll #33 (October, 1952), Lafayette: Purdue University Division of Educational Reference).

TABLE 17.--Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by sex, grade, and social class identification.

Interest and Expectation of Future Participation in Politics							
		Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High	Total
SEX							
Boys	f _O	40.0	59.0	51.0	33.0	20.0	203
	f _t	42.1	60.7	52.5	33.4	14.2	
	χ ²	.11	.05	.04		2.34	
Girls	f _O	37.0	52.0	45.0	28.0	6.0	168
	f _t	34.9	50.3	43.5	27.6	11.8	
	χ ²	.13	.06	.05	.01	2.83	
Total	f _O	77	111	96	61	26	371
χ ² = 5.63					.20 < p < .30		
GRADE							
Ninth and tenth	f _O	40.0	70.0	45.0	36.0	14.0	205
	f _t	42.5	61.3	53.0	33.7	14.4	
	χ ²	.15	1.22	1.22	.16	.01	
Eleventh and twelfth	f _O	37.0	41.0	51.0	25.0	12.0	166
	f _t	34.5	49.7	43.0	27.3	11.6	
	χ ²	.19	1.51	1.51	.19	.01	
Total	f _O	77	111	96	61	26	371
χ ² = 6.17					.10 < p < .20		
SOCIAL CLASS IDENTIFICATION							
Upper or middle	f _O	48.0	82.0	68.0	46.0	25.0	260
	f _t	56.0	81.1	67.8	45.0	19.2	
	χ ²	1.15	.01		.02	1.78	
Lower or working	f _O	28.0	28.0	24.0	15.0	1.0	96
	f _t	20.0	28.9	24.2	16.0	6.8	
	χ ²	3.21	.03		.07	4.98	
Total	f _O	76	110	92	61	26	365
χ ² = 11.25					.20 < p < .05		

TABLE 18.--Political party appreciation by sex, grade, and social class identification.

Political Party Appreciation					
		Low	Medium	High	Total
SEX					
Boys	f _o	52.0	105.0	51.0	208
	f _t	56.9	96.9	54.2	
	χ ²	.43	.68	.19	
Girls	f _o	52.0	72.0	48.0	172
	f _t	47.1	80.1	44.8	
	χ ²	.52	.82	.23	
Total	f _o	104	177	99	380
χ ² = 2.86				.20 < p < .30	
GRADE					
Ninth and tenth	f _o	69.0	93.0	41.0	203
	f _t	55.6	94.6	52.9	
	χ ²	3.25	.03	2.67	
Eleventh and twelfth	f _o	35.0	84.0	58.0	177
	f _t	48.4	82.4	46.1	
	χ ²	3.73	.03	3.06	
Total	f _o	104	177	99	380
χ ² = 12.77				.001 < p < .01	
SOCIAL CLASS IDENTIFICATION					
Upper and middle	f _o	70.0	130.0	74.0	274
	f _t	73.8	128.6	71.6	
	χ ²	.20	.02	.08	
Lower and working	f _o	31.0	46.0	24.0	101
	f _t	27.2	47.4	26.4	
	χ ²	.53	.04	.22	
Total	f _o	101	176	98	375
χ ² = 1.08				.50 < p < .70	

TABLE 19.--Sense of political efficacy by sex, grade, and social class identification.

		Sense of Political Efficacy			
		Low	Medium	High	Total
SEX					
Boys	f_o	64.0	101.0	44.0	209
	f_t	66.2	94.1	48.7	
	χ^2	.07	.51	.45	
Girls	f_o	57.0	71.0	45.0	173
	f_t	54.8	77.9	40.3	
	χ^2	.09	.61	.55	
Total	f_o	121	172	89	382
$\chi^2 = 2.28$.30 < p < .50			
GRADE					
Ninth and tenth	f_o	70.0	90.0	44.0	204
	f_t	64.6	91.9	47.5	
	χ^2	.45	.04	.26	
Eleventh and twelfth	f_o	51.0	82.0	45.0	178
	f_t	56.4	80.1	41.5	
	χ^2	.51	.04	.30	
Total	f_o	121	172	89	382
$\chi^2 = 1.60$.30 < p < .50			
SOCIAL CLASS IDENTIFICATION					
Upper and middle	f_o	84.0	123.0	69.0	276
	f_t	87.1	124.5	64.4	
	χ^2	.11	.02	.32	
Lower and working	f_o	35.0	47.0	19.0	101
	f_t	31.9	45.5	23.6	
	χ^2	.31	.05	.89	
Total	f_o	119	170	88	377
$\chi^2 = 1.69$.30 < p < .50			

TABLE 20.--Belief in the legitimacy of political institutions by sex, grade, and social class identification.

		Belief in the Legitimacy of Political Institutions			
		Low	Medium	High	Total
SEX					
Boys	f _O	81.0	76.0	38.0	195
	f _e	85.5	73.0	36.5	
	χ ²	.24	.12	.06	
Girls	f _O	76.0	58.0	29.0	163
	f _e	71.5	61.0	30.5	
	χ ²	.29	.15	.07	
Total	f _O	157	134	67	358
χ ² = .93		.50 < p < .70			
GRADE					
Ninth and tenth	f _O	73.0	70.0	48.0	191
	f _e	83.8	71.5	35.7	
	χ ²	1.38	.03	4.20	
Eleventh and twelfth	f _O	84.0	64.0	19.0	167
	f _e	73.2	62.5	31.3	
	χ ²	1.58	.04	4.80	
Total	f _O	157	134	67	358
χ ² = 12.04		.001 < p < .01			
SOCIAL CLASS IDENTIFICATION					
Upper and middle	f _O	117.0	97.0	45.0	259
	f _e	112.8	97.2	49.0	
	χ ²	.16		.32	
Lower and working	f _O	35.0	34.0	21.0	90
	f _e	39.2	33.8	17.0	
	χ ²	.45		.93	
Total	f _O	152	131	66	349
χ ² = 1.86		.30 < p < .50			

TABLE 21.--Open-mindedness about political belief systems
by sex, grade, and social class identification.

Open-mindedness about Political Belief Systems						
		Very Low	Low	High	Very High	Total
SEX						
Boys	f_o	55.0	47.0	56.0	25.0	183
	f_e	50.9	46.1	55.2	30.8	
	χ^2	.33	.02	.01	1.08	
Girls	f_o	41.0	40.0	48.0	33.0	162
	f_e	45.1	40.9	48.8	27.2	
	χ^2	.37	.02	.01	1.22	
Total	f_o	96	87	104	58	345
$\chi^2 = 3.06$.30 < p < .50		
GRADE						
Ninth and tenth	f_o	66.0	50.0	61.0	32.0	209
	f_e	58.2	52.7	63.0	35.1	
	χ^2	1.06	.14	.06	.28	
Eleventh and twelfth	f_o	30.0	37.0	43.0	26.0	136
	f_e	37.8	34.3	41.0	22.9	
	χ^2	1.63	.21	.10	.43	
Total	f_o	96	87	104	58	345
$\chi^2 = 3.91$.20 < p < .30		
SOCIAL CLASS IDENTIFICATION						
Upper and middle	f_o	62.0	62.0	79.0	48.0	251
	f_e	69.9	62.6	75.8	42.7	
	χ^2	.90	.01	.13	.66	
Working and lower	f_o	33.0	23.0	24.0	10.0	90
	f_e	25.1	22.4	27.2	15.3	
	χ^2	2.51	.01	.37	1.84	
Total	f_o	95	85	103	58	341
$\chi^2 = 6.43$.05 < p < .10		

CHAPTER IV

MEMBERSHIP IN EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

This chapter presents a test of the first hypothesis discussed in Chapter I, that membership in extra-curricular activities is associated with a sense of political efficacy, belief in the legitimacy of and satisfaction with political institutions, and interest in political affairs and the expectation of future participation in politics. First, however, are sections on the construction of an index to measure the amount of participation of students in extra-curricular activities and on correlates of membership in these activities. The test of the hypothesis follows these sections.

Construction of an Index Measuring the Amount of Participation in Extra-curricular Activities

At the time the Bureau staff developed the questionnaire, we did not anticipate that multiple group membership would become one of our major variables. We included questions on in-school and non-school activities as a way

of determining how the students spent their time when they were not in classes, not to illuminate the consequences of these activities on the development of orientations toward politics. The question about extra-curricular school activities provided the students with a list of activities and asked them to indicate which of these they were (or had been) participating in, and in which they were or had been leaders. The list included class government, student government, band or orchestra, chorus or other singing group, varsity sports, intramural sports, dramatics, language club, current events club, science club, or photography club. Space was provided for the listing of additional activities in which a student had participated. The list was not based on prior knowledge of Holt High School, but simply on the types of organizations commonly encountered in high schools. Some of the organizations listed did not exist at Holt High School; for instance, there was no intramural athletic program, no language club, no current events club, no photography club. Since 130 students responded that they participated in intramural sports, six claimed membership in a language club, seventeen said that they belonged to a current events club, and nine to a photography club, doubt

was cast on the reliability of the response to this question.

For this reason, we added two sources for student extra-curricular activity data--the school yearbook for 1960 and lists the students gave us several months later when we requested additional information on their activities for the year. We found that the students' lists and the lists made from the pictures in the yearbook coincided rather well, so the two were merged. We assume that any errors resulting from this procedure are in the direction of over-representing the activities the student participated in, since it is possible for a student to appear in a yearbook group picture although he has never been an active member of the organization. However, the school principal assured us that the club advisors are careful to allow only the members of each organization to be included in the yearbook pictures.

There were thirty-four extra-curricular organizations at Holt High School during the school year 1959-1960. Almost half were in some way related to athletics. The others were concerned with music, dramatics, the school yearbook, student government, or a subject-matter area like science. The organizations varied in size from 4 to 90,

the smallest being the majorettes and the largest the Girls Athletic Association. Each organization, with the size of its membership, is listed below.

TABLE 22.--Membership in extra-curricular activities at Holt High School

Organization	Size of Membership
Varsity basketball (boys)	18
Varsity football (boys)	37
Varsity club (boys)	33
Reserve football (boys)	40
Reserve basketball (boys)	13
Freshman basketball (boys)	14
Baseball (boys)	20
Track (boys)	38
Golf (boys)	13
Cross-country (boys)	10
Varsity cheerleaders (girls)	8
Majorettes (girls)	4
Girls Athletic Association (girls)	90
Reserve cheerleaders (girls)	7
G.A.A. basketball (girls)	15
G.A.A. cheerleaders (girls)	9
Pep club (mixed)	25
Library club (girls)	14
Commercial club (girls)	21
Future Homemakers of America (girls)	40
Annual staff (mixed)	20
Dramatics club (mixed)	35
Junior play (mixed)	31
Senior play (mixed)	21
Junior-senior prom committee (mixed)	17
Class officers (mixed)	16
Student government (mixed)	37
Audio-visual club (boys)	25
Science club (mixed)	11
JETS (engineering, boys)	11
Band (mixed)	71
Pep band (mixed)	27
Choir (mixed)	65
Glee club (girls)	22

There are restrictions to membership in some of these organizations. Ten are open only to girls, and twelve are exclusively for boys. Participation in varsity sports is limited primarily to juniors and seniors, while the junior and senior plays are open only to members of the appropriate class. Also, overlapping meeting times limit the number of organizations to which any one student can belong. The maximum number of memberships for any one student was eight, which was possible only because the athletic program is necessarily seasonal. The average number per student at Holt High School during the school year 1959-1960 was 2.2 organizations. The distribution was as follows:

TABLE 23.--Frequency distribution of number of memberships in extra-curricular activities.

Number of Memberships	Number	Percent
No memberships	71	17.9%
One membership	91	22.9
Two memberships	80	20.1
Three memberships	65	16.4
Four memberships	39	9.8
Five memberships	32	8.1
Six memberships	11	2.8
Seven memberships	6	1.5
Eight memberships	2	.5
Total	397	100.0

The number of memberships individuals have in voluntary associations is frequently used in sociological research as an independent or a dependent variable.¹ Generally, each individual's associations are categorized as: no memberships, one membership, and two or more memberships. In Holt High School, however, the number of memberships per student greatly exceeds the number of memberships per individual in the studies of adults referred to. For this reason, for this study one and two memberships were combined into one category and three or more memberships into another. There are 171 students with one or two memberships and 155 students with three or more.

Correlates of Membership in Extra-Curricular Activities

Who are the students who are active in extra-curricular activities in Holt High School? Table 24 lists the correlates of membership for those reporting no activities, one

¹Wright and Hyman, op. cit., pp. 284-294; Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), pp. 25-34; Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-class Families," American Sociological Review, XVI (October, 1951), 687-693.

or two activities, and three or more activities. The general characteristics are summarized below:

Sex, grade, and curriculum

More girls are active in extra-curricular activities and have more per capita memberships altogether than boys. Eighty-nine percent of the girls, in fact, have membership in at least one activity, to 75.9% of the boys and 48.1% have three or more as compared to 31.5% of the boys. This latter difference is significant at less than the .001 level.

This finding is supported by two recent studies of American high school students. Carol Stone found that in five community high schools in the State of Washington, girls averaged 3.7 school activities while boys averaged only 2.5 activities.² James Coleman reports the following results of his study of nine high schools:

. . . in all these schools, the clubs and activities were more the province of the girls than of the boys. For example, in almost every school of the more than fifty whose yearbooks were examined during this study, a girl was editor of the yearbook and a girl was editor

² Carol L. Stone, "Pacific County Teen-Agers' Activities and Social Relations," Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations, Circular 373 (May, 1960), p. 14.

of the school newspaper. Some activities, of course, are either solely for boys (such as the HI-Y clubs) or are largely populated by boys (such as a chemistry club or a photography club). However, in general, it seems that there is a kind of tacit division of labor in most schools: activities and clubs are for the girls, athletics are for the boys.³

Holt High School has specific class activities for juniors and seniors only. This contributes to the association of the percentage of no-membership and three-or-more-membership students with advances in grade--the percentage of no-memberships decreases, and that of three-or-more-memberships increases. The grade differences are significant at .001 to .01.

Students specializing in college preparatory and commercial curricula have a higher rate of participation in extra-curricular activities than those in the general curriculum or in the vocational education and agriculture curriculum. While 84.9% of the college preparatory students and 82.0% of the commercial students have at least one membership, only 66.7% of the vocational education and agriculture students and 77.7% of the general

³James A. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 15.

curriculum students have one or more memberships. The percentages are different again for the four curricula when only the students with three or more memberships are considered. The percentages are 52.9% for college preparatory students, 37.1% for commercial, 25.0% for vocational education, and 23.2% for general students. These differences are significant at less than .001.

Membership in extra-curricular activities also correlates with academic excellence. The correlation of number of memberships to grade average is .362, which is significant at less than the .001 level. The more memberships a student has, the more likely he is to have an "A" or "B" average.

Educational and occupational aspirations

Students who plan to go to junior college or a four-year college or university have more numerous memberships than those who plan to get a job immediately, attend a trade school, join the military, or (girls only) become a housewife. Over half of the students who plan to get some college education belong to three or more school organizations, compared to 39.0% for those planning to

attend trade school, 30.6% for the ones who are going to go to work after graduation, 26.8% for those who plan to join the armed forces, and 13.3% for the girls planning to become housewives. These differences also are significant at less than the .001 level.

Students with three or more memberships differ in occupational aspiration from students having none. The students planning professional or managerial careers are considerably more active in extra-curricular activities than the students planning farm, clerical, sales, craft, or service careers. These differences are significant at less than .001.

TABLE 24.--Correlates of group membership in extra-curricular activities.

	No Member- ships	One or Two Member- ships	Three Plus Member- ships	Total
<u>Total, all students</u>	17.9%	43.1%	39.1%	397
<u>Sex</u>				
Boys	24.1	44.4	31.5	216
Girls	10.5	41.4	48.1	181

TABLE 24.--Continued.

	No Member- ships	One or Two Member- ships	Three Plus Member- ships	Total
<u>Total, all students</u>	17.9%	43.1%	39.1%	397
<u>Grade in school</u>				
Ninth	19.4	46.6	34.0	103
Tenth	20.0	50.9	29.1	110
Eleventh	16.7	36.5	46.9	96
Twelfth	14.8	36.4	48.9	88
<u>Curriculum</u>				
College preparatory	14.0	32.0	52.9	172
Commercial	18.0	44.9	37.1	89
Vocational education or agriculture	33.3	41.7	25.0	12
General	22.3	54.5	23.2	112
<u>Grade average</u>				
"A"		33.3	66.7	3
"A" - "B"	3.1	34.4	62.5	32
"B"	13.7	25.5	56.9	51
"B" - "C"	11.9	42.6	45.5	101
"C"	19.2	44.2	36.7	120
"C" - "D"	32.3	50.8	16.9	65
"D"	20.0	60.0	20.0	5
"D" - "F"	44.4	55.6		9
<u>Plans after high school</u>				
Four-year college or university	11.8	36.1	52.1	119
Junior college	8.6	37.1	54.3	35
Trade or technical school	12.2	48.8	39.0	41

TABLE 24.--Continued.

	No Member- ships	One or Two Member- ships	Three Plus Member- ships	Total
<u>Total, all students</u>	17.9%	43.1%	39.1%	397
Get a job	23.4	46.0	30.6	124
Armed forces	26.8	46.3	26.8	41
Housewife	26.7	60.0	13.3	15
<u>Expected occupation</u>				
Professional, technical	14.6	35.0	50.4	123
Manager, proprietor, official		38.5	61.5	13
Farmer or farm manager	8.3	66.7	25.0	12
Clerical worker	13.2	50.0	36.8	68
Sales worker	40.0	20.0	40.0	5
Craftsman and foreman	23.5	49.0	27.5	51
Operative	40.0	40.0	20.0	5
Service worker	8.0	52.0	40.0	25
Housewife		66.7	33.3	9
<u>Father's occupation</u>				
Professional, technical	17.1	42.9	42.9	36
Manager, proprietor, official	10.9	42.4	46.7	92
Farmer or farm manager	36.4	36.4	27.3	11
Clerical worker	28.6	47.6	23.8	21
Sales worker	30.0	10.0	60.0	10
Craftsman or foreman	18.2	47.3	34.5	110
Operative	16.0	43.6	40.4	94
Service worker	23.1	38.5	38.5	13
Retired or deceased	40.0	40.0	20.0	10

TABLE 24.--Continued.

	No Member- ships	One or Two Member- ships	Three Plus Member- ships	Total
<u>Total, all students</u>	17.9%	43.1%	39.1%	397
<u>Duncan's Socio- Economic Index</u>				
67 - 96 (Tenth Decile)	11.6	44.2	44.2	43
51 - 65 (Ninth Decile)	11.8	43.0	45.2	93
39 - 50 (Eighth Decile)	23.2	43.5	31.9	68
31 - 38 (Seventh Decile)	9.7	41.9	48.4	31
22 - 30 (Sixth Decile)	15.0	42.5	42.5	40
19 - 21 (Fifth Decile)	16.7	51.7	31.7	60
15 - 18 (Fourth Decile)	30.0	32.5	37.5	40
13 - 14 (Third Decile)	66.7	33.3		3
7 - 12 (Second Decile)	22.2	44.4	33.3	9
0 - 6 (First Decile)				
<u>Social class identification</u>				
Upper class	18.2	22.7	59.1	22
Middle class	12.0	45.0	43.0	258
Working class	28.7	42.6	28.7	94
Lower class	63.6	27.3	9.1	11
<u>Religious identification</u>				
Protestant (unspecified)	17.6	44.0	38.5	91
Presbyterian, Congre- gational, Methodist, Lutheran, and Episcopalian	13.0	36.4	50.6	162
Baptist, Nazarene, Fundamentalist	28.3	46.7	25.0	60

TABLE 24.--Continued.

	No Member- ships	One or Two Member- ships	Three Plus Member- ships	Total
<u>Total, all students</u>	17.9%	43.1%	39.1%	397
Catholic	25.0	42.5	32.5	40
Unitarian		100.0		1
Jewish	100.0			1
None or don't know	20.7	55.2	24.1	29
<u>Frequency of church attendance</u>				
At least once a week	15.5	45.5	39.0	187
Once or twice a month	20.6	33.0	46.4	97
Major holidays	17.5	41.3	41.3	63
Once a year	20.0	55.0	25.0	20
Never	23.8	52.4	19.0	21
<u>Non-school activities</u>				
Sunday school	16.6	41.7	41.7	302
Church youth group	13.3	39.0	47.7	241
Church choir	12.4	38.5	49.1	169
Boy/Girl Scouts	16.5	40.7	42.9	273
Organized sports	13.3	40.0	46.7	225
YMCA/YWCA	14.8	43.0	42.3	142
Musical group	6.1	43.4	47.5	99
Hotrod/motorcycle club	29.6	44.4	25.9	27
Social club	12.5	45.8	41.7	24
<u>Membership in non-school activities</u>				
No activities	65.2	23.9	10.9	46
One activity	30.1	65.8	4.1	73
Two activities	11.4	54.4	34.2	79
Three activities	7.6	49.4	43.0	79
Four activities	6.3	25.0	68.8	48
Five or more activities	1.4	23.6	75.0	72

TABLE 24.--Continued.

	No Member- ships	One or Two Member- ships	Three Plus Member- ships	Total
<u>Total, all students</u>	17.9%	43.1%	39.1%	397
<u>Furthest away lived</u>				
Never lived outside Holt, Lansing	17.3	42.9	39.8	133
Lived elsewhere in Ingham County	12.2	38.8	49.0	49
Lived elsewhere in Michigan	25.2	42.0	32.8	119
Lived elsewhere in United States	11.3	45.0	43.8	80

Social class and prestige variables

The students' occupational aspirations are not as relevant for the purposes of this study as their fathers' occupations. The percentage of students with multiple group membership whose fathers are professional or managerial is higher than for those whose fathers have clerical, farm, service, and craft jobs. The difference is not significant, but tends in the same direction as Wright and Hyman's data on adult joiners.⁴

⁴Wright and Hyman, op. cit., p 289. Table 25 is taken from this source.

TABLE 25.--Bivariate distribution in percentages of occupations of Denver residents by number of group memberships.

Father's Occupation	No Membership	One Membership	Two or More Memberships
Professional	47%	24%	29%
Proprietor, manager, official	47	24	29
Farm owners	58	28	14
Clerical, sales	59	21	20
Skilled workers	68	19	13
Semi-skilled workers	77	14	9
Service	73	18	9
Retired, unemployed	77	11	12

Wright and Hyman, in their secondary analysis of NORC national sample survey data, found that professionals and managers generally have more memberships in community organizations than people in other occupational categories. In the Holt data, the children of professionals and managers similarly have, on the average, more group memberships than children of people in other occupational categories.

When the occupations of the students' fathers are classified according to Otis Dudley Duncan's socio-economic

index and assigned to the deciles appropriate to average income and amounts of education for these occupations, the fathers of students with three or more memberships place more frequently in the top two deciles than in the other eight. This can be interpreted as an indication that the multiple group members come from families with a slightly higher income and slightly more education than the no-membership students.

The students with three or more memberships also tend to identify with the upper and middle classes to a significantly greater degree than the students with no memberships. While 59.1% of the students claiming upper class status have three or more memberships, only 9.1% of those who identify with the lower class have multiple group membership. Of the students belonging to three or more groups, 43.0% claim middle class status, and 28.7% identify with the working class. These differences are also significant at less than the .001 level of probability.

There is considerable literature in the social sciences to indicate that some relationship exists between social class identification and political behavior. Heinz Eulau found that if people perceived the class with which they

identified as associated with a particular party, they also tended to identify with it and voted for its candidates.⁵ The Survey Research Center obtained similar results in analyzing the 1956 presidential election survey data. However, they also found that social class identification alone was insufficient to explain political attitudes or behavior.⁶

Religious affiliation

Protestant students belonging to the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, Lutheran, and Episcopalian churches reported more memberships than the Baptists, Nazarenes, or fundamentalists, and also more than the Catholics. While those who attended church regularly have slightly more memberships than those whose attendance is infrequent, the difference is significant at just the .05 level. Attendance at Sunday school, church youth groups, or church choirs does not correlate with the number of memberships in extra-curricular activities.

⁵Heinz Eulau, "Perceptions of Class and Party in Voting Behavior: 1952," American Political Science Review, XLIX (June, 1955), 364-384.

⁶Campbell et al., The American Voter, op. cit., pp. 343-346.

Non-school activities

Similarly, there is no correlation between membership in high school activities and Boy and Girl Scouts, organized sports, YMCA and YWCA, or a social club. A correlation does exist with membership in musical or hotrod clubs--positive for the musical groups and negative for the hotrod clubs.

The number of students participating in non-school activities is positively related to the number participating in high school extra-curricular activities, which indicates that the school activists are also the non-school activists. The correlation coefficient is .296, which is significant at less than the .001 level of probability.

Summary

To sum up, in Holt High School the multiple group members are more often girls, upperclassmen, good students who plan to continue their education and to enter professional and managerial careers, non-fundamentalist Protestants, regular church-goers, and outside school activists, who come from middle to upper socio-economic backgrounds. These characteristics are pertinent to the exploration of the relationship between group membership

and political attitudes. At certain points, as we suggested above, these variables will have to be controlled.

Test of the First Multiple Group
Membership Hypothesis

The first hypothesis of multiple group membership described in Chapter I states that membership in voluntary associations has several consequences for political behavior: it tends to make people have feelings of political efficacy; it increases their belief in the legitimacy of political institutions; it increases their satisfaction with political parties; and it promotes greater political interest and participation. Each of these dependent variables will be tested for its statistical association with number of memberships in extra-curricular activities among the high school students in Holt, Michigan.

Sense of political efficacy

In his theory of the function of voluntary associations in a democratic society, Arnold Rose suggested that such associations distribute power to as many citizens as are willing to take responsibility for power.⁷ The consequences

⁷Rose, op. cit., p. 51.

of exercising power can thus be observed on a small scale, and if the member can apply it to the larger community, he will be in a position to see how such action can be used to control governmental and political institutions. By their experience with the microcosm, members of voluntary associations should be inclined to regard politics as understandable, and should feel that they personally can affect decisions made at the governmental level.

Table 26 is a bivariate distribution of sense of political efficacy by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities. The chi-square value of 13.55 is significant between the .001 and .01 level of probability. This means that these two variables are not independent, but rather, have the predicted association. Students with three or more memberships in extra-curricular activities have greater feelings of political efficacy than students with one or two memberships or with none. This is the direction of association that was predicted in the Rose theory.

In The Voter Decides, Competitive Pressure and Democratic Consent, and When Labor Votes, it was shown that the following types of people are more likely to express feelings of political efficacy: men rather than women; the

TABLE 26.--Sense of political efficacy by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities

Number of Memberships		Sense of Political Efficacy			Total
		Low	Medium	High	
No memberships	f_o	23.0	36.0	9.0	68
	f_e	21.5	30.6	15.8	
	χ^2	.10	.95	2.96	
One or two memberships	f_o	63.0	63.0	37.0	163
	f_e	51.6	73.4	38.0	
	χ^2	2.50	1.47	.03	
Three or more memberships	f_o	35.0	73.0	43.0	151
	f_e	47.8	68.0	35.2	
	χ^2	3.44	.37	1.74	
Total	f_o	121	172	89	382
$\chi^2 = 13.55$					
$.01 < p < .001$					
$C = .19$					

better educated rather than the less well educated; people with high incomes rather than people with low incomes; people with high status occupations rather than people with low status occupations; non-Southerners rather than Southerners; and, people who live in populous communities rather than people from less populous communities.⁸ The results of the study in Holt indicate that, at least among teenagers, membership in high school voluntary school associations can be added to this list. In fact, since we found neither sex, grade in school, nor social class identification associated with a sense of political efficacy, association membership in this age group appears to be a major causal variable.

In The American Voter, Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes show that a decision to vote in the 1956 presidential election increased in proportion to the strength of the individual's sense of political efficacy, and that

⁸ Campbell et al., The Voter Decides, op. cit., pp. 187-194; Morris Janowitz and Dwaine Marvick, Competitive Pressure and Democratic Consent (Ann Arbor: Bureau of Government, 1956), pp. 30-34; and Arthur Kornhauser, Harold L. Sheppard and Albert J. Mayer, When Labor Votes (New York: University Books, 1956), pp. 155-166.

more than 40 percentage points separated those with the weakest sense of efficacy from those with the strongest.⁹ These conclusions suggest that the Holt High School students who have developed a sense of political efficiency from group membership will probably vote in greater numbers when they come of age than the students who at present have developed no such feelings of efficacy. Since The American Voter also reported a relationship between political efficacy and other types of political participation, we might also predict greater political activity in general for these same students.¹⁰

Political party appreciation

The image of politics as something "dirty" and "dishonest," carried on by hardened professionals in that mythical den of iniquity, the smoke-filled room, persists stubbornly in the American mind. It is not as widespread as it was in the bad old days of the city machines, but while the high schools have done much to dispel it--teaching students that political parties are not power

⁹Campbell et al., The American Voter, op. cit., p. 105.

¹⁰Idem.

conspiracies favoring the few over the many, that there is no dishonor for an honorable man in political activity--the negative image still persists.

Members of a voluntary association have the opportunity to see the political process at work within their own organization. They may even see miniature political parties in action during their yearly elections. Rose's theory asserts that individuals who belong to voluntary associations will learn something about the operation of the political process by observing the internal politics of their associations and that they will thus be able to generalize these observations to the larger environment, having been relieved of their fear of the unknown as complex and threatening. This means that generally, unless the internal politics of their own organization is corrupt, voluntary association members should have more favorable attitudes toward politics and political parties than those who have never been members.

The index of political party appreciation measures favorable attitudes toward political institutions in general, and toward political parties in particular. Students who are members of extra-curricular activities should

have higher scores on this index than non-members, according to the Rose theory. Table 27 shows this relationship. The chi-square value of 13.01 is significant at the .01 to .02 level of probability, and the correlation is in the expected direction--students having membership in three or more extra-curricular activities have more favorable attitudes toward political parties than do either non-members or members of one or two organizations.

TABLE 27.--Political party appreciation by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities.

Number of Memberships		Political Party Appreciation			
		Low	Medium	High	Total
No memberships	f_o	28.0	27.0	13.0	68
	f_e	18.6	31.7	17.7	
	χ^2	4.74	.69	1.26	
One or two memberships	f_o	47.0	77.0	38.0	162
	f_e	44.3	75.5	42.2	
	χ^2	.16	.03	.42	
Three or more memberships	f_o	29.0	73.0	48.0	150
	f_e	41.1	69.9	39.1	
	χ^2	3.54	.14	2.04	
Total	f_o	104	177	99	380
$\chi^2 = 13.01$		$.01 < p < .02$		$C = .18$	

TABLE 28.--Political party appreciation by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of ninth and tenth grade students.

Number of Memberships		Political Party Appreciation			Total
		Low	Medium	High	
No memberships	f_o	24.0	12.0	4.0	40
	f_e	13.6	18.3	8.1	
	χ^2	7.96	2.18	2.06	
One or two memberships	f_o	31.0	47.0	19.0	97
	f_e	33.0	44.4	19.6	
	χ^2	.12	.15	.02	
Three or more memberships	f_o	14.0	34.0	18.0	66
	f_e	22.4	30.2	13.3	
	χ^2	3.17	.47	1.64	
Total	f_o	69	93	41	203
<hr/>					
$\chi^2 = 17.76$		$.001 < p < .01$		$C = .28$	

TABLE 29.--Political party appreciation by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of eleventh and twelfth grade students

Number of Memberships		Political Party Appreciation			Total
		Low	Medium	High	
No memberships	f_o	4.0	15.0	9.0	28
	f_e	5.5	13.3	9.2	
	χ^2	.43	.22		
One or two memberships	f_o	16.0	30.0	19.0	65
	f_e	12.9	30.8	21.3	
	χ^2	.77	.02	.25	
Three or more memberships	f_o	15.0	39.0	30.0	84
	f_e	16.6	39.9	27.5	
	χ^2	.16	.02	.22	
Total	f_o	35	84	58	177
$\chi^2 = 2.09$		$.70 < p < .80$			

To assure that political party appreciation is a direct consequence of multiple group membership and not of grade in school (a variable political party appreciation was shown to be associated with earlier), the school grade was introduced as a control variable. These data are presented in Tables 28 and 29. The chi-square value of 17.76 for ninth and tenth graders (significant between the .001 and .01 level) and that of 2.09 for eleventh and twelfth graders (not significant), suggests that favorable attitudes toward political parties result from multiple group membership among ninth and tenth graders only. Other experiences (as, for example, a course in American government) may have been sufficient to lead the eleventh and twelfth graders to a favorable attitude without any necessary contribution from group membership. Or, these older students may have acquired their favorable attitudes towards political institutions as ninth- or tenth-grade members of school organizations; it is possible that initial experience as a member of a voluntary association may have more impact on the individual than subsequent experiences in the same or similar groups. Unfortunately, we have no data on the earlier group memberships of the Holt High School students.

In order to find out the particular function of political parties or politics in general members of extra-curricular activities favored more than non-members. chi-squares were computed for each item in the index by number of group memberships. The chi-squares and the level of their significance are presented below.

TABLE 30.--Chi-square values and probabilities for items in the political party appreciation index by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities.

	Chi-square	Probability
There shouldn't be any political parties	6.75	ns
Political parties don't belong in national elections	18.73	<.001
Political parties don't belong in state elections	6.78	ns
Political parties don't belong in city elections	8.33	ns
People go into politics because they are unsuccessful in other areas	12.25	.01 < p < .02
Political parties exist because people can never agree on anything	11.23	.02 < p < .05
Political parties exist because they give a few big men a chance to get their own way	20.33	<.001
When I am old enough, I plan to vote in every election	7.04	ns

There is no association between number of memberships in extra-curricular activities and four of these items. In the remaining four, the direction of association is toward disagreement with the item by members of three or more organizations. These students believe that political parties do belong in national elections, that people do not go into politics because they are unsuccessful in other areas, that political parties do not exist because people can never agree on anything, and that political parties do not exist because they give a few big men a chance to get their own way. In other words, they are less cynical about personal motivation for entering politics and about the parties themselves and are less inclined than non-members to view political parties as conspiracies.

Index of belief in the legitimacy
of political institutions

The index of belief in the legitimacy of political institutions is another measure of the students' satisfaction with existing political institutions. Individuals high on this index perceive the political world as operating in conformity with an almost idealized model of representative democracy. They recognize that there can be several sides to

every issue; they see voting as a way of informing the government of the best interest of the community in general and the particular interest of groups the voters support. Individuals low on this index are probably somewhat cynical about politics.

The distribution of this index by multiple group membership should be similar to that for the index of political party appreciation. Students who are active in extra-curricular activities should be more inclined to view political institutions as legitimate than the non-active. Table 31 substantiates this expectation. The chi-square value of 18.33 is significant between the .001 and .01 level of probability. Students with three or more memberships are much more inclined to view political institutions as legitimate than either the students with no memberships or those with only one or two memberships. Even when grade in school (a variable shown earlier to be related to the index of belief in the legitimacy of political institutions) is controlled statistically, the association persists for all grades. (See Tables 32 and 33.)

TABLE 31.--Belief in the legitimacy of political institutions by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities.

Number of Memberships		Belief in the Legitimacy of Political Institutions			Total
		Low	Medium	High	
No memberships	f_o	15.0	28.0	16.0	59
	f_e	11.0	22.1	25.9	
	χ^2	1.42	1.58	3.77	
One or two memberships	f_o	38.0	55.0	66.0	159
	f_e	29.8	59.5	69.7	
	χ^2	2.28	.34	.20	
Three or more memberships	f_o	14.0	51.0	75.0	140
	f_e	26.2	52.4	61.4	
	χ^2	5.68	.04	3.01	
Total	f_o	67	134	157	358
$\chi^2 = 18.33$		$.001 < p < .01$			$c = .22$

TABLE 32.--Belief in the legitimacy of the political institutions by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of ninth and tenth grade students.

Number of Memberships		Belief in the Legitimacy of Political Institutions			Total
		Low	Medium	High	
No memberships	f_o	12.0	13.0	9.0	34
	f_e	8.5	12.5	13.0	
	χ^2	1.40	.02	1.23	
One or two memberships	f_o	26.0	38.0	31.0	95
	f_e	23.9	34.8	36.3	
	χ^2	.19	.29	.77	
Three or more memberships	f_o	10.0	19.0	33.0	62
	f_e	15.6	22.7	23.7	
	χ^2	2.00	.46	3.69	
Total	f_o	48	70	73	191
$\chi^2 = 10.00$		$.02 < p < .05$			$C = .22$

TABLE 33.--Belief in the legitimacy of political institutions by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of eleventh and twelfth grade students.

Number of Memberships		Belief in the Legitimacy of Political Institutions			Total
		Low	Medium	High	
No memberships	f_o	3.0	15.0	7.0	25
	f_e	22.8	9.6	12.6	
	χ^2	.01	3.07	2.47	
One or two memberships	f_o	12.0	17.0	35.0	64
	f_e	7.3	24.5	32.2	
	χ^2	3.06	2.29	.04	
Three or more memberships	f_o	4.0	32.0	42.0	78
	f_e	8.9	29.9	39.2	
	χ^2	2.68	.15	1.32	
Total	f_o	19	64	84	167
$\chi^2 = 14.29$		$.001 < p < .01$			$c = .28$

Interest and Expectation of Future
Participation in Politics, Frequency
of Political Discussion, and Use of
the Mass Media in Public Affairs

Active interest in politics as one of the consequences of voluntary association membership is not predicted by Arnold Rose's theory. He simply says that membership helps individuals understand the political process and tends to make them more satisfied with it. I suggest that it also tends to make them more actively interested in politics as well.

This proposition is not unsupported by previous research. Charles R. Wright and Herbert Hyman report that members of voluntary associations in Denver, Colorado, were more likely than non-members to "take a great deal of interest" in presidential elections, unemployment in the United States, the Denver public schools, city planning in Denver, labor relations, and the situation of Denver Negroes. In addition, a greater percentage of members of voluntary associations voted in the 1944 Presidential, 1946 Congressional, 1947 city charter, and 1948 primary elections than did non-members. Finally, 72% of the voluntary association members reported making a contribution to the Community

Chest in Denver as compared to 56% of the non-members.¹¹ The studies of Maccoby, Dennis, Hastings, Agger and Ostrom, described in Chapter I, also support this point.

In the Holt questionnaire we included several items that measure general interest in politics. Four of them factored together and have been combined into an index of interest and expectation of future political participation. To score as having very high interest in politics on this index, a student must agree that he is interested in politics, that he would consider taking a full-time job with the government or a political party, and would consider running for public office.

Table 34 is a bivariate distribution of this index by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities. The chi-square value of 30.37 is significant at considerably less than the .001 level of probability. Students who are active in extra-curricular activities are much more likely to express interest in politics and to consider future political participation, let alone running for public office, than are non-members or students with only one or two memberships. The association persists even when social class

¹¹Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, op. cit., pp. 292-293.

TABLE 34.--Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities.

Number of member-ships		Interest and Expectation of Future Participation in Politics					To-tal
		Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High	
No mem-berships	f _o	12.0	26.0	19.0	7.0	4.0	68
	f _t	10.6	21.4	19.5	11.5	5.0	
	χ ²	.18	.98	.01	1.77	.19	
One or two mem-berships	f _o	33.0	60.0	44.0	23.0	4.0	164
	f _t	25.6	51.7	47.0	27.8	12.0	
	χ ²	2.12	1.34	.19	.82	5.30	
Three or more member-ships	f _o	15.0	35.0	47.0	35.0	20.0	152
	f _t	23.8	47.9	43.5	25.7	11.1	
	χ ²	3.22	3.47	.27	3.34	7.17	
Total	f _o	60	121	110	65	28	384
χ ² = 30.37		P < .001			C = .27		

identification, a variable shown earlier to be related to this index, is controlled. (See Tables 35 and 36.) Multiple group membership serves to arouse students to interest and possible future political participation regardless of their social class identification.

These findings are further supported by evidence of greater present political participation among multiple group members. Tables 37-40 reveal that students who belong to three or more organizations discuss politics more often with their fathers, mothers, friends, and teachers, than do students with no memberships or only one or two memberships. Further, as Table 41 indicates, students with three or more memberships use more mass media sources on public affairs questions than do students with no memberships or only one or two. Neither of these relationships is surprising in light of the findings of the Elmira study, where the following conclusion was reached: "The more people read politics, the more they talk politics; and the more they talk, the more they read."¹²

¹²Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954) p. 246.

TABLE 35.--Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of students who identify with the upper or middle class.

Number of Memberships		Interest and Expectation of Future Participation in Politics			Total
		Low	Medium	High	
No memberships	f_o	14.0	10.0	8.0	32
	f_e	14.3	9.0	8.7	
	χ^2	.06	.11	.06	
One or two memberships	f_o	68.0	30.0	22.0	120
	f_e	53.5	33.9	32.6	
	χ^2	3.94	.45	3.45	
Three or more memberships	f_o	41.0	38.0	45.0	124
	f_e	55.2	35.1	33.7	
	χ^2	3.65	.24	3.79	
Total	f_o	123	78	75	276
$\chi^2 = 15.75$		$.001 < P < .01$			$C = .23$

TABLE 36.--Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities of students who identify with the working or lower class.

Number of Memberships		Interest and Expectation of Future Participation in Politics			Total
		Low	Medium	High	
No memberships	f_o	24.0	7.0	3.0	34
	f_e	18.8	9.2	6.0	
	χ^2	1.44	.54	1.50	
One or two memberships	f_o	24.0	13.0	5.0	42
	f_e	23.2	11.5	7.3	
	χ^2	.03	.22	.72	
Three or more memberships	f_o	9.0	8.0	10.0	27
	f_e	15.0	7.3	4.7	
	χ^2	2.40	.06	5.98	
Total	f_o	57	28	18	103
$\chi^2 = 12.89$		$.01 < p < .02$			$C = .33$

TABLE 37.--Frequency of political discussion with father by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities.

Number of Memberships		Political Discussion with Father			Total
		Often	Sometimes	Never	
No memberships	f_o	11.0	40.0	16.0	67
	f_e	10.8	45.5	10.6	
	χ^2		.67	2.70	
One or two memberships	f_o	24.0	107.0	33.0	164
	f_e	26.5	111.5	26.1	
	χ^2	.23	.18	1.85	
Three or more memberships	f_o	27.0	114.0	12.0	153
	f_e	24.7	104.0	24.3	
	χ^2	.21	.96	6.23	
Total	f_o	62	261	61	384
$\chi^2 = 13.04$		$.01 < p < .02$			$C = .18$

TABLE 38.--Frequency of political discussion with mother by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities.

Number of Memberships		Political Discussion with Mother			Total
		Often	Sometimes	Never	
No memberships	f_o	11.0	40.0	14.0	65
	f_e	8.7	45.5	10.9	
	χ^2	.64	.66	.91	
One or two memberships	f_o	23.0	106.0	37.0	166
	f_e	22.1	116.2	27.7	
	χ^2	.04	.89	3.09	
Three or more memberships	f_o	17.0	122.0	13.0	152
	f_e	20.2	106.4	25.4	
	χ^2	.52	2.30	6.05	
Total	f_o	51	268	64	383
$\chi^2 = 15.09$		$.001 < p < .01$			$C = .19$

TABLE 39.--Frequency of political discussion with friends
by number of memberships in extra-curricular
activities.

Number of Memberships		Political Discussion with Friends			To- tal
		Often	Sometimes	Never	
No memberships	f_o	7.0	52.0	7.0	66
	f_e	11.1	46.5	8.4	
	χ^2	1.52	.65	.23	
One or two memberships	f_o	30.0	109.0	27.0	166
	f_e	28.0	117.0	21.1	
	χ^2	.15	.54	1.67	
Three or more memberships	f_o	28.0	111.0	15.0	154
	f_e	25.9	108.5	19.5	
	χ^2	.16	.06	1.06	
Total	f_o	65	272	49	386
$\chi^2 = 6.04$.10 < p < .20			

TABLE 40.--Frequency of political discussion with teachers
by number of memberships in extra-curricular
activities.

Number of Memberships		Political Discussion with Teachers			To- tal
		Often	Sometimes	Never	
No memberships	f_o	5.0	36.0	26.0	67
	f_e	10.6	36.5	20.0	
	χ^2	2.95	.01	1.83	
One or two memberships	f_o	31.0	77.0	57.0	165
	f_e	26.1	89.8	49.2	
	χ^2	.93	1.82	1.25	
Three or more memberships	f_o	25.0	97.0	32.0	154
	f_e	24.3	83.8	45.9	
	χ^2	.02	2.09	4.20	
Total	f_o	61	210	115	386
$\chi^2 = 15.08$		$.001 < p < .01$			$C = .19$

TABLE 41.--Exposure to mass media on public affairs questions by number of memberships in extra-curricular activities

Number of Memberships		No Media Source	One Media Source	Two or Three Media Sources	Total
No memberships	f_o	25.0	24.0	6.0	55
	f_e	17.7	20.8	16.5	
	χ^2	3.01	.49	6.68	
One or two memberships	f_o	43.0	49.0	36.0	128
	f_e	41.2	48.5	38.3	
	χ^2	.08	.01	.14	
Two or more memberships	f_o	33.0	46.0	52.0	131
	f_e	42.1	49.6	39.2	
	χ^2	1.97	.28	4.18	
Total	f_o	101	119	94	314
$\chi^2 = 16.84$		$.001 < p < .01$		$C = .23$	

CHAPTER V

PLURALISTIC PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

The second multiple group membership hypothesis, which will also be referred to as the pluralistic hypothesis, states that interest in politics and expectation of future political participation, open-mindedness about political belief systems, and weak political party identification are associated with the following two conditions: membership in extra-curricular activities of different types or membership in extra-curricular activities which bring students into contact with other students who belong to extra-curricular activities of different types. This hypothesis is an extension of Simmel's theory about the consequences of pluralistic participation.¹ Simmel states that individuals who join organizations to satisfy several interests will be exposed to cross-pressures, and that this experience will contribute to the integration of their personalities. Following from this, one should expect individuals who join several types of voluntary associations to perceive

¹Simmel, op. cit., pp. 141-142.

institutions normally involved in conflict as less threatening than those who lack this experience of membership. They should, for example, be more interested in political institutions, more open-minded about competing political ideologies, and be more moderate in their political party identification.

Construction of Indexes To Measure Pluralism

The type of membership experience described in the pluralistic hypothesis cannot be measured by a simple count of the organizations to which an individual belongs. Several types of membership experience are implied: in groups whose members have varied religious, economic, social and political backgrounds, in groups organized for different purposes; in groups whose members are active in other, different types of groups.

Because of the homogeneity of the Holt community, an index measuring the first type of pluralistic experience was not attempted. The index of number of types of group memberships and the index of single- and multi-factor groups are measures of the second and third types of pluralistic experience.

Index of number of types
of group memberships

The index of number of types of group memberships is a simple count of the different kinds of groups to which Holt High School students belong. We classified the thirty-four groups into five types: athletics, music, dramatics and publications, curriculum-related activities and leadership. The athletic groups include the ten teams plus the cheerleaders, majorettes, varsity club, pep club, and Girls Athletic Association. The music groups include the band, pep band, choir, and glee club. The dramatics and publications groups include the dramatics club, the junior and senior plays, and the yearbook staff. Comprising the curriculum-related group are the science club, JETS (junior engineers), the audio-visual club, the library club, the commercial club, and the Future Homemakers of America. The leadership groups include the student council and the officers and committees of the freshmen, sophomore, junior and senior classes. Membership in the various types of groups was as follows:

TABLE 42.--Frequency distribution of membership in different types of extra-curricular activities.

Types of Groups	Number	Percentage
Athletic	220	55.4%
Music	141	35.5
Curriculum-related	103	25.9
Dramatics and publications	88	22.2
Leadership	46	11.6

Students who are active in two or more types of groups are said to experience pluralistic participation. Of the student body, 179 students can be so classified. The distribution of number of types of groups follows:

TABLE 43.--Frequency distribution of number of different types of group memberships.

Number of Types of Groups	Number	Percentage
No memberships	71	17.9%
One type of membership	147	37.0
Two types of memberships	108	27.2
Three types of memberships	50	12.6
Four types of memberships	20	5.0
Five types of memberships	1	.3
Total	397	100.0

The index of number of types of group memberships combines three, four, and five types of memberships into one classification; three or more types of group memberships. This category includes 71 students.

Single- and multi-factor
group membership index

The single- and multi-factor group membership index was developed as a measure of membership in groups with members belonging to several different types of groups. To determine which these groups were, we computed phi-coefficients between each pair of groups in the school and factor-analyzed the resulting coefficients. Table 44 is the result of this factor analysis. Twenty identifiable factors were obtained from the varimax rotation of coefficients for thirty-four groups. This large number of factors suggests that the overlap among the groups is relatively slight. Where factors with two or three loadings were obtained, it was apparent that these were essentially the same group or one was a sub-group of the other. For example, the varsity sports factor has high loadings on varsity football, varsity basketball, the varsity club, and baseball, which indicates that the same students are active throughout the

TABLE 44.--Varimax rotation of a factor matrix of phi-coefficients computed on memberships in extra-curricular activities in Holt High School, Spring, 1960.

	Varsity sports	Reserve sports	Freshman sports	Cross-country	Golf	Majorities	GAA Basketball	GAA Cheerleaders	Library Club	Senior play	FHA	Cheerleaders reserve	Junior activists	Intellectuals	Leadership	Audio-visual	Science club	JETS	Band-pep band	Glee club
Varsity basketball	-.797	+.093	-.001	-.003	-.037	+.003	+.007	-.045	-.033	+.020	-.096	-.008	-.017	-.065	-.034	-.113	+.027	+.212	-.050	-.020
Varsity football	-.798	-.074	+.018	+.080	+.176	-.037	+.079	+.011	+.007	-.043	+.158	-.009	-.032	-.005	-.073	+.174	-.109	-.173	+.048	-.018
Varsity club	-.786	+.090	+.066	-.231	+.103	-.031	+.038	-.024	-.040	-.021	+.027	-.035	+.020	+.065	-.027	+.156	+.007	-.057	+.040	-.014
Baseball	-.474	+.727	+.006	-.084	-.167	+.001	-.006	-.010	-.031	+.058	-.047	-.008	-.003	-.016	+.085	+.015	+.074	+.112	-.007	-.066
Reserve basketball	+.088	+.709	-.028	-.148	+.132	-.009	+.039	+.017	+.045	+.024	+.149	+.020	+.041	+.002	-.264	+.178	-.333	-.134	+.073	+.000
Reserve football	+.119	+.543	-.578	+.086	+.092	-.051	+.103	-.009	-.070	-.012	+.152	-.041	+.052	-.056	+.006	-.078	+.046	+.032	+.072	-.073
Freshman basketball	+.035	-.005	-.890	+.021	-.058	-.008	+.031	-.058	-.033	+.050	-.035	-.031	+.019	-.027	-.019	+.039	+.043	-.011	+.034	-.011
Track	-.182	-.309	-.350	-.541	-.041	-.056	+.097	+.038	+.016	-.125	+.294	+.016	-.071	-.064	-.191	+.142	-.148	-.170	+.017	-.078
Cross-country	-.062	+.146	+.070	-.914	-.031	-.016	+.020	-.026	-.027	+.035	-.028	-.015	-.024	-.005	+.064	-.032	+.004	+.071	-.006	+.001
Golf	-.114	+.000	+.028	+.032	+.959	-.014	+.091	-.025	-.030	+.027	-.035	-.020	+.013	-.033	+.034	-.019	+.043	-.003	+.009	-.026
Varsity cheerleaders	+.033	-.007	+.026	+.004	-.025	+.893	+.016	-.033	-.043	-.041	-.027	-.041	-.027	+.014	+.005	+.010	+.036	-.045	+.008	+.039
Majorities	+.017	-.006	-.006	+.036	+.012	+.831	+.045	-.004	+.010	-.074	+.080	+.030	-.203	+.132	+.002	-.044	-.018	+.019	-.012	-.041
GAA	+.127	-.075	+.071	+.045	-.080	+.024	-.621	+.327	+.048	+.157	-.255	+.047	-.019	+.156	+.061	+.004	+.018	-.100	-.094	+.319
GAA basketball	+.048	-.012	+.043	+.028	-.015	-.061	-.888	-.067	-.052	-.037	+.061	-.044	-.138	-.039	-.092	-.053	+.036	-.022	+.038	-.039
GAA cheerleaders	+.036	-.003	+.050	+.016	-.026	-.030	-.014	+.925	-.048	+.000	-.073	-.041	-.053	-.015	-.008	-.046	+.046	+.004	+.040	+.080
Library club	+.039	-.009	+.038	+.020	-.028	-.024	+.026	-.040	+.971	-.054	-.031	-.035	+.018	+.004	+.017	-.034	+.042	-.007	+.022	-.009
Senior play	-.052	-.060	+.032	+.008	-.027	+.021	+.006	-.026	+.015	-.885	+.054	-.018	+.079	+.110	-.019	+.072	-.021	-.010	-.079	+.025
Commercial club	+.085	+.040	+.029	+.009	-.020	+.288	+.027	+.050	+.175	-.622	-.401	-.046	-.030	+.074	-.006	-.071	-.004	+.013	+.024	-.058
FHA	+.045	-.092	-.006	+.018	+.052	-.066	-.011	+.098	+.105	-.039	-.851	+.043	-.016	+.069	-.063	-.017	-.082	-.070	+.051	-.035
Cheerleaders reserve	+.031	-.004	+.035	+.009	-.021	-.017	+.029	-.028	-.040	+.027	-.023	+.951	-.010	+.048	+.008	-.013	+.033	-.016	-.040	+.047
Pep club	+.069	+.014	-.068	+.094	+.002	-.119	-.129	+.086	+.046	-.012	-.114	+.190	-.711	+.067	-.010	-.003	-.002	-.061	-.145	+.266
Junior play	-.048	-.014	+.092	-.072	-.003	+.121	-.066	-.039	-.071	+.078	+.010	-.106	-.765	+.168	-.084	-.015	+.054	+.131	+.037	-.112
Jr.-Sr. Prom Com.	-.047	-.052	+.010	-.071	-.023	+.348	-.055	+.085	-.001	+.042	+.059	-.021	-.756	+.001	+.019	+.059	-.010	-.054	+.037	-.092
Annual staff	-.019	-.015	+.021	+.074	-.048	+.134	-.044	+.089	+.088	-.185	-.007	+.196	-.137	+.785	+.063	-.028	+.018	-.014	+.008	-.147
Dramatics club	+.065	-.010	+.075	+.009	-.057	+.017	+.136	-.124	-.133	-.019	-.068	-.238	-.174	+.635	+.041	+.087	+.084	-.126	-.272	+.297
Student government	-.005	-.014	+.014	-.154	+.050	+.161	-.129	-.111	-.035	-.021	-.196	+.029	+.053	+.558	-.486	-.073	-.005	+.117	-.010	-.028
Class government	-.082	-.064	-.026	+.055	-.050	-.029	-.049	+.131	-.017	-.015	-.024	-.013	-.054	-.028	-.898	+.035	+.037	-.029	+.001	-.028
Audio-visual club	-.125	+.060	-.022	+.003	-.021	-.020	+.040	-.042	-.038	-.039	+.021	-.015	-.020	-.006	-.023	+.942	+.023	+.076	+.000	-.042
Science club	-.039	+.063	+.040	-.017	-.050	-.017	+.030	-.043	-.047	-.019	+.061	-.034	+.022	-.035	+.035	-.028	+.945	+.008	-.023	-.018
JETS	-.000	+.005	+.008	-.035	-.004	-.029	+.046	+.002	-.007	+.011	+.051	-.015	-.014	-.021	+.012	+.078	-.004	+.938	-.005	+.001
Band	-.034	-.044	+.019	+.070	-.054	+.025	+.024	-.014	+.015	-.082	+.068	+.024	-.009	+.166	-.027	-.020	+.046	+.013	-.867	-.012
Pep band	+.055	-.008	+.035	-.068	+.039	-.025	-.022	+.067	-.041	+.007	-.018	+.028	-.014	-.073	+.025	+.015	+.013	-.002	-.884	-.061
Choir	+.091	-.056	+.205	-.007	-.132	-.104	+.271	-.241	-.042	-.065	+.003	-.069	-.200	-.139	-.070	-.116	-.160	-.078	+.177	+.590
Glee club	+.013	-.032	-.024	+.016	+.011	+.034	-.118	+.106	+.001	+.011	+.045	+.083	+.073	-.011	+.055	-.023	-.028	+.036	+.035	+.862

year in the various major varsity sports. It was assumed that pluralistic experiences were no greater for the student belonging to one of these groups than for the student belonging to them all, except of course where a member of one was also a member of other groups in the school outside the varsity sports category. The same situation obtains for reserve sports and freshman sports. In the case of the two music factors, band - pep band, and and choir - glee club, another pattern of membership exists: one group is a sub-group of the other. The band is the larger group, the pep band a smaller group of bandsmen that performs at athletic events; the choir is the larger group, the glee club a sub-group to which only girls can belong. Similarly, the GAA basketball team and the GAA cheerleaders are sub-groups of the Girls Athletic Association. The same assumption about pluralistic experience applies to these groups and their sub-groups.

From the factor matrix we were able to identify two types of groups: "multi-factor" groups whose loadings were spread over several factors and "single-factor" groups

whose loadings were all on one factor.² The former are groups whose members belong to several other school groups that are organized for different purposes.³ The latter are groups which share little of their membership with other groups. Students with one or more memberships were classified under the headings: single-factor group memberships; both single-factor and multi-factor group memberships; and multi-factor group memberships.

²A .200 loading was arbitrarily selected as large enough to constitute a loading on a second factor. One exception to this rule was made: reserve football loads on reserve sports and freshman sports because of the organization of sports in Holt High School--there is one reserve football team which includes freshmen and sophomores, while there are two basketball teams, one for freshmen and the other for sophomores. Nine of the freshmen basketball team were on the reserve football team and eight of the reserve basketball team were on the reserve football team. Had there been only one basketball team for freshmen and sophomores, one factor rather than two would have resulted. The experience of playing football and basketball is not considered sufficiently varied to constitute pluralistic participation.

³The groups with multi-factor group membership are: varsity basketball; varsity club; reserve basketball; track; majorettes; Girls Athletic Association; commercial club; pep club; dramatic club; junior-senior prom committee; student government; and choir. The other twenty-two groups are single-factor groups.

Test of the Second Multiple Group
Membership Hypothesis

The second multiple group (or pluralistic) hypothesis will be tested using both of the indexes described above. Following the hypothesis, membership in multi-factor groups and multiple membership in different types of groups will be tested first for association with interest and expectation of future participation in politics and second for association with political moderation (measured by the index of open-mindedness about political belief systems and by weak rather than strong attachment to a particular political party). Test data are shown in Tables 45 through 50.

Interest in politics and expectation
of future political participation

The results of the chi-square test reveal a positive relationship between interest in politics and expectation of future political participation and the two measures of pluralism. The chi-square values of 18.37 and 37.84 are significant, respectively, at the .01 to .02 level of probability and at less than the .001 level of probability. (See Tables 45 and 46.) The association is very clear as to the number of types of groups to which a student belongs:

TABLE 45.--Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by single and multi-factor group membership.

Single- and multi- factor membership		Interest and Expectation of Future Participation in Politics					To- tal
		Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High	
Single- factor group member- ship	f_o	19.0	34.0	19.0	11.0	6.0	89
	f_e	13.8	26.4	25.8	16.1	6.9	
	χ^2	1.96	2.19	1.79	1.62	.10	
Both single- and multi- factor group member- ship	f_o	23.0	36.0	48.0	37.0	15.0	159
	f_e	24.6	47.1	46.1	28.7	12.3	
	χ^2	.10	2.61	.08	2.40	.59	
Multi- factor group member- ship	f_o	6.0	22.0	23.0	8.0	3.0	62
	f_e	9.6	18.5	18.1	11.2	4.8	
	χ^2	1.35	.66	1.33	.91	.68	
Total	f_o	48	92	90	56	24	310
$\chi^2 = 18.37$		$.01 < p < .02$				$C = .24$	

TABLE 46.--Interest and expectation of future participation in politics by number of types of group memberships.

Number of Types of Group Memberships		Interest and Expectation of Future Participation in Politics					To- tal
		Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High	
One type	f_o	32.0	56.0	33.0	20.0	3.0	144
	f_e	21.9	43.3	41.5	26.4	10.9	
	χ^2	4.66	3.72	1.74	1.55	5.73	
Two types	f_o	9.0	22.0	34.0	28.0	10.0	103
	f_e	15.6	31.0	29.7	18.9	7.8	
	χ^2	2.79	2.61	.62	4.38	.62	
Three or more	f_o	7.0	17.0	24.0	10.0	11.0	69
	f_e	10.5	20.7	19.8	12.7	5.3	
	χ^2	1.17	.66	.89	.57	6.13	
Total	f_o	48	95	91	58	24	316
$\chi^2 = 37.84$		$p < .001$					$C = .32$

the more the different types of groups, the greater his interest in politics and expectation of future political participation. Twenty-one students with two or more different types of affiliations are very high on this index, that is, they agree with all five statements concerning interest and political participation; in addition to voting, they would consider taking a job with the government or political party, or even running for public office.

The association of interest in politics and expectation of future political participation with joint single- and multi-factor group membership is less clear. The student who belongs to both kinds of groups expresses greater interest in politics and expectation of future political participation than members of either multi-factor or single-factor groups. This suggests that the number of an individual's group memberships affects the relationship--that his interest is not only a function of pluralistic participation per se, but of the number of groups he participates in as well. Students who belong to both kinds of groups (single- and multi-factor) average more memberships per capita than those who belong only to either single-factor or multi-factor groups. If the

students who have only single-factor memberships are compared with those who have only multi-factor memberships, the expected relationship is apparent. The single-factor membership group includes more students with low and very low interest in politics than the multi-factor group, although the difference is not statistically significant.⁴

Open-mindedness about political
belief systems

Being open-minded about one's political beliefs--being willing to admit that there may be virtues in two opposing belief systems, like those of the United States and Russia, and being willing to weigh the possibility that compromise does not mean selling out to the opposition--is associated both with the number of different types of groups one is active in and with pluralistic experience derived from these memberships, as measured by the multi- and single-factor group membership index. The chi-square values of

⁴The average number of memberships of students with single-factor group memberships only is 1.41; of students with plural-factor group memberships only, 1.34; and of students with both single- and plural factor group memberships, 2.30.

13.55 and 19.01 are significant, respectively, at the .02 to .05 and the .001 to .01 levels of probability. (See Tables 47 and 48.) The association is positive and linear in both cases: the more varied the kinds of group memberships a student has in extra-curricular activities, the more open-minded his political attitude seems to be; students who have memberships in only multi-factor groups, that is, groups that share membership with several different types of groups, are more open-minded than either the students who belong exclusively to single-factor groups or students who belong to both single- and multi-factor groups.

The latter is certainly the most important finding of this dissertation. First, it establishes the single- and multi-factor group membership index as a linear measure of pluralistic participation that can operate, at least in this case, apart from the number of memberships an individual has. Second, it demonstrates that associations are possible between group membership indexes and responses to statements that do not elicit conformity with the dominant democratic ideology--the indexes of interest and expectation of future participation in politics, political efficacy,

TABLE 47.--Open-mindedness about political belief systems by single- and multi-factor group membership

Single- and Multi-factor Membership		Open-mindedness				Total
		Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
Single-factor group memberships	f_o	31.0	28.0	20.0	10.0	89
	f_e	22.4	23.2	26.9	16.7	
	χ^2	3.30	.99	1.77	2.69	
Both single- and multi-factor group memberships	f_o	38.0	42.0	50.0	29.0	159
	f_e	39.9	41.4	48.0	29.8	
	χ^2	.09	.01	.08	.02	
Multi-factor group memberships	f_o	10.0	12.0	25.0	20.0	67
	f_e	16.7	17.4	20.1	12.5	
	χ^2	2.69	1.68	1.19	4.50	
Total	f_o	79	82	95	59	315
$\chi^2 = 19.01$		$.001 < p < .01$				$C = .24$

TABLE 48.--Open-mindedness about political belief systems
by number of types of group memberships

Number of Types of Group Memberships		Open-mindedness				To- tal
		Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
One type	f_o	43.0	39.0	36.0	23.0	141
	f_e	35.3	36.7	42.6	26.4	
	χ^2	1.68	.14	1.02	.44	
Two types	f_o	25.0	29.0	35.0	15.0	104
	f_e	26.1	27.1	31.3	19.5	
	χ^2	.05	.13	.44	1.04	
Three or more types	f_o	11.0	14.0	24.0	21.0	70
	f_e	17.6	18.2	21.1	13.1	
	χ^2	2.48	.97	.40	4.76	
Total	f_o	79	82	95	59	315
$\chi^2 = 13.55$		$.02 < p < .05$			$c = .20$	

legitimacy of political institutions, and political party appreciation are composed of items whose responses are appropriate to the "good citizen" role. A student with only a minimal interest in politics could still score high on each index simply by giving the answers that reflect the stereotype of good citizenship his teachers have familiarized him with. However, since the index of open-mindedness is composed of statements to which there is no such conveniently conventional response, the associations found in Tables 47 and 48 are important findings. Finally, the significance of these associations is important to political science, whether open-mindedness is viewed as the dependent or the independent variable. If it is the independent variable, the association between open-mindedness and pluralistic participation means that open-minded students tend to join different types of groups and to join groups whose members likewise join different types of groups. If it is the dependent variable, then open-mindedness is in some way a consequence of pluralistic participation. The association is probably reciprocal. Open-minded students join groups because the groups contain other students who are also open-minded, and interaction with these students

reinforces or increases their own open-minded tendencies. This is not done consciously, of course. People generally choose to associate with other individuals because they are "easy to get along with," and one of the reasons they are "easy to get along with" is that they are open-minded.

Degree of partisanship

A second measure of moderation in political attitudes is the degree to which an individual identifies with a political party. Since pluralistic participation brings the student into contact with other students whose interests and attitudes vary, it is expected that his fixedness of attitude about certain things will be weakened by the experience. This appears to be the case with political party identification, although the statistical association with the index of number of different types of group memberships is not significant. In Table 49, the association between single- and multi-factor group membership is significant at the .02 to .05 level of probability. Students who belong only to single-factor groups are more strongly partisan than students who belong only to multi-factor groups or students who belong to both types of groups.

TABLE 49.--Strength of political party identification by
single- and multi-factor group membership

Single- and Multi-factor Membership		Strength of Political Party Identification			To- tal
		Strong Par- tisan	Weak Par- tisan	Inde- pend- ent	
Single-factor group memberships	f_o	35.0	24.0	19.0	78
	f_e	26.9	28.3	21.8	
	χ^2	2.44	.65	.36	
Both single- and multi-factor group memberships	f_o	44.0	44.0	45.0	133
	f_e	46.5	48.9	37.6	
	χ^2	.13	.49	1.09	
Multi-factor group memberships	f_o	16.0	32.0	14.0	62
	f_e	21.6	22.8	17.6	
	χ^2	1.45	3.71	.74	
Total	f_o	95	100	78	273
$\chi^2 = 11.06$		$.02 < p < .05$			$C = .20$

TABLE 50.--Strength of political party identification by number of types of group memberships.

Number of Types of Group Memberships		Strength of Political Party Identification			To- tal
		Strong Par- tisan	Weak Par- tisan	Inde- pend- ent	
One type	f_o	49.0	36.0	38.0	123
	f_e	42.8	45.1	35.1	
	χ^2	.90	1.84	.24	
Two types	f_o	29.0	36.0	24.0	89
	f_e	31.0	32.6	25.4	
	χ^2	.13	.35	.08	
Three or more types	f_o	17.0	28.0	16.0	61
	f_e	21.2	22.3	17.5	
	χ^2	.83	1.46	.13	
Total	f_o	95	100	78	273
$\chi^2 = 5.96$		$.20 < p < .30$			

The students who belong only to multi-factor groups tend to be weak partisans. The chi-square value of 5.96 in Table 50 is not significant. However, the differences between the observed and expected frequencies are in the same direction as the previous table. That is, students who belong to only one type of group are more strongly partisan than students who belong to two or more types of groups, but the differences are not great enough to be significant in a nine-celled table. However, in a comparison of the strong and the weak partisans only, in which the two-membership type is combined with the three-or-more-membership type, a significant chi-square can be obtained, as in Table 51. In other words, among the students in Holt High School who identify in some way with a political party, the student with two or more types of memberships is less partisan than the student with only one type of membership. This tends to confirm one of the predictions of the pluralistic hypothesis, that individuals who belong to different types of groups are likely to be more moderate in their political stance than individuals who belong to only one type of group.

TABLE 51.--Weak and strong political party identification by number of types of group memberships.

Number of Types of Groups		Strong Partisan	Weak Partisan	Total
One type	f_o	49.0	36.0	85
	f_e	41.4	43.6	
	χ^2	1.40	1.32	
Two or more types	f_o	46.0	64.0	110
	f_e	53.6	56.4	
	χ^2	1.08	1.02	
Total	f_o	95	100	195
$\chi^2 = 4.82$		$.02 < p < .05$		$C = .16$

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation two hypotheses concerning the consequences of multiple group membership in high school extra-curricular activities for the development of orientations toward public affairs were tested. The first hypothesis states that membership in extra-curricular activities is associated with a sense of political efficacy, belief in the legitimacy of and satisfaction with political institutions, and interest in politics and expectation of future political participation. This hypothesis is based on Arnold Rose's theory of the functions of voluntary associations in a democratic society.¹ The second hypothesis is an application of Georg Simmel's theory concerning pluralistic participation. This hypothesis states that interest in politics and expectation of future political participation, open-mindedness about political belief systems, and weak political party identification are associated with the following two conditions: membership in extra-curricular activities of different types or membership

¹Rose, op. cit., pp. 51-69.

in extra-curricular activities which bring students into contact with other students who belong to extra-curricular activities of different types.

The data were collected in Holt, Michigan, a Lansing suburb. Questionnaires were administered to the entire student body of the community's only high school in May, 1960. Indexes measuring sense of political efficacy, belief in the legitimacy of political institutions, satisfaction with political parties, interest in politics and expectation of future political participation, and open-mindedness about political belief systems were developed through a factor analysis of the responses to the political items in the questionnaire. Lists of their school activities prepared by the students and supplemented with information from the school yearbook were used to construct three indexes of multiple group membership: (1) number of memberships in extra-curricular activities; (2) number of different types of group memberships; and, (3) single-and multi-factor group memberships. The third index was constructed through a factor analysis of phi-coefficients computed between pairs of groups in the high school. This index

distinguishes between groups whose members belong to different types of groups and those whose members belong primarily to one type of group. The procedure used in constructing this index to measure pluralistic participation is a methodological contribution of this dissertation.

Significant chi-square values were obtained when the index of number of memberships in extra-curricular activities was compared with the responses of students on the political indexes. Students who had three or more memberships expressed a greater sense of political efficacy, belief in the legitimacy of political institutions, satisfaction with political parties, and interest in politics and expectation of future political participation than did students with no memberships or students with only one or two memberships. In addition, the students with three or more memberships reported more frequent discussions of politics with their parents, friends, and teachers and used more mass media sources on public affairs questions than did the other two groups. These findings were interpreted as confirming the hypothesis based on two of Rose's functions of voluntary associations.

the distribution of power in society and the development of satisfaction with democratic processes. The third function, that voluntary associations are mechanisms of social change, was not tested. Actually, the findings from these statistical tests would tend to broaden the Rose theory to include a fourth function of voluntary associations, that they motivate their members to greater interest and participation in public affairs. While the Holt data do not reveal any actual involvement of the students in partisan politics, the students who belong to three or more groups report that they discuss and read about politics more frequently, and express greater willingness to participate in politics in the future, than do non-members or members of only one or two groups. And these findings are consistent with the previously mentioned studies of the correlates of adult voluntary association membership.²

When the index of number of types of memberships and the single-and multi-factor index were compared with the students' responses on the political indexes,

²Dennis, loc. cit.; Hastings, loc. cit.; and Wright and Hyman, op. cit., pp. 284-294.

significant chi-squares were again obtained. Students belonging to two or more types of groups and students belonging to groups whose members belonged to different types of groups expressed greater interest in politics and expectation of future political participation, were more open-minded about political belief systems, and had weaker political party identifications than students who belonged to only one type of group or to groups whose members belonged to only one type of group. These findings were interpreted as generally confirming Georg Simmel's theory about pluralistic participation as expanded to apply to politics.

This study has shown that there are positive and significant statistical associations between membership in extra-curricular activities and certain orientations toward public affairs. What do these findings really mean about the present political orientations of students at Holt High School? How much of a role in political socialization can actually be assigned to

extra-curricular activities as a consequence of this study? What predictions, if any, can be made about the future political behavior of these students?

Indexes defined as measuring a sense of political efficacy, belief in the legitimacy of political institutions, political party appreciation, interest in politics and expectation of future political participation, and open-mindedness about political belief systems were found to be related to group membership. Can we conclude from these findings that students who are members of several extra-curricular activities really have stronger feelings of efficacy, are firmer in their belief that existing political institutions are legitimate, are more satisfied with political parties, are more open-minded about political belief systems, and really have more expectation of future political participation than students who do not belong to extra-curricular activities or belong to only one or two? I am not convinced that we can. Committed as I am to a belief in the meaningfulness of statistical associations, I think there is another, equally valid explanation for these findings to be considered: that the students who participate in extra-curricular

activities have a clearer image of what is conventionally regarded as "good citizenship" and have reproduced this image more exactly in their questionnaires. Questionnaire items like "I am interested in politics," "Voting is the main thing that decides how government is run in this country," "Political parties exist to help the voter make up his mind," and "When I am old enough, I plan to vote in every election" and have "correct" answers, that is, they have answers that would seem "right" to a student trying to show that he is a "good citizen."

On the other hand, items like "To compromise with one's political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to a betrayal of our own side," "The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common," and "There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth"--the items in the open-mindedness index--do not so easily elicit "correct" stereotyped answers.

Students who are active in several extra-curricular activities are, by their membership alone, conforming to what educators, school administrators, and teachers believe is appropriate behavior for teenagers. They are

"kept off the streets;" they spend much of their time being supervised by teachers; and they pursue activities which adults define as socially acceptable. I would predict that these are the very students who would try to present an image of "good citizenship" when they fill out questionnaires.

Granted, there is some experience with democratic processes gained by group membership--the teachers who sponsor the extra-curricular activities probably insist that the democratic model be followed. Granted, again, that this experience has some carry-over leading to feelings of efficacy, belief in the legitimacy of existing political institutions, and perhaps even open-mindedness about competing ideologies. I sincerely doubt, however, that what one learns or experiences in extra-curricular activities has a long-range effect for political behavior, except in one way--the students who join extra-curricular activities have already begun to establish a pattern of living in which conformity to the adult model predominates. From this, we might expect that when they become adults they will continue to conform--they will vote, because voting is a "good"

thing; they may become active in community affairs, if such behavior is encouraged. But I doubt that these students will demonstrate great imagination in their social or political behavior because, at an age when they might be questioning the value system of the adult community, or even rebelling, they accept the dominant values of the community without hesitation. Their membership in extra-curricular activities, their non-school affiliations with church groups, the YMCA and the YWCA, the Boy and Girl Scouts, and the 4-H, and particularly their responses to the questionnaire items make this apparent.

One finding is not affected by this argument: students belonging to extra-curricular activities of different types, and students belonging to groups in which they are brought in contact with other students who are members of extra-curricular activities of different types, are more open-minded about political belief systems than other students who join no or few activities. Since there are no "correct" answers to the open-mindedness items, we can be confident that this statistical association does not reflect mere conformity with the dominant democratic ideology. Since open-mindedness is a desirable

personality attribute for members of a democratic society, the finding of association between pluralistic participation and open-mindedness about political belief systems is important for political scientists seeking correlates of political behavior.

A few final comments about this study can be made which would be useful in planning future research in this area. The theories of Arnold Rose and Georg Simmel need to be put into more usable terms. In this dissertation, data which were collected to test other hypotheses were made to fit the two theories, but they do so incompletely. Questions need to be written for which there are no conventional answers as there were to many of the items that were included in the indexes of political orientation in this dissertation. Finally, a further test of these theories should be undertaken in a community which is more heterogeneous than Holt, Michigan. The effect of this community on the students who were raised and educated there is such that it was difficult to find differences among the students at all.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED MAY 18, 1960

IN HOLT HIGH SCHOOL, HOLT, MICHIGAN

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, East Lansing
College of Business and Public Service

May 18, 1960

You are about to fill out a booklet of questions about things which all of us have something to do with at some time in our lives. We want to find out what you and other high school students think about these things. THIS IS NOT A TEST. There are some questions which ask about facts that you know, and you should do your best to give the correct information. Other questions ask for your opinions on a number of different things, so, of course, there are no right or wrong answers for these questions. On all questions, read the question carefully and try to be as accurate as possible.

All of your answers will be completely confidential and no one other than the research staff at Michigan State University will see the answers you have given. You are asked to give your name. This is because you might be selected for personal interviewing at a later time.

If you are puzzled about what a particular question is asking, raise your hand to signal for help, and go on to the rest of the questions. The person who passed out these booklets will come to explain the question as quickly as possible.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

1. Name _____
(last) (first) (middle name or initial)

2. Address _____
(number and street or road)

(city or town)

3. Sex _____ Male
_____ Female

4. Race, nationality, or cultural background: _____

5. Date of birth: _____
(month) (day) (year)

6. Were you born in the United States?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If "Yes" _____
(city or town) (state)

If "No" _____
(country)

7. Have you ever lived outside this community?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If "Yes" check all of the following that apply:

_____ I have lived elsewhere in this county

_____ I have lived elsewhere in Michigan, outside this county

_____ I have lived elsewhere in the United States, out-of Michigan

8. How are you doing in school?

- ☐ "A" average
☐ "A-B" average
☐ "B" average
☐ "B-C" average
☐ "C" average
☐ "C-D" average
☐ "D" average
☐ "D-F" average
☐ "F" average

9. On the line opposite each <u>school</u> activity in the following list, please check the boxes that apply.	I have never participated in this activity	I am or have been a member	I am or have been an officer or other leader
<u>Class government</u>			
<u>Student government</u>			
<u>Band or orchestra</u>			
<u>Chorus or other singing group</u>			
<u>Varsity sports</u>			
<u>Intramural sports</u>			
<u>Dramatics</u>			
<u>Language club</u>			
<u>Current events club</u>			
<u>Science club</u>			
<u>Photography club</u>			
<u>Other (explain)</u>			

10. On the line opposite each activity <u>outside of school</u> in the following list, please check the boxes that apply	I have never participated in this activity	I am or have been a member	I am or have been an officer or other leader
<u>Boy/Girl Scouts</u>			
<u>Organized sports</u>			
<u>Church choir</u>			
<u>Social club</u>			
<u>Teen Democrats</u>			
<u>YMCA/YWCA</u>			
<u>Religious class or Sunday school</u>			
<u>Hotrod/motorcycle club</u>			
<u>Church youth group</u>			
<u>Teen Republicans</u>			
<u>Fraternity/sorority</u>			
<u>Musical group</u>			
<u>Other (explain)</u>			

11. Do you plan to finish high school?

_____ Yes

_____ No

12. What course are you now taking?

- ☐ Commercial or Business Education
- ☐ College Preparatory
- ☐ General
- ☐ Vocational Education or Agriculture
- ☐ Other (explain) _____

13. In general, what is your religious preference?

- ☐ Protestant
- ☐ Catholic
- ☐ Jewish
- ☐ Other (explain) _____
- ☐ None

14. What specific denomination would you say that you belong to?

15. Some people attend church or Sunday school, others do not. Do you?

- ☐ At least once a week
- ☐ Once or twice a month
- ☐ A few times a year--for major holidays
- ☐ Once a year
- ☐ Never

16. What church do you go to?

17. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself to be:

- ☐ Strong Republican
- ☐ Average Republican
- ☐ Independent, but lean toward the Republicans
- ☐ Independent, don't lean either way
- ☐ Independent, but lean toward the Democrats
- ☐ Average Democrat
- ☐ Strong Democrat
- ☐ Other (explain) _____
- ☐ Never thought of it

18. If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belong in?

- ☐ Upper class
- ☐ Middle class
- ☐ Working class
- ☐ Lower class

ABOUT YOUR HOME:

1. How many rooms are there in your home? Do not include basement, bathrooms, porches, closets, halls, and so forth.

2. Does your family have a car?

- ☐ Yes, What year? _____
- ☐ No.

3. Does your family have a color TV set?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

ABOUT YOUR FUTURE:

1. As you see it now, how would you rank all of the following in order of their importance in your later life? Number the items in order of importance; using "1" for the most important, "2" for the second most important, all the way to "8" for the least requirement.

_____ Politics
 _____ Religion
 _____ My parents
 _____ Getting married and having a family
 _____ My career
 _____ Earning a living
 _____ Getting more education
 _____ Friendships

2. What occupations have you thought about going into?

a. _____
 b. _____
 c. _____
 d. _____

3. What occupation do you plan to follow? _____

4. If you were absolutely free to go into any kind of work you wanted to, what would you choose? _____

5. What type of work would you like to be doing by the time you are thirty years old? _____

6. What do you plan to do after you graduate from high school and, if necessary, serve in the armed forces? Check only one.

☐ I plan to get a job right away
☐ I plan to be a housewife
☐ I plan to go to a technical or trade school
☐ I plan to go to a junior college
☐ I plan to go to a 4-year college or university
☐ I have other plans (explain) _____

7. How important do you think it is to know each of the following things about a person you might want to marry?

	Important		Not Sure	Unimportant	
	Very	Some- what		Some- what	Very
<u>Personal Attractiveness</u>					
<u>Religion</u>					
<u>Family Background</u>					
<u>Political Beliefs</u>					
<u>Acceptability to Your Family</u>					
<u>Acceptability to Your Friends</u>					
<u>Ability To Manage Money</u>					
<u>Interest in Getting Ahead Financially</u>					
<u>Interest in Getting Ahead Socially</u>					
<u>Beliefs about Raising Children</u>					

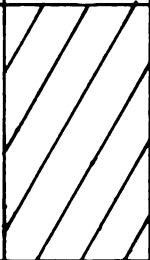
Read each of the following sentences carefully. Then indicate how much you agree or disagree by checking one of the boxes. If a box is blocked out, do not use it, but choose another box on that line. Give your opinion or impression on every statement. Don't puzzle over any sentence. Work quickly. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.


	I AGREE			I AM NEUTRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
1. I am interested in politics.							
2. Where religious opinions are concerned we can't compromise with those who disagree with us.							
3. People go into religion because they are unsuccessful in other areas.							
4. When I'm on my own, I would like to live around this community.							
5. More and more my parents and I disagree on things.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEUTRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
6. Doing dishes is a woman's job.							
7. Political parties don't belong in national elections.							
8. Political parties exist because they help the voters make up their minds.							
9. The things you learn at home don't us- ually help much in fitting in with the rest of the kids at school.							
10. People go into business because they are unsuccessful in other areas.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
11. The most important thing for a young person is to get away from home and make his own place in the world.							
12. Political parties exist because people who believe the same things like to stick together.							
13. I would consider taking a full-time job with the government.							
14. Religious matters are so complicated it is hard to understand what they really are about.							
15. People go into politics to represent a particular group.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
16. A person without any religion would really be lost in the world.							
17. People go into business to serve the community.							
18. Politics and government are so complicated it is hard to understand what really is going on.							
19. People go into religion to make money.							
20. Political parties exist because there is more than one side to every issue.							
21. People go into politics because they are unsuccessful in other areas.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A Little		A little	Some- what	Very much
22. Voting is the main thing that decides how government is run in this country.							
23. A church is like a big family where people share common ideals and can get help when they need it.							
24. The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common.							
25. My mother is interested in politics.							
26. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.							
27. There shouldn't be any political parties.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
28. Most government officials are honest.							
29. Women should stay out of politics.							
30. I would rather not have responsibility for other people.							
31. When I'm on my own, I would like to live in the same neighborhood I live in now.							
32. I am religious.							
33. The highest form of government is democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are most intelligent.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
34. I expect to do better than my friends.							
35. I would like my children to go to the same schools I went to.							
36. When I am old enough, I plan to vote in every election.							
37. I like to take care of babies.							
38. Business and finance are so complicated it is hard to understand what really is going on.							
39. I expect to do better than my family.							

1. What do you think is the most important thing for a young person to consider when he is choosing his life's work? Check only one.

☐ What others think of the job
☐ How far it is possible to go in the job
☐ Whether it will be steady employment, good hours and working conditions
☐ How much money he can make
☐ Whether the work helps others

2. If you wanted to do the most good in the community, which one of the following would you do? Check only one.

☐ Attend meetings of the city council
☐ Attend PTA meetings
☐ Participate in church activities
☐ Join a political party
☐ Join a neighborhood association

3. What kinds of TV programs do you like best? Check as many as necessary.

☐ Western, adventure, and mystery
☐ Musical variety shows and comedies
☐ Dramas
☐ Sports
☐ News, documentaries, and current events
☐ Other (explain) _____

☐ PLEASE CHECK HERE IF YOU DO NOT WATCH TV
REGULARLY

4. Some people read certain sections of a newspaper all the time, others don't; which of the following sections of the newspaper do you read all of the time? Check as many as necessary.

☐ Comics
☐ Editorial
☐ Financial and Business
☐ Fashion/Women's
☐ Teen
☐ Religious
☐ News
☐ Politics
☐ Sports
☐ Other (explain) _____
☐ PLEASE CHECK HERE IF YOU DO NOT READ THE
 NEWSPAPER REGULARLY

5. When you are reading books or magazines that you do not have to read for school, which of the following kinds of things do you most prefer? Check as many as necessary.

☐ Sports
☐ Entertainment and the arts
☐ Automobiles, electronics, or other technical subjects
☐ Business or farm affairs
☐ Religion
☐ Home and family
☐ History and biography
☐ Humor and comic strips
☐ Science fiction
☐ Novels and short stories
☐ Politics and government
☐ Other (explain) _____
☐ PLEASE CHECK HERE IF YOU DO NOT READ BOOKS OR
 MAGAZINES OUTSIDE OF ASSIGNMENTS.

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
1. If my father became ill and couldn't work, I would get a job and support the family.							
2. People go into business to make personal contacts.							
3. The things people buy is the main thing that decides how the business world is run.							
4. People go into religion to represent a particular group.							
5. To get ahead in the world, you have to learn who is higher and who is lower than you are.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
6. People go into religion to make personal contacts.							
7. People go into business to represent a particular group.							
8. In choosing friends and dates, high school students must pay a lot of attention to the reputation of the crowd they are getting into.							
9. People go into politics to make personal contacts.							
10. I would rather go to a movie alone than go with a group of friends.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
11. Taxes are too high.							
12. People go into business to make money.							

QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED MAY 20, 1960
IN HOLT HIGH SCHOOL, HOLT, MICHIGAN

May 20, 1960

This is a booklet of questions similar to the one you filled out on Wednesday. The instructions as to how you should proceed are the same as for the first booklet, so we will review them now.

As we said on Wednesday, THIS IS NOT A TEST. There are some questions which ask about facts that you know, and you should do your best to give the correct information. Other questions ask for your opinions on a number of different things, so, of course, there are no right or wrong answers for these questions. On all questions, read the question carefully and try to be as accurate as possible.

All of your answers will be completely confidential and no one other than the research staff at Michigan State University will see the answers you have given. You are asked to give your name. This is because you might be selected for personal interviewing at a later time.

If you are puzzled about what a particular question is asking, raise your hand to signal for help, and go on to the rest of the questions. The person who passed out these booklets will come to explain the questions as quickly as possible.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Name _____
(last) (first) (middle name or initial)

Address _____
(number and street or road) (city or town)

ABOUT YOUR FAMILY:

1. Which of the following people live in your home?

___ Father

___ Step-father

___ Mother

___ Step-mother

___ Older sister(s) How many? ___

___ Younger sister(s) How many? ___

___ Older brother(s) How many? ___

___ Younger brother(s) How many? ___

___ Other relatives (aunt, grandfather, cousin, etc.)
How many? ___

___ Other people (friends, boarders, etc.) How many? ___

2. How many children do your parents have who live away from your home? For example, a brother or sister who is married, or away at school or in the service.
-

3. If you have older brothers and sisters, did they or will they finish high school?

___ All of them finished or will finish high school.

___ Some of them finished or will finish high school, but others did not or will not finish.

___ None of them finished or will finish high school.

___ I don't have any older brothers and sisters.

4. If you have older brothers and sisters, did they or will they go to college?

___ All of them went or will go to college.

___ Some of them went or will go to college.

___ None of them went or will go to college.

___ I don't have any older brothers and sisters.

ABOUT YOUR FATHER OR STEP-FATHER (WHICHEVER YOU LIVE WITH):

1. How old is he?

☐ Up to 32 years old☐ 33-37☐ 38-42☐ 43-47☐ 48-52☐ 53-57☐ 58-62☐ 63 or older☐ He is not living.

2. His occupation (or what it was, if he is dead or retired):

What kind of work does he do? _____

How long has he done this sort of work?

☐ 1 year or less ☐ 5-9 years☐ 2-4 years ☐ 10 years or more

What kind of place does he work in? _____

How long has he worked there?

☐ 1 year or less ☐ 5-9 years☐ 2-4 years ☐ 10 years or more

Is he the owner, a manager or supervisor, or an employee?

☐ owner☐ manager or supervisor☐ employee

3. How far did he go in school?

- ☐ Less than 8th grade
- ☐ 8th grade graduate
- ☐ Some high school, but didn't finish (9-11 grades)
- ☐ 12th grade graduate
- ☐ Some college, but didn't finish
- ☐ College graduate
- ☐ Post-graduate college (more than 4 years of college, including doctors, lawyers, and so forth)
- ☐ I don't know

4. What is his religious preference?

- ☐ Protestant
- ☐ Catholic
- ☐ Jewish
- ☐ Other (explain) _____
- ☐ None

5. Does he belong to any of the following types of organizations? Check as many as necessary.

- ☐ Church or religious group
- ☐ Labor union
- ☐ Political party
- ☐ Farm group
- ☐ Veterans group
- ☐ Social club
- ☐ PTA
- ☐ Neighborhood association or club
- ☐ Lodge or fraternal
- ☐ None of these

6. Does he vote in most elections?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

7. Generally speaking, does he consider himself a:

- ☐ Strong Republican
- ☐ Average Republican
- ☐ Independent, but leans toward the Republicans
- ☐ Independent, doesn't lean either way
- ☐ Independent, but leans toward the Democrats
- ☐ Average Democrat
- ☐ Strong Democrat
- ☐ Other (explain) _____
- ☐ I don't know

8. On which of the following topics do you usually disagree with him? Check as many as necessary.

- ☐ Your friends
- ☐ Your education
- ☐ Your future work
- ☐ Moral issues
- ☐ Leisure activities
- ☐ Religious matters
- ☐ Money matters
- ☐ Dating and courtship
- ☐ Obedience and discipline
- ☐ Politics
- ☐ Other (explain) _____
- ☐ None of these

9. On which of the following topics do you usually agree with him? Check as many as necessary.

☐ Your friends
☐ Your education
☐ Your future work
☐ Moral issues
☐ Leisure activities
☐ Religious matters
☐ Money matters
☐ Dating and courtship
☐ Obedience and discipline
☐ Politics
☐ None of these

ABOUT YOUR MOTHER OR STEP-MOTHER (WHICHEVER YOU LIVE WITH):

1. How old is she?

☐ Up to 32 years old
☐ 33-37
☐ 38-42
☐ 43-47
☐ 48-52
☐ 53-57
☐ 58-62
☐ 63 or older
☐ She is not living

2. Her occupation (or what it was, if she is dead or retired)

What kind of work does she do? _____

IF THE ANSWER IS "housewife," GO ON TO QUESTION NO. 3.

How long has she done this sort of work?

- ____ 1 year or less
- ____ 2-4 years
- ____ 5-9 years
- ____ 10 years or more

What kind of place does she work in? _____

How long has she worked there?

- ____ 1 year or less
- ____ 2-4 years
- ____ 5-9 years
- ____ 10 years or more

Is she the owner, a manager or supervisor, or an employee?

- ____ owner
- ____ manager or supervisor
- ____ employee

3. How far did she go in school?

- ____ Less than 8th grade
- ____ 8th grade graduate
- ____ Some high school, but didn't finish (9-11 grades)
- ____ 12th grade graduate
- ____ Some college, but didn't finish
- ____ College graduate
- ____ Post-graduate college (more than 4 years of college, including doctors, lawyers, and so forth)
- ____ I don't know

4. What is her religious preference?

☐ Protestant

☐ Catholic

☐ Jewish

☐ Other (explain) _____

☐ None

5. Does she belong to any of the following types of organizations? Check as many as necessary.

☐ Church or religious group

☐ Labor union

☐ Political party

☐ Farm group

☐ Veterans group

☐ Social club

☐ PTA

☐ Neighborhood association or club

☐ Lodge or fraternal group (women's section)

☐ None of these

6. Does she vote in most elections?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Don't know

7. Generally speaking, does she consider herself a:

- ☐ Strong Republican
- ☐ Average Republican
- ☐ Independent, but leans toward the Republicans
- ☐ Independent, doesn't lean either way
- ☐ Independent, but leans toward the Democrats
- ☐ Average Democrat
- ☐ Strong Democrat
- ☐ Other (explain) _____
- ☐ I don't know

8. On which of the following topics do you usually disagree with her? Check as many as necessary.

- ☐ Your friends
- ☐ Your education
- ☐ Your future work
- ☐ Moral issues
- ☐ Leisure activities
- ☐ Religious matters
- ☐ Money matters
- ☐ Dating and courtship
- ☐ Obedience and discipline
- ☐ Politics
- ☐ Other (explain) _____
- ☐ None of these

9. On which of the following topics do you usually agree with her? Check as many as necessary.

- ☐ Your friends
- ☐ Your education
- ☐ Your future work
- ☐ Moral issues
- ☐ Leisure activities
- ☐ Religious matters
- ☐ Money matters
- ☐ Dating and courtship
- ☐ Obedience and discipline
- ☐ Politics
- ☐ None of these

Read each of the following sentences carefully. Then indicate how much you agree or disagree by checking one of the boxes. If a box is blocked out, do not use it, but choose another box on that line. Give your opinion or impression on every statement. Don't puzzle over any sentence. Work quickly. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
1. At home, people don't pay much attention to what I have to say.							
2. People go into politics to serve the community.							
3. Good contacts with important men are more helpful than staying close to your own people.							
4. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
5. A young person who wants to count for something in the world must learn the ways of all sorts of people, even if his own parents do not always approve.							
6. Political parties exist because people can never agree on anything.							
7. At home, they treat me like a child.							
8. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.							
9. My father is religious.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
10. If I sincerely felt the government was not run right, I would become a candidate for public office.							
11. Political parties don't belong in state elections.							
12. When I'm on my own, I would like to live close to my parents.							
13. Political parties exist because they give a few big men a chance to get their own way.							
14. I would consider taking a full-time job with a religious organization.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
15. My mother is religious.							
16. In the long run, the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.							
17. My father is interested in politics.							
18. When I'm on my own, I would like to have the same friends I have now.							
19. Political parties don't belong in city or town elections.							
20. People ought to pay more attention to new ideas, even if they seem to go against the American way.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
21. A woman would make a good President of the United States.							
22. My father helps my mother with the housework.							
23. I would consider taking a full-time job with a political party.							
24. People go into religion to serve the community.							
25. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.							

	I AGREE			I AM NEU- TRAL	I DISAGREE		
	Very much	Some- what	A little		A little	Some- what	Very much
26. When in a group of people, I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about.							
27. A person who has learned his place in his own family will have no trouble finding his place in the world.							
28. People go into politics to make money.							
29. Political parties exist because there has to be some way people can fight for their own interests.							

2. How important are the following government activities to the average citizen? Number the three most important subjects in order, using "1" for the most important, "2" for the next most important, and "3" for the third most important.

- ___ Protect us from foreign enemies
 ___ Providing us with education
 ___ Preventing unemployment and business collapse
 ___ Providing services
 ___ Making sure everyone has a chance to get ahead
 ___ Providing for the welfare of the people
 ___ Protecting the rights of the individual
 ___ Protecting the country from subversives

3. In general, what do you think is the best way to vote?

- ___ Straight Democratic ticket
 ___ Straight Republican ticket
 ___ Split ticket

4. How often do you discuss politics with:

	Very often	Often	Some- times	Hardly ever	Never
Father					
Mother					
Friends your age					
Teachers					
Ministers					
Other (explain) _____					

5. How often do you discuss religion with:

	Very often	Often	Some-times	Hardly ever	Never
<u>Father</u>					
<u>Mother</u>					
<u>Friends your age</u>					
<u>Teachers</u>					
<u>Ministers</u>					
<u>Other (explain)</u>					

6. In your experience, how good are the ideas of the following people on politics?

	Very good	Good	Average	Fair	Poor
<u>Father</u>					
<u>Mother</u>					
<u>Friends your age</u>					
<u>Teachers</u>					
<u>Ministers</u>					

7. In your experience, how good are the ideas of the following people on moral questions?

	Very good	Good	Average	Fair	Poor
<u>Father</u>					
<u>Mother</u>					
<u>Friends your age</u>					
<u>Teachers</u>					
<u>Ministers</u>					

6. Below are a list of jobs that Americans can have. Some of these are filled by women; others are seldom or never filled by women. Put an "X" in front of all of the jobs below that you believe women should never have.

☐ School teacher
☐ Truck driver
☐ Mayor
☐ Diplomat
☐ Scientist
☐ Congressman
☐ Minister
☐ Beauty parlor operator
☐ President of the United States
☐ Lawyer
☐ Nurse
☐ Politician
☐ Doctor
☐ Business executive

9. What topics do women know more about than men?
Check as many as necessary.

☐ Foreign affairs
☐ National political problems
☐ Community affairs
☐ Political parties
☐ Public school education
☐ Church activities
☐ Making money

10. Could you see yourself:

	Very easy	Easy	Hard to say	Diffi- cult	Very diffi- cult
Changing what you want to be when you are older.					
Changing your religion (for example, from Protestant to Catholic, etc.).					
Changing your political preference (for example, from Republican to Democrat, etc.).					
Becoming a citizen of another country.					

11. How would your close friends feel if you:

	Very happy	Happy	Would not care	Upset	Very up- set
Changed what you want to be when you are older.					
Changed your religion (for example, from Protestant to Catholic, etc.).					
Changed your political preference (for example, from Republican to Democrat, etc.).					
Became a citizen of another country.					

12. How would your parents feel if you:

	Very happy	Happy	Would not care	Upset	Very up- set
Changed what you want to be when you are older					
Changed your religion (for example, from Protestant to Catholic, etc.).					
Changed your political preference (for example, from Republican to Democrat, etc.).					
Become a citizen of another country.					

13. What kinds of people do you think would do the best job in government? Select three of the following and number them in order using "1" for the best, "2" for the second best, and "3" for the third best.

- ___ Businessmen
- ___ Military leaders
- ___ Labor union leaders
- ___ Women
- ___ Doctors
- ___ Teachers
- ___ Ordinary working people
- ___ Middle class people
- ___ Scientists
- ___ Civil servants
- ___ Lawyers

14. What kind of people do you think would do the worst job in government? Check only one.

☐ Businessmen
☐ Military leaders
☐ Labor union leaders
☐ Women
☐ Doctors
☐ Teachers
☐ Ordinary working people
☐ Middle class people
☐ Scientists
☐ Civil servants
☐ Lawyers

15. Does your family live in an apartment or a separate house?

☐ apartment
☐ house

16. Does your family own their own home (or are buying it) or rent it?

☐ own (or are buying)
☐ rent

17. What is the construction of your home?

☐ brick
☐ frame
☐ cement block
☐ other (explain) _____

18. How often do you discuss money problems with:

	Very often	Often	Some- times	Hardly ever	Never
Father					
Mother					
Friends your age					
Teachers					
Ministers					
Other (explain)					

19. Do you feel that there are important differences between the Republican and Democratic parties?

____ Yes

____ No

If "Yes," in which of the following areas are they different? Check as many as necessary.

____ Civil rights

____ Foreign policy

____ Federal aid to education

____ Old age medical care

____ Regulation of labor unions

____ Other (explain) _____

20. If you could vote in the presidential election this Fall, which one of the following persons would you want to be able to vote for? Check only one.

_____Lyndon Johnson

_____John Kennedy

_____Richard Nixon

_____Nelson Rockefeller

_____Adlai Stevenson

_____Stuart Symington

21. Which political party, if any, do the following people belong to?

	Democratic	Republican	Independent	Don't know
Dwight D. Eisenhower				
James Hoffa				
Franklin D. Roosevelt				
Carlton Morris				
Abraham Lincoln				
Walter Reuther				

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Berelson, Bernard R., Lazarsfeld, Paul F., and Mc Phee, William. Voting. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.
- Bryce, James. Modern Democracies. New York: Macmillan Co., 1921.
- Campbell, Angus, Gurin, Gerald, and Miller, Warren. The Voter Decides. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, and Company, 1954.
- Campbell, Angus, Converse, Philip E., Miller, Warren, and Stokes, Donald. The American Voter. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960.
- Campbell, Angus, and Cooper, Homer C. Group Differences in Attitudes and Votes. Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1956.
- Centers, Richard. The Psychology of Social Classes. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949.
- Cole, G. D. H. Essays in Social Theory. London: Macmillan, 1950.
- Coleman, James A. The Adolescent Society. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.
- Cooley, Charles H. Social Organization. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.
- Dahl, Robert A., and Lindblom, Charles E. Politics, Economics, and Welfare. New York: Harper and Bros., 1953.

- Festinger, Leon. A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, and Company, 1957.
- Festinger, Leon, Schacter, Stanley, and Back, Kurt W. Social Pressures in Informal Groups. New York: Harper and Bros., 1950.
- Frederick, Robert W. The Third Curriculum. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960.
- Hausknecht, Murray. The Joiners: A Sociological Description of Voluntary Association Membership in the United States. New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962.
- Janowitz, Morris, and Marvick, Dwaine. Competitive Pressures and Democratic Consent. Ann Arbor: Bureau of Government, 1956.
- Kornhauser, Arthur, Sheppard, Harold, and Mayer, Alfred. When Labor Votes. New York: University Books, 1956.
- Lane, Robert E. Political Life. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Berelson, Bernard, and Gaudet, Hazel. The People's Choice. 2nd. ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.
- Lipset, Seymour M., Trow, Martin A., and Coleman, James S. Union Democracy. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956.
- Newcomb, Theodore M. Personality and Social Change. New York: Dryden Press, 1943.
- Rokeach, Milton. The Open and Closed Mind. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960.
- Rose, Arnold M. Theory and Method in the Social Sciences. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954.

Sherif, Muzafer. The Psychology of Social Norms. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936.

Simel, Georg. The Web of Group-Affiliations. Translated by Reinhard Bendix. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955.

Toqueville, Alexis de. Democracy in America. New York: Vintage Books, 1954.

Verba, Sidney. Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Articles

Aberle, David F., and Naegele, Kasper D. "Middle-class Fathers' Occupational Role and Attitudes Towards Children," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXII (1952), pp. 366-378.

Agger, Robert E., and Ostrom, Vincent. "The Political Structure of a Small Community," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Spring, 1956), pp. 81-89.

Axelrod, Morris. "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), pp. 13-18.

Bell, Wendell, and Force, Maryanne T. "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), pp. 25-34.

Dennis, Wayne. "Registration and Voting in a Patriotic Organization," Journal of Social Psychology, I (May, 1930), pp. 307-318.

- Dotson, Floyd. "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-Class Families," American Sociological Review, XVI (October, 1951), pp. 687-693.
- Eulau, Heinz. "Perceptions of Class and Party in Voting Behavior: 1952," American Political Science Review, XLIV (June, 1955), pp. 364-384.
- Goldrich, Daniel, and Scott, Edward W. "Developing Political Orientations of Panamanian Students," Journal of Politics, XXIII (February, 1961), pp. 84-107.
- Hastings, Philip K. "The Non-Voter in 1952: A Study of Pittsfield, Massachusetts," Journal of Psychology, XXXVIII (Fall, 1954), pp. 301-312.
- Kelley, H. H., and Volkhart, E. H. "The Resistance to Change of Group-Anchored Attitudes," American Sociological Review, XVII (August, 1952), pp. 453-465.
- Komarovsky, Mirra. "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, XI (December, 1946), pp. 686-698.
- Sabine, George H. "The Two Democratic Traditions," Philosophical Review, LXI (October, 1952), pp. 451-474.
- Seward, G. H. "Sex Roles in Postwar Planning," Journal of Social Psychology, XIX (March, 1944), pp. 163-185.
- Woodward, Julian, and Roper, Elmo. "Political Activity of American Citizens," American Political Science Review, XLIV (September, 1950), pp. 872-885.
- Wright, Charles R., and Hyman, Herbert H. "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence From National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), pp. 284-294.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 03145 4295