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ABSTRACT

STUDENT SOCIAL CHARACTER AND IMAGES OF THE McCARTHY ERA: A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

by Jaber F. Gubrium

Three aspects of the relationship between students' social background and their conceptions of the McCarthy era are investigated: (1) The nature of the conceptions themselves, (2) The factors of background most consistently related to the conceptions, and (3) The direction of the relationship between crucial background factors and conceptions of the period. The general hypothesis set forth is that, for students (because of their relatively "classless" roles), political self-conceptions and attitudes will be more closely related to conceptions of McCarthyism than such background factors as: class, location of residence, and college rank (the first two being more consistently related to conceptions of the general population). Using questionnaire results from 682 undergraduate students, the data generally substantiated the foregoing hypothesis.

STUDENT SOCIAL CHARACTER AND IMAGES OF THE
McCARTHY ERA: A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

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The history of inquiry into problems in the sociology of knowledge appears to have been largely limited to epistemological questions. Moreover, overall theoretical elaboration has been highly philosophical and non-empirical in nature. Of course, this is only true with respect to research done under the aegis of the "sociology of knowledge." As Merton has pointed out, there has been some perhaps inadvertent empirical work done in this area, but under different names and with slightly different aims in mind—for instance, communications and public opinion research.¹

Questions of central concern to this sub-discipline have no dearth of literature in social science. All macro-social theories have had to take account in some manner, of its fundamental problem, whether knowingly or otherwise. The open issue of consciousness and existence, however, became manifest only in the last century at the hands of Marx. With its development from the varied approaches of historicism and the gestalt mentality, the phenomenologists, German idealism, and structural determinism, the sociology of knowledge has become a major theoretical body in contemporary sociology.

The hypotheses and empirical possibilities emerging from this varied theoretical history have been all but consistent. This diversity has not been entirely ideological in character, but more often stemmed from meta-theoretical choices—one had to begin

¹Cf. Robert Merton's chapter on communications research in the section "The Sociology of Knowledge and Mass Communications," in Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 509-528.

somewhere. Therefore, the shapes of existing theories have often been forged from primary assumptions. Historically, the gamut of subsequent, often contradictory theoretical schemas were left without explanation--at least nothing short of dualistic answers, i.e., no single, economic theoretical schema was available to account satisfactorily for the variations in the possible connections between ideational and behavioral structures but, rather, the complexities of the problem necessitated the use, at the least, of dual theories. With the working out of conceptions strikingly similar to those being used in the more physical sciences such as "relativism" and "relationism" (being respectively analogous to "complementarity" and "operationalism" in microphysics), Karl Mannheim achieved at least two triumphs. He, on the one hand, ended some of the extreme ideological bickering extant between contrasting theories. And, on the other, he subsequently made possible the common existence of several previously contrasting theories, legitimizing their simultaneous validities depending on the question asked.

This, then, brings us to the problem of where the several existing theories must suffer their limits insofar as reliable empirical explanations can be provided to questions of existential and ideational relations.¹ It has historically been found valid that several theories, whether some sort of Marxian class "determinism" of interest-bound ideology, or the logically opposite, ideational motivation, can account for various relations between

¹Ibid., p. 505.

society and consciousness; however, the problem of the empirical extent and location of applicability of one theory or another has not been solved. Thus, the sociology of knowledge has emerged with a "single" (non-dualistic), economic, and plausible, general theory (at least, at its most abstract level), but has made little effort to bind it empirically insofar as operationally determining the nature of the relationship between social phenomena and knowledge. And, of course, the further problem of the differential types and limits of existential influence or non-influence on knowledge is left largely unsolved.¹

With respect to the current state of theorizing, we locate our problem in this research at a much more empirical and operational level. Similar to socio-epistemological concerns, the general problem at hand is one in attempting to uncover the nature of the relationship between our existential focus and the knowledge ("image") corresponding to it. Although we are studying variations in images, we are not looking at these over time to determine which change more readily than others and which are relatively immune from structural variation. More in the vein of Marxian analysis (but, obviously, on a less monumental level) rather than in ideational

¹This does not intend to imply that no theoretical attention has been given to this issue, for Max Scheler has certainly attempted to develop some preliminary typology of categories of ideational relationships to structural change through his "degrees of artificiality." Cf. Merton, op. cit. p. 470-71. Scheler, however, seems to have ignored the opposite issue of the differential effects of various structural factors on single "sets" of knowledge.

investigation such as that undertaken by Max Scheler and P. Sorokin, we are attempting here empirically to find what structural factors, if any, are operating so as to influence a particular set of images held constant in time.

Insofar as the images themselves, it might be said that they theoretically exist close to the conception "stereotype." However, stereotype does not connote the prevalence, extent, or patterning nature of image. Images, also, it seems to a greater extent than the notion stereotype, can exist either consciously or latently.¹ Moreover, since they are conceived here as rational answers or "guesses" to problems at hand, we conclude that the necessity of accounting, by respondents, for issues placed before them would automatically result in statements having as one feature the qualities of an image.

Variations in images emerge as functions of respondents occupying different social positions, and, changing moods and orientations influencing the style of logic operating in the formation of images. Image patterning, then, may vary both spatially and temporally. From this, it reasonably follows (insofar as we assume that images produced by persons are influenced in some manner by the differential character of and changes in roles occupied by individuals) that in holding an issue and structural variables constant,

¹Kenneth Boulding, The Image (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1964), p. 133.

variations in images of an issue will occur over generations,¹ and likewise, on the other hand, holding both issue and time constant, variations in image are likely with respect to structural variation.

Although images are conceived as an integral facet of the process of reasoning in relation to various issues, the notion here is limited to issues with which respondents have at least some minimal acquaintance. If issues which are posed have no place whatsoever in the knowledge of the respondent, then it seems reasonable that "images" emerging in this case would have little connection to the structural counterparts at hand.

Placing our concerns in this study in the context of wider aspects of the sociology of knowledge, our conception "image" is located as being one facet of the general concern "knowledge" or "ideation." At this level, then, it is to the notion "image" as opposed to such other types of ideation as myth, dogma, technical data, or philosophical style that we are limiting our pursuits. In the existential realm, at the opposite side, we locate the structural counterpart of images in the social character of undergraduate students.

The general issue around which respondents gave their impressions was that of conditions extant and characteristically of public concern in the McCarthy era in the United States, approximately during the years from 1950 to 1955. The period of recent American

¹Cf. Karl Mannheim, "The Problem of Generations," in Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, ed. Paul Kecskemeti (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), pp. 276-320.

history of concern here was not directly experienced by most of the students in our sample, for the great number were still early elementary school students at this time. Acquaintance in most cases was indirect, for instance, either through non-personal communication in literature or mass media, or, through discussion or mention by parents, elder siblings, or other persons. Thus, in this study, images of issues coming out of an indirect acquaintance of this period in American history are examined with respect to social variation in order to subsequently determine differential social influences.

RELATED EMPIRICAL STUDIES

Previous research dealing with issues similar to those of concern to this paper has been rather scant. There has been much discussion of and a large number of explanations offered for the causes of McCarthyism of the early fifties,¹ but little empirical work has followed it.

Most of the explanations have been focused upon the central notion of "anxiety politics." This is a political phenomenon emerging from an increase in relative social or status instability, whether upward or downward, leading to the support of candidates coincident with "necessary and reassuring" images. Whether the images cited have been the prejudiced ones of rapid upward mobility,

¹Cf., e.g., Daniel Bell (ed.), The Radical Right (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954; William Kornhouser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961); Dennis H. Wrong, "Theories of McCarthyism," Dissent, I (Autumn, 1954), pp. 385-92.

or, those characteristic of scapegoating held by persons being displaced in status, the central tendency in the several theories of McCarthyism has been to connect the highly coincident, mutual needs of an "ideologically" starved sector of the public with a movement in need of political support. Hence, the mechanism operating so as to give rise to the McCarthy era usually is explained as one of rapid and brief historical convergence.

In the empirical area of concern with the McCarthy period, studies by Martin Trow and Nelson W. Polsby¹ seem to almost exhaust the efforts. In the first instance, Trow supports empirically a number of extant theories linking status anxiety to McCarthy support. His research, done in Bennington, Vermont, in 1954 at the height of the period found that the largest McCarthy support came from small businessmen as compared to the mild following of salaried persons. This, Trow explains as a reaction of lower middle-class business merchants to increasing large-scale industrialization, which had a tendency to eventually displace a great share of their functions. Salaried employees, on the other hand, structurally having moved with the economic trends of the nation, have had no reason not to support its dominant economic institutions.

Nelson Polsby locates his research on a political level and explains the emergence of McCarthy not as a result of peculiar

¹Martin Trow, "Small Businessmen, Political Tolerance, and Support for McCarthy," American Journal of Sociology LXIV (November, 1958), pp. 270-81; and, Nelson W. Polsby, "Toward an Explanation of McCarthyism," Political Studies, VIII (October, 1960), pp. 250-71.

public support (which he tends to find theoretically too varied and empirically anomalous), but rather as a function of the reaction of political decision-makers. The phantom images of McCarthy's power extended themselves into highly permissive political attitudes and behavior on the part of cohorts, thus ostensibly making for relatively widespread political support by Republicans both in the Senate and in his home state.

The following research involving student's images of the McCarthy era differs from the foregoing studies in two major instances. First, the study is being conducted a decade later when the issues at stake are not immediately prevalent on the national scene as a crucial political issue. And secondly, the social roles of the sample involved are not, at present, critically tied to interests hinged onto the various tenets of McCarthyism. These two differences alone serve to alter a number of the hypotheses on the relation between social character and support (in our case, images) of McCarthy as posed by Trow, whose study (of the two cited) more directly hinges on this research.

Insofar as we are attempting, as in Trow's research, to relate two theoretically similar conceptions, the problem of the social determination of knowledge in our case is analogous to his central concern. The analysis herein attempts to trace any peculiar social consistencies with particular images produced. However, as a result of the widely different social base with which we are dealing, any varied relation between our two major variables and Trow's would not be surprising. On the basis of both the spatial and temporal

divergences between our samples, and, previous findings on the influences of differential student social characteristics on their attitudes and conceptions of various issues, some prediction of the connection between social factors and images could well be made.

Research pertaining to the opinions of students with respect to a varied number of issues has had a large place in social psychological studies. This, no doubt, has been somewhat due to the relative ease of access of these subjects and the economy of research with them in time when monies for work in opinion studies was not as available as it is currently. The fifteen years between approximately 1940 and 1955 seems largely to have been the high point of such empirical work.

One of the major findings of such studies is hinged crucially to our concerns in the relationship of knowledge to social character. In a great many of these studies, it has been found that variations in student conceptions of some issues (primarily social concerns---such as political morality, tolerance of differential economic systems, or social ethics) have been significantly less extensive than diversities in student background would tend to imply. When comparisons of images of social issues were made with the general population from which various student bodies emerge, it was found that rather divergent conceptions prevalent in the population tended to converge as images of students so that in many instances for students, regardless of class for example, social conceptions

were spread equally.¹ This, however, was not true for all issues. For instance, those issues which were relatively closely tied to the various class interests of students were divided in their images in a manner analogous to the conceptions of their respective classes in the general population. Only images hinged to issues not immediate to students economically tended to be uniformly spread across class lines. These latter images of social issues, although spread across class lines, were not homogeneous, but also varied.² Variations in this case were closely related to ideological moods and contemporary political philosophies.³

The different types of foregoing structural connections to images of students and the general population may be summarized as follows:

	<u>Images of Interest Issues</u>	<u>Images of Social Issues</u>
General Population:	VARIES ALONG CLASS LINES	VARIES ALONG CLASS LINES
Students:	VARIES ALONG CLASS LINES	VARIES POLITICALLY (WITH SELF-IMAGE)

¹Cf., David Riesman, "Intellectuals and Discontented Classes," in Bell, op. cit., pp. 152-53; Peter Blau, "Orientations of College Students Toward International Relations," American Journal of Sociology, LIX (November, 1953), p. 214; Rose K. Goldsen et al., What College Students Think (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 114-15; and Philip E. Jacob, Changing Values in College (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 34.

²Jacobs, op. cit., p. 33. Material here was largely taken from the Cornell Values Study, more fully documented in Goldsen et al., above.

³Ibid.

ASSUMPTIONS & HYPOTHESES

The fundamental assumption of this research is that students can produce some kind of meaningful image of a period of American history with which they have had little direct experience. Moreover, we also assume that as a result of the intervention of several factors, both historically and stereotypically, between the occurrences of the McCarthy era and the roles of students, variations insofar as changes in images over time will have occurred. This would give us reason to believe that conceptions or images of occurrences in the McCarthy era have changed for students and will change in years to come. The issue at hand, then, is more complex than mere structural change would explain it to be, for students also are immersed in varying climates of political opinion. For example, students in the fifties might be said to have been relatively economically and politically conservative, while presently on the other hand, several discussions have noted a liberalizing tendency in student culture.¹ This change seems to have taken place regardless of structural variations among students, and thus would affect images independently.

Based on a review of previous research related to our study, viz., those studies having investigated the culture and values of students, and, the general theory of the "declassified" structural

¹Cf., e.g., Hanan Selvin and Warren O. Hagstrom, The Bulwark of Liberty (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), Manuscript; and David Riesman, op. cit., pp. 152-53.

character of the student role,¹ we have developed a set of hypotheses on the extent of relationship between our several social variables and the diversity of images. These "existential" variables (social character) are of three types: political character, social background, and educational factors. We have further divided these into the following categories:

POLITICAL CHARACTER

Political Tolerance

Political Self-Image

Political Awareness

Party Sentiment

Economic Institution Attitudes

SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Class

Religion

Location (places of birth and home residence)

Social-Physical Factors

EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

Rank

Academic Major

From the available evidence, the following hypotheses have been formulated pertaining to relations between student social

¹This conception has been much more developed and researched with respect to intellectuals. Theoretically, the notion has an even longer history.

character, and images of McCarthyism:¹

- (1) Social-Physical factors (such as age and sex) should have the least relationship to the existence of particular images.
- (2) Based on our general model of the structural connection between student social character and their images of the McCarthy era (see p. 9), political character would most readily be influential in the formation of particular images.
- (3) The following hypothetical hierarchy, ranked according to the highest being most influential, is tentatively proposed for variations in influence on images existing between physical factors and political character:

¹The first three hypotheses pertain only to the relationship between base and image, i.e., they conjecture on the magnitude of influence which various factors of student social character (base) have on the formation of images. Here we are guessing, in effect, as to which background factors are most consistently related to student conceptions of the McCarthy period.

Hypothesis four, on the other hand, is concerned more with the images in themselves. "Direction" pertains to the manner (direction) in which consistently related factors (hypotheses one to three) of student social background are influential, viz., which type of students (referring only to related factors of the base) contribute most to the formation of the general (what we call the "character" of the image) image. "Character" refers to the general image regardless of varying differential student influences in its formation. As an example of the distinction we are making between these two latter conceptions, we might say that . . . the character of students' images (general image) of the McCarthy period has changed in the decade since the mid-fifties, and, certain types of students contribute more to the direction of the change in character than others.

Class

Location

Educational Factors

Academic Major

Rank

Religion

With respect to the formation of specific images in themselves, we propose the following hypothesis:

- (4) Insofar as students are affected by prevailing stereotypes in their milieux, then the character of, and, direction of varying social influences on, images of occurrences in the McCarthy era will take on contemporary distortions.

DESIGN

The number of social variables, which are obviously many, possible for investigation in this type of study are of two general types—temporal or longitudinal, and spatial. In this research, we have limited the formulation and testing of hypotheses to the latter.

Social background and educational factors were elicited as responses to closed-ended questions. With political character, on the other hand, only sentiment and self-image were operationalized in the same manner. A measure of political tolerance was based on an additive index of replies to four questions involving the extent of student allowance of minority political views in expressing their

opinions in mass media.¹ Degrees of political awareness were compiled on the basis of number of correct answers on an eighteen question test of knowledge pertaining to contemporary political affairs. With respect to the placing of persons in categories according to their attitudes toward large corporations and unions in the United States, answers to two questions asking respondents their feelings toward these institutions served so as to provide four general viewpoints.²

Images of occurrences during the McCarthy period were obtained from responses to several hypothetical statements dealing with such issues as: speech and literary censorship, limitations on professorial and student freedom, investigations of union activities, mass media sentiments toward the Soviet Union and Communism, and extent of inhibitions on literary pursuits having some relation

¹The questions and index were largely taken from Trow's study of Bennington, Vermont businessmen. Cf. Trow, op. cit., p. 272. The index was compiled by giving a score of 2 to "Yes" responses, 1 to "Yes, qualified," and 0 to "No." In this study, those receiving a score of 6 or more comprised the most tolerant group. The questions were: (1) "In peacetime, do you think the Socialist party should be allowed to publish newspapers in this country?" (2) "Do you think members of the Communist party in this country should be allowed to speak on the radio?" (3) "Do you think newspapers should be allowed to criticize our form of government?" and (4) "Do you feel that the Communist party should be given equal time, like other political groups, to express their views on television?"

²Taken from Trow, op. cit., p. 275, the two questions are: Do you agree or disagree that (1) "The way they are run now, labor unions do this country more harm than good," and (2) "Big companies control too much of American Business." Varying responses were labeled as follows: (1) Disagree-(2) Agree, "labor-liberals;" (1) Agree-(2) Agree, "nineteenth-century liberalism;" (1) Disagree-(2) Disagree, "status-quo politics or moderate conservatism;" (1) Agree-(2) Disagree, "right-wing conservatism."

to Soviet culture or the Soviet Union. Respondents were asked to check whether they felt the preceding, "Most likely did occur," "Might have occurred," or "Most likely did not occur." The compilation of responses to these questions constitute the students' images of the McCarthy era.

The respondents used in this study were a sample (nonprobability) of undergraduate students at Michigan State University. Selections were made from introductory sociology and required social science courses. This assured maximum "randomization" within the possibilities of the necessities of the design. A more random sample could not be picked due to the questionnaire having a test of political awareness making it necessary to administer it directly. Although the resulting sample was heavily weighted with social science and education majors, other groups were sufficiently represented so as to make possible an analysis of any images specific to them.

A total of 682 questionnaires were completed (with no refusals). This represents the final administration. Prior to this a pre-test was conducted on a group of approximately 175 students similar to our sample group. Subsequently, a revision of the test of political awareness was made in order to gain a better distribution of scores. Also, a few irrelevant statements were deleted.

The data emerging from the tabulation of questionnaire responses were analyzed only with respect to consistency in the direction and relationship between variables of concern. Hence, when findings are said to be significant, a statistical meaning is not intended but rather significance in this study is synonymous with

"uniform" consistency. The general hypothesis is rejected if greater (or sole) consistency is found between social and/or educational factors and images of students, than between political character and images.

A statistical analysis of our data would not be legitimate, for we do not have a random sample. Tests for the measure of strength of relationship between variables are consequently not applicable. The use of these tests here, if the results did prove significant, would make it appear as if the findings from our sample were true of the general student population. Because of our manner of selection, we do not know to what extent our model is one of the population and thus could not estimate the extent of the error involved in any inferences. Hence, we have limited analysis to the relative proportions and trends of our data.

FINDINGS

The existential base from which images of the McCarthy era were drawn was analyzed with respect to three major variables, viz., social, political, and educational. Results of responses to questions on social character provided a general portrait of the base (or type of students) to be related to "emergent" conceptions.

With respect to rank, the bulk of students were in the first three years of undergraduate work. This constituted 80.3% of the sample. Specialization or academic major was heavily representative of business administration, education, and social science groups. Together these constituted 75.4% of the students. Physical science and humanities majors were split fairly equally, respectively being

5.5% and 5.2% of the group. Other majors and their proportionate representation were: Pre-professional, 6.7%; agriculture and veterinary medicine, 3.1%; home economics, 2.4%; and engineering, 1.3%. The unequal representation of various majors in the sample is not necessarily a profile of the general student population, but rather is a result of the manner of sampling.

The students constituting our base are largely middle-class persons whose fathers are fairly well educated and enjoy a comfortable income. The figures listed in Table 1 show that over 77% of

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION
OF FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Percentage
Professional and Semi-Professional	28.6
Self-Employed, Businessmen	31.2
White Collar	17.8
Skill & Unskilled	17.3
Farmer	04.9

the students come from either white collar, self-employed, or professional families. Since the type of university which these students attend is one which has almost total "on-campus" residency, the lack of lower income groups becomes reasonable. Sampling from a non-residential, urban university would have increased representation

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of lower income students. As would be expected then, in our case most fathers were at least high school graduates, 55% having had the minimum of some college experience. Only 20.5% belonged to labor unions.

Since the University is located in a highly agricultural area and also has traditionally been oriented similarly, a higher proportion of students is drawn from smaller towns than in more urban universities, as Table 2 suggests. Moreover, as is characteristic

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF SIZES OF
PLACE OF PRESENT HOME RESIDENCE

Population	Percentage
5,000 or less	21.3
5-50,000	17.6
50-500,000	18.2
500-1 million+	16.8
Suburb	25.8

of the American non-urban population, the proportion of persons of Protestant faith is greater than in highly urban areas, where, on the other hand, Jewish and Catholic groups increase proportionately. Respectively, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish students represent 58%, 21.8%, and 8.7% of our sample.

Students were almost equally divided between males and females.

Age was distributed along the same lines as academic rank, with most students being between 18 and 22 years of age. Race as a variable of our base was eliminated because of the overwhelming homogeneity of the sample in this respect. Ninety-seven per cent of the students responded as being Caucasian.

The nature of political character of undergraduate students obtained by our questions on tolerance, awareness, and various attitudes places them in the sphere of political sympathies opposite to that recorded by many similar surveys taken a decade ago. There has been a liberalizing tendency in student political life since the mid-fifties. The Cornell Values Survey, for instance, characterized students as being politically and economically conservative.¹ This does not appear to have been strikingly different from the general population, for the fifties was a rather conservative, isolation-prone period in American history. This has been characteristic of post-War "malaise" politics. The student population, although it participates in a sub-culture different from that of the general population, also is influenced by the general and prevalent political mood of the country. Thus, it would not be surprising to find that both groups (students and general population) tend to move in the same direction politically. The extent of movement, however, in any direction is not necessarily of the

¹Goldsen, op. cit., p. 98.

same magnitude.¹

In the sixties, the mood of American politics, although having been characterized by conservative reaction, has been international, relatively non-anti-intellectual, and liberal. Students, as found in our questionnaire, seem to reflect these sympathies.

With respect to tolerance of minority political groups, viz., those which have not historically been well entrenched in American

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON
TEST OF POLITICAL TOLERANCE

Score	Percentage
0	00.8
1	02.9
2	08.9
3	08.3
4	19.5
5	12.7
6	21.3
7	09.7
8	15.4

¹Moreover, aside from the fact that the political moods of the general population and students may not be quite coincident, it must be noted that the type of student political mood discussed in this research has been further influenced (possibly making for further divergences from the general population) by our manner of sampling. Since we have deliberately chosen introductory social science students, the mood portrayed might have been skewed to the "left."

politics institutionally,¹ students appear largely unprejudiced. Responses to questions concerning the allowance of Communists or Socialists the use of mass media facilities to express their political views were heavily weighted towards tolerant rather than intolerant attitudes. On a scale of 9 possible degrees of tolerance (see Table 3), 46.4% scored 6 or above, while 20.9% scored 3 or below. This puts almost half of the scores of political tolerance in the highest third of the tolerance scale, while only one-fifth of the scores occupy the lower 44% of possible scores on the scale.

Distributions of scores on a test of political awareness were similar to that of a normal spread. The extremes in scores on this scale will be analyzed with respect to various images in order to ascertain whether there is some relation between degree of awareness and types of image produced.

In the light of scores on the scale of political tolerance towards groups such as Communists and Socialists, it would be most likely the case that (aside from "status-quo" political sympathies) a relatively large group of students would express "labor-libertarian" attitudes toward large-scale economic institutions in the United States. Table 4 indicates that this group represents 25.9% of all students—these being those disagreeing that "labor unions do this country more harm than good" and agreeing that "big

¹Of course, these groups have had a great deal of influence politically, but they have never been a major political institution in the United States or had the long-time allegiance of a particular class.

TABLE 4
STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD
LARGE ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

Attitude	Percentage	Political Type
Agree-Unions Disagree-Business	15.8	Moderate, Right-wing Conservatism
Disagree-Unions Agree-Business	25.9	Labor-libertarians
Disagree-Unions Disagree-Business	46.9	Status-quo Politics
Agree-Unions Agree-Business	11.2	19th c. Liberalism

companies do control too much of American business." Those who accepted the present state of both institutions represent the largest group, comprising 46.9%. Both types of contemporary conservatism together constitute less than one-third of the students represented.

In contrast to tolerance and attitudes toward economic institutions, political self-image and political party preference (eliminating "center" and "other" respectively) are equally divided between left and right, and Republican and Democrat (see Table 5). The latter of these two political characteristics seems to be more closely tied to the sympathies of parents than either tolerance, economic institution attitudes, or political self-image. These, on the other hand, involve (at least insofar as the phrasing of questions used to elicit responses) politically moral judgments. And, as has been the case in previous research findings of this type,

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTIONS OF RESPONSES TO
POLITICAL SELF-IMAGE AND PARTY PREFERENCE

Self-Image	%	Party Preference	%
Left	13.0	Republican	47.5
Right	13.2	Democratic	47.7
Center	73.7	Other	4.6

the results in most cases mirror "campus" political moods and ethics rather than family background.

Two questions were included in the survey that asked for responses of a type somewhat different from that of tolerance, party preference, economic attitudes, or political self-image. These were in reference to sympathies toward the Civil Rights Movement

TABLE 6

ATTITUDES TOWARD CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
AND McCARTHY METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

Civil Rights Mvmt.	%	McCarthy Methods	%
Sympathetic	74.1	Favor	9.0
Unsympathetic	10.0	Opposed	81.7
Indifferent	15.7	Indifferent	9.2

and McCarthy methods of investigation. In both cases, responses resembled those of tolerance and economic institution attitudes.

For Civil Rights, 74.1% of the students said they were sympathetic, while only 10% listed themselves "unsympathetic." Similarly, one would expect from this that most students would consider themselves opposed to McCarthy methods. As Table 6 indicates, this was the case. The responses and sympathies expressed in these two instances seem to have been influenced by what has been labeled the campus labor-libertarianism of the sixties. These (Civil Rights and McCarthy method responses), and, political tolerance, self-image, and economic institution attitudes appear to be a configuration of hinged responses being all influenced by contemporary student political moods rather than class background.

Although we have treated the last four categories as part of our existential base, it seems that they, in contrast to class, rank, and location for instance, exist most closely to the level of images in our case. Consequently, we might predict that they would be most related to particular types of images. How students see themselves politically, then, more than their social background, would seem to be most critically hinged to their images of the McCarthy era (see hypotheses, p. 13).

Images of the McCarthy era were obtained in six different areas of concern to this period. In many cases, these various conceptions reflect current stereotypes, thus making the ideas emerging from these students largely a function of the prejudices of their culture.

In asking students to respond to statements pertaining to possible occurrences of speech and literary censorship at various

universities in different areas of the United States, their answers reflected the prevalent stereotypes of many students attending midwestern universities. Universities were not specifically named, but rather images of events at various types of universities were elicited (except for the students' home university). The South, being viewed by students as reactionary and conservative to many

TABLE 7

STUDENT IMAGES OF EXTENT OF LITERARY
AND SPEECH CENSORSHIP AT MSU AND
OTHER UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Location of University	D ¹	M	DN
MSU	36.3	29.3	34.2
Midwest	34.4	36.0	29.5
East (private)	28.7	30.4	40.8
South	41.2	33.6	25.0
West Coast	22.9	33.0	44.0

¹These headings have been abbreviated from "Most likely did occur" (D), "Might have occurred" (M), and "Most likely did not occur" (DN), respectively.

areas of contemporary political involvement was seen as having the most extensive censorship of literature and speakers critical of the United States. The West Coast, presumably hinged in their minds to some aspect of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, was seen as having the least censorship, as Table 7 shows. The East also was seen as highly permissive of freedom in literary and speech activities.

In this case, statements were limited to the private universities of New England, which have been traditionally (perhaps stereotypically) known to be most tolerant of academic freedom. The home university of these students is viewed in a manner similar to other universities in the Midwest.

When comparing universities with respect to types of censorship conceived by the students to be most extensive, it was found that inhibitions on public speakers received the highest proportions of "did occur" responses. In all cases, as Table 8 indicates, students responded with conceptions of inhibitions on speakers being

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF STUDENT IMAGES OF EXTENT OF LITERARY
AS OPPOSED TO SPEECH CENSORSHIP AT MSU AND
OTHER UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Location	Did		Might Have		Did Not	
	Sp.	Lit.	Sp.	Lit.	Sp.	Lit.
MSU	50.4	12.0	38.3	41.1	11.2	46.7
Midwest	43.9	13.2	46.6	48.7	10.0	38.0
East (private)	33.5	14.6	46.1	40.7	20.2	44.6
South	47.1	22.5	45.0	46.6	7.8	30.7
West Coast	28.9	9.4	52.0	41.9	18.9	48.6

more prevalent than censorship in literature, regardless of type of university and location. The finding of a consistent difference in

type of censorship is most likely an indication of the awareness of the present large number of movements of free speech and student freedom on various university campuses throughout the United States.

The McCarthy period was overwhelmingly concerned with the threat of Communist infiltration in this country. We asked students to respond to similarly worded statements referring in one case to literature associated with Communism and on the other hand to that merely critical of the United States in order to determine the effect of association with Communism on image formation. In all cases (see Table 9), regardless of area of the country, literature

TABLE 9

COMPARISON OF CENSORSHIP OF LITERATURE AT VARIOUS
UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT
TO ASSOCIATION WITH COMMUNISM

Location	Did		Might Have		Did Not	
	Comm. ¹	Crit.	Comm.	Crit.	Comm.	Crit.
Midwest	15.7	13.2	51.9	48.7	32.3	38.0
East (priv.)	16.0	14.6	42.3	40.7	41.5	44.6
South	27.8	22.5	46.4	46.6	25.7	30.7
West Coast	9.8	9.4	44.1	41.9	45.9	48.6

¹Headings are abbreviations for, "Identified with Communist Party" (Comm.), and "Critical of the United States" (Crit.).

associated with Communism was felt to have received more censorship as a result of McCarthy pressure than merely critical works.

Differences in proportions of responses to Communist associated literature per se (or critical literature alone) are again due to student stereotypes of universities in various locations. With respect to speakers associated with Communism (limited to activities at MSU), students again felt that McCarthy activities made for more prohibition of these speakers than mere public criticism of the nation.

Limiting our tabulations to the responses of Midwest students only, a comparison of student images was made with respect to speech censorship at various Michigan colleges and universities. Table 10

TABLE 10

COMPARISON OF STUDENT IMAGES OF SPEECH CENSORSHIP
AT VARIOUS COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE MIDWEST

Institution	Did	Might Have	Did Not
Mich. State	56.9	32.3	10.6
Albion Coll.	53.9	36.6	9.3
Alma Coll.	54.1	37.4	8.3
Acquinas Coll.	54.1	38.9	6.8
Central Mich.	45.2	45.5	8.3
Western Mich.	45.3	42.6	11.9
Wayne State	32.2	43.8	22.0
U. of Mich.	30.9	41.5	27.5

gives a summary of answers. From the results, it appears that several types of schools exist in the students' minds in relation to their

conceptions of the possibilities of public speaking in the early fifties by persons identified with the Communist Party. First, there are the small, private colleges which are affiliated with religious bodies (Albion, Alma, and Aquinas). These, the students in our sample feel most likely censored speakers in the early fifties. Next, an intermediate type of school is evident, being universities in both cases but not to the degree of having extensive graduate schools. The universities conceived as being most tolerant in the McCarthy era were those which were large, highly urban (being situated in a large, metropolitan area), and having fully developed graduate schools (Wayne State University and University of Michigan). It is not perhaps too consistent that their home university was seen as having a high degree of censorship since it is both large and also has an extensive graduate school; however, there seem to be several intervening variables at work in this case. The image is likely due to four possible factors--three being that, the University is relatively highly oriented to rural affairs, is located in a rural area of the state, and has recently experienced heavy concern, both academically and from its students, with problems of speech freedom and political leniencies. The major factor (coupled with the first three) contributing to this seeming "inconsistency" is that this is the students' home university. In a sense, they tend to over-criticize because of this, thus making their images appear other than they would be if students

could have been more objective.¹

In one other respect, students responded to statements regarding censorship. These involved conceptions of literary prohibition in various types of cities in the United States. Cities were divided into five different types--(1) large, metropolitan cores (New York, Chicago, Detroit); (2) a Southern City (Savannah, Georgia); suburbs (Dearborn, Grosse Pointe); an intermediate size city, population-1960, 202,000 (Grand Rapids); and a small city in a rural area, population-1960, 15,000 (Escanaba). Each of the large metropolitan cores received images of least censorship (see Table 11). This coincides with students' conceptions of extent of censorship at private Eastern and West Coast universities, both being highly characterized as urban. The Southern city of Savannah was also conceived in its censorship in public libraries, in a manner similar to Southern colleges and universities. Suburbs and small, Michigan cities were placed between these extremes, with the former being closest to responses expressed regarding large cities.

The relation of students social character to the foregoing images of speech and literary censorship was analyzed in order to find any significant aspect of the former acting so as to influence particular conceptions. Images of censorship were run against each

¹This might possibly be a special case of a general polarizing effect which images tend to assume. If, for instance, a university and student body have a well-established and prestigious self-image, then their images of issues pertaining to the university would be unduly laudatory. In our case, Michigan State University is still struggling to achieve such a self and public image--thus distortions go in the opposite direction.

TABLE 11

TYPE OF CITY AND IMAGES OF CENSORSHIP
OF BOOKS ON COMMUNISM IN PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Type of City	Did	Might Have	Did Not
New York	13.7	39.0	47.1
Chicago	12.1	44.7	43.0
Detroit	12.9	42.5	44.4
Savannah, Ga.	26.1	48.2	25.5
Dearborn, Mich.	20.5	39.8	35.8
Grosse Pt., Mich.	21.1	43.1	35.6
Grand Rapids, Mich.	15.6	47.5	36.8
Escanaba, Mich.	22.1	41.6	36.1

of the aspects of what we have generally labeled "student character."

There was little or no relationship between particular images of censorship and physical factors such as age or sex. However, in most cases of images of censorship, males had a tendency to see more of this occurring, both for speech and literature in various universities of different regions than females, who in most cases saw censorship as only possibly occurring.

Two factors, being aspects of college experience, were run against images, these being rank and academic major. Previous findings in studies of values of students found that values tend to converge in relation to increasing rank in college. Seniors

and upperclassmen, then, would have a tendency to think more alike than entering freshmen, for instance.¹ In our case, one might predict from this that images would have more disparity as a function of progressive levels of college experience. An analysis of our data with respect to images of literary and speech censorship at various universities in most instances tended to corroborate this hypothesis.² For most areas, seniors had greater disparity in proportions of images for "did" and "did not" occur than did freshmen, who tended more toward equalized responses to both categories.

Although rank is a highly structural variable in universities, we cannot imply that increasing rank directly causes convergence of images. Rather, progressive levels of university experience (which is highly correlated with rank, for students) tend to immerse the student deeper and acquaint him further with the currently accepted values of student political mood.

Academic major, in contrast to the relationship between rank and images, was not significant in the formation of particular conceptions. Social science majors were not proportionately more dominate in one category of image than humanities or physical science concentrates. This finding was like that stated in other research

¹Goldsen, op. cit., p. 117.

²This was not the case, however, with respect to images on all other issues.

working with similar variables among college students.¹ From this we might conjecture, then, that as a result of the non-influence of academic major on the images coming out of this study, this facet of student social character is not significantly related to student political culture. This is not to deny that it might be related to other facets of their consciousness though.

Class and religion did not in most instances emerge as being greatly associated with specific conceptions. With respect to questions regarding father's income, education, and occupation, responses were distributed variously over each category of possibilities of occurrence. However, father belonging to a labor union seemed to be somewhat disproportionate for specific conceptions. Table 12 shows that, with the exception of speech censorship in the Midwest, students whose fathers belong to labor unions tend to see the McCarthy period as having had more censorship activity than those whose fathers are not union members. In view of the composition of our sample, namely its high proportion of upper middle income and self-employed persons, and, because the class indicants used in this study do not always focus clearly on labor interests, labor union membership was employed to locate labor-libertarianism in students' backgrounds. The "union-oriented" image of some

¹Cf. Leonard W. Ferguson, "Socio-Psychological Correlates of Primary Attitudes Scales--I Religionism, II Humanitarianism," Journal of Social Psychology, LXX (February, 1944), p. 92; Jacob, op. cit., p. 5; Theodore Newcomb, Personality and Social Change: Attitude Formation in a Student Community (New York: Dryden Press, 1943), pp. 38-9.

TABLE 12

UNION MEMBERSHIP OF FATHERS AND IMAGES OF
LITERARY AND SPEECH CENSORSHIP IN
VARIOUS UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Member- ship	MSU						Midwest					
	Sp.		DN		Lit.		Sp.		DN		Lit.	
	D	M			D	M	D	M			D	M
No.	50.0	37.6	12.3	10.8	40.1	49.0	44.3	45.9	9.7	12.2	49.6	38.1
Yes	65.6	29.1	5.2	17.5	42.7	39.6	41.8	48.8	9.3	16.7	45.0	38.1
East (private)												
No	32.8	44.5	22.6	11.9	41.0	47.0	46.4	44.8	8.7	21.3	46.1	32.4
Yes	37.9	47.2	14.7	23.8	40.0	36.1	48.8	45.7	5.4	26.1	50.0	23.8
West Coast												
No	28.0	51.4	20.4	8.5	41.9	49.5						
Yes	32.5	52.7	14.7	13.0	42.3	44.6						

students was consistent with the type of image produced with respect to student political character--namely, those who have social characteristics close to that of what we have labeled "labor-libertarianism" tend to conceive of the fifties as having been more influenced by McCarthyism than other students.

The religious factor, surprisingly, also was similar in image formation to that of union membership. With respect to censorship in various universities in the United States, Jewish persons tended to see more censorship due to McCarthyism than either Protestants or Catholics. This finding (which was previously felt would most likely not emerge) was coincident with the relative, general political position of the Jewish population in contrast to that of other religious groups in this country. Jews have been traditionally more closely aligned themselves with labor-libertarianism than Protestant or Catholic groups generally have.

Size of students' home residence and place of birth had a tendency to be related to images of censorship in that large city students saw more restraints on speech and literary activities at various universities. However, this slight trend was too inconsistent in this particular direction to be significant.

The greatest consistency found between various images of censorship and student social character was in relation to the political factors of awareness, self-image, tolerance, attitudes toward major economic institutions, and attitudes toward McCarthy methods of investigation. The greater the political tolerance, for instance, the more students tended to think that McCarthy was

the cause of restraints having been placed on speakers and literature associated with Communism. With the exception of images of literature critical of the United States, high political tolerance tended to mean greater conceptions of occurrence. In all cases, literature or speakers associated with Communism were seen as being more highly censored, as Table 13 indicates. The highly tolerant

TABLE 13

POLITICAL TOLERANCE AND IMAGES OF CENSORSHIP OF
SPEAKERS AND LITERATURE WITH RESPECT
TO ASSOCIATION WITH COMMUNISM

Degree of Tolerance	Literature			Crit. of U.S.		
	Ident. with Comm.					
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
High	11.0	40.8	48.1	10.5	42.7	50.0
Med.	10.8	39.1	50.0	13.4	41.3	45.2
Low	8.0	47.1	44.8	15.1	39.5	45.3
	Speakers					
High	57.7	33.8	8.4	52.2	41.7	6.0
Med.	60.1	30.7	9.0	51.2	36.3	12.3
Low	50.5	31.0	18.3	41.3	33.3	25.2

also tended to conceive of greater prohibition, at both MSU and other colleges and universities, on anti-McCarthy speakers (Table 14).

Political self-image resulted in similar types of conceptions as political tolerance. Since we have measured tolerance of leftist

TABLE 14

POLITICAL TOLERANCE AND IMAGES OF CENSORSHIP OF ANTI-McCARTHY
SPEAKERS AT MSU AND OTHER COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Degree of Tolerance	MSU			Other Coll. & Univ.		
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
High	16.5	40.7	42.6	17.1	52.5	30.2
Med.	14.4	38.4	47.1	14.9	52.9	32.1
Low	12.2	40.2	48.2	10.4	60.4	29.0

groups, it would be reasonable to expect the most tolerant (and also leftist self-images) to conceive of censorship in the McCarthy era in a manner consistent with their tolerance and sympathies--that is, the most tolerant express images of the highest intolerance by opposing political interests. This is limited to the issue of McCarthyism. Those who defined themselves as being left politically

TABLE 15

POLITICAL SELF-IMAGE AND CONCEPTIONS OF CENSORSHIP
OF ANTI-McCARTHY SPEAKERS AT MSU
AND OTHER COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Self- Image	MSU			Other Coll. & Univ.		
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
Left	23.0	42.3	34.6	25.6	51.2	23.0
Right	15.3	44.8	39.7	21.7	55.1	23.0
Center	14.3	38.0	47.6	13.2	53.7	32.9

QUESTION

1. The following table shows the number of people who attended the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, by country and by gender.

Country	Male	Female
England	120	80
France	150	100
Germany	180	120
Italy	200	140
Spain	220	160
United States	250	180
Other countries	300	220

2. The following table shows the number of people who attended the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, by country and by gender. The table is divided into two parts: the first part shows the number of people who attended the World Cup in South Africa, and the second part shows the number of people who attended the World Cup in South Africa, by country and by gender.

Country	Male	Female
England	120	80
France	150	100
Germany	180	120
Italy	200	140
Spain	220	160
United States	250	180
Other countries	300	220

ANSWER

1. The following table shows the number of people who attended the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, by country and by gender.

Country	Male	Female
England	120	80
France	150	100
Germany	180	120
Italy	200	140
Spain	220	160
United States	250	180
Other countries	300	220

TABLE 16

POLITICAL SELF-IMAGE AND CONCEPTIONS OF CENSORSHIP
OF SPEAKERS AND LITERATURE WITH RESPECT TO
ASSOCIATION WITH COMMUNISM

Self- Image	Literature					
	Ident. with Comm.			Crit. of U.S.		
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
Left	15.3	47.4	37.1	15.5	45.4	38.9
Right	6.3	45.5	48.1	10.1	53.1	36.7
Center	10.6	40.4	48.8	12.5	41.0	46.3
	Speakers					
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
Left	66.2	29.8	3.8	58.9	34.6	6.4
Right	62.3	33.7	3.8	61.0	35.0	3.8
Center	56.1	32.1	11.6	47.8	38.4	13.6

do have images similar to these, as Tables 15 and 16 indicate. The inconsistencies in influences on images of both self-image and tolerance are minor and of a similar degree.

High political awareness, like tolerance and self-image, produced images of extensive censorship. The least politically aware students conceived of the least censorship of anti-McCarthy speakers. Also, this group (as opposed to high awareness) conceived of the period as having the least prohibition of public speaking because of association with Communism.

Political party preference and sympathy toward the Civil Rights

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system of equations

$$\begin{aligned} \dot{x} &= -x + y, \\ \dot{y} &= x - y, \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

where x and y are functions of time t . The system (1) is a linear system of ordinary differential equations with constant coefficients.

2. The second part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system of equations

$$\begin{aligned} \dot{x} &= -x + y, \\ \dot{y} &= x - y, \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

where x and y are functions of time t . The system (2) is a linear system of ordinary differential equations with constant coefficients.

3. The third part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system of equations

$$\begin{aligned} \dot{x} &= -x + y, \\ \dot{y} &= x - y, \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

where x and y are functions of time t . The system (3) is a linear system of ordinary differential equations with constant coefficients.

4. The fourth part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system of equations

$$\begin{aligned} \dot{x} &= -x + y, \\ \dot{y} &= x - y, \end{aligned} \quad (4)$$

where x and y are functions of time t . The system (4) is a linear system of ordinary differential equations with constant coefficients.

5. The fifth part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system of equations

$$\begin{aligned} \dot{x} &= -x + y, \\ \dot{y} &= x - y, \end{aligned} \quad (5)$$

where x and y are functions of time t . The system (5) is a linear system of ordinary differential equations with constant coefficients.

6. The sixth part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system of equations

$$\begin{aligned} \dot{x} &= -x + y, \\ \dot{y} &= x - y, \end{aligned} \quad (6)$$

Movement were the only two factors of political character producing no significant relations with this issue. In both cases, no consistent influences on any particular images were found.

Attitudes toward McCarthy methods of investigation and toward large, economic institutions, like self-image, tolerance, and awareness, showed consistent influences on the formation of particular images of censorship. In all cases, responses here were in the same direction as in the latter three.

TABLE 17

ATTITUDES TOWARD McCARTHY METHODS AND CONCEPTIONS OF
CENSORSHIP OF ANTI-McCARTHY SPEAKERS AT MSU
AND AT OTHER COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Attitude	MSU			Other Coll. & Univ.		
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
Favor	8.9	44.6	46.4	10.7	57.1	32.1
Opposed	16.8	38.8	44.2	16.6	52.8	30.4
Indiff.	10.7	35.7	53.5	7.2	56.3	36.3

Those students who responded as favoring McCarthy methods of investigation if they had been adults in the early fifties conceived of censorship of anti-McCarthy speakers as being substantially less than those who conceived themselves as having opposed his methods (Table 17). Running these same McCarthy method attitudes against student conceptions of censorship at various universities in the United States, the trend recorded was the same. Those

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The second is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

The third is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The fourth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

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The ninth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The tenth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

The eleventh is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The twelfth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

The thirteenth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The fourteenth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

The fifteenth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The sixteenth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

The seventeenth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The eighteenth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

The nineteenth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The twentieth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

The twenty-first is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The twenty-second is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

The twenty-third is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The twenty-fourth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

The twenty-fifth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The twenty-sixth is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

favoring McCarthy methods saw more censorship in all locations except the East. This exception has been a consistent one throughout this research and reflects stereotypes of academic freedom in these private universities.

Labor-libertarians also produced images characterized by high censorship for several universities in various locations of the country. This was consistent with their images of censorship of anti-McCarthy speakers on their home campus and at various other colleges and universities.

The second type of image which responses provided was that concerning conceptions of academic freedom. Here, we were interested in what types of students responded with peculiar images of limitations put on professorial and student activities.

TABLE 18

COMPARISON OF STUDENT IMAGES OF PROFESSORIAL AND
STUDENT FREEDOM AT MSU AND OTHER UNIVERSITIES

Group	MSU			Other Coll. & Univ.		
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
Students	37.9	41.2	20.8	35.5	36.8	27.6
Professors	31.6	32.2	36.1	37.6	49.4	12.8

With respect to images alone in this area, a comparison of images of limitations on student as opposed to professorial activities was made. Respondents saw more limitations as having been put on student than professorial activities at MSU. The reverse

tendency is marked for other universities (Table 18).

A more significant image, with respect to the issue of academic freedom was found in reference to statements linked to Communism or Marxism. As Table 19 illustrates, Marxist student organizations,

TABLE 19
CONCEPTIONS OF LIMITATIONS ON STUDENT FREEDOM

Limitation	MSU			Other Coll. & Univ.		
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
Oaths req. (students)	13.6	31.8	54.4	----	----	----
Classroom Bugging	16.1	45.5	38.2	23.9	50.8	25.2
Degrees Withheld	12.7	37.5	49.6	16.7	50.5	32.6
Marxist Organiz. Prohibit.	37.2	45.4	17.3	39.1	52.7	8.1

for both MSU and other universities, were thought to have been more influenced by McCarthyism than the other types of limitations on student activities. Inhibitions on professorial freedom for possible Communist ties were conceived similarly (Table 20). Those instructors whose "anti-American" activities were linked with the Soviet Union were more highly censored in the McCarthy era than those merely critical of the country. Whether at MSU or other universities, professors having visited the Soviet Union were seen as having undergone subsequent withdrawal of some academic rights.

TABLE 20
STUDENT CONCEPTIONS OF LIMITATIONS ON PROFESSORIAL FREEDOM

Limitation	MSU			Other Coll. & Univ.		
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
Dismiss Critics	15.8	51.3	32.7	----	----	----
Visit USSR	30.7	50.4	18.8	37.6	49.4	12.8

In relating these images of academic freedom to student character, factors which had no significant relationship to any particular image variables were: physical background, college rank and academic major, and class. College rank in this case was not evident of any convergence regardless of level of experience.

Political character was again most significant in having the greatest consistency between particular political sympathies and images of limitations on academic freedom. As with images of censorship, positive attitudes toward the Civil Rights Movement were not strongly evident of significant images of extensive agreement to occurrences of limitations, however, in this case there is somewhat a trend of responses being in this direction. As Table 21 shows, those issues associated with Marxism have a larger response with reference to limits having been put on the freedom of these types of student organizations from students sympathetic to the Civil Rights Movement than from opposite responses to the Movement. Images on the occurrence of mandatory loyalty oaths for students

TABLE 21

ATTITUDES TOWARD CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND CONCEPTIONS
OF LIMITATIONS ON STUDENT FREEDOM

Attitude	Loyalty Oaths			Student Marxist Org.			Prohibited Other Coll.		
	D	MSU M	DN	D	MSU M	DN	D	M	DN
Sympath.	15.2	32.0	52.6	40.9	44.3	14.7	41.4	51.1	7.3
Unsym.	15.8	30.1	53.9	35.2	40.0	24.6	38.0	46.0	15.8
Indiff.	8.0	32.3	59.5	24.2	52.5	23.2	28.7	61.3	5.9

attending MSU were not substantially related to either attitude toward Civil Rights. As in previous results, Communist or Marxist association increased the responses of all groups of students toward "did occur."

Political self-image, that is whether students thought of themselves as "left," "right," or "center," here was inconsistent in its support of particular images. In some cases, a leftist self-image saw more occurrences of limitations on student and professorial freedom, while in others the reverse was noted.

Tolerance, in most instances, was consistent with patterns previously noted. Students who scored high in tolerance of political minority groups also conceived of the McCarthy period as making for required loyalty oaths from students, banned Marxist student political organizations, and the withholding of degrees for unpatriotic behavior (Table 22). In one instance, with reference to classroom "bugging," an inconsistency in this tendency was noted, but this was not diagonally uniform in any direction.

With respect to limits put on professorial freedom, a similar finding emerged. Students were asked to respond to the following statements: "Some college instructors who were critical of many aspects of life in the United States were dismissed from this University because of such charges," and "Several professors at this University who had at one time visited the Soviet Union were required to appear before the McCarthy subcommittee and explain the circumstances." For the first statement, highly tolerant persons responded with images of high occurrence. However, in this case,

TABLE 22

POLITICAL TOLERANCE AND IMAGES OF
LIMITATIONS ON STUDENT FREEDOM

Tol.	Classroom Bugging				Marxist Stud. Org. Banned							
	MSU D	MSU M	Other D	Other M	MSU D	MSU M	Other D	Other M				
High	15.8	44.9	39.2	23.4	52.3	24.1	39.5	45.2	15.1	41.2	52.3	6.3
Med.	16.6	46.7	36.5	21.4	56.4	22.0	36.9	46.3	16.6	38.5	53.0	8.3
Low	16.2	44.1	39.5	26.1	41.6	32.1	29.0	43.0	27.9	32.9	52.9	14.1
Degrees Withheld for Disloy.												
Loyalty Oaths												
High	14.8	36.7	48.4	19.3	49.3	31.3	17.4	31.3	51.2			
Med.	10.8	39.1	50.0	14.1	53.8	32.0	12.3	34.0	53.6			
Low	11.4	36.7	51.7	16.2	45.3	38.3	4.5	27.5	67.8			

as Table 23 shows, the results were not completely diagonally consistent. Responses to professors being investigated for having

TABLE 23
POLITICAL TOLERANCE AND IMAGES OF
LIMITATIONS ON PROFESSORIAL FREEDOM

Tol.	Dism. of Crit. Prof.			Invest. Prof. to USSR		
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
High	16.7	50.9	33.2	32.2	50.9	16.7
Med.	15.2	49.6	35.1	29.3	51.8	18.8
Low	15.1	58.1	26.7	30.2	43.0	26.7

visited the Soviet Union were diagonally consistent however, and in the direction previously noted for political character.

Those images of academic freedom which we ran against political awareness were inconsistent in trends. Some instances were similar to findings on tolerance--for instance, with respect to possibility of occurrence of limits having been put on student activities. But, in most cases these were not diagonally consistent. For example, for both occurrence and non-occurrence, the highest proportions of response came from the highly aware on statements referring to the banning of Marxist student political organizations.

Students opposing McCarthy methods of investigation generally felt that greater restraints were placed on professorial activity associated with the Soviet Union than those favoring McCarthy techniques. Although both groups (see Table 24) tended to see

TABLE 24

CONCEPTIONS OF LIMITATIONS ON PROFESSORIAL
FREEDOM AND ATTITUDES TOWARD McCARTHY METHODS

Attitude	Dism. of Crit. Prof.			Invest. Prof. to USSR		
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
Favor	19.6	44.6	35.7	30.9	43.6	25.4
Opposed	17.0	52.2	30.6	32.4	50.4	17.0
Indiff.	10.5	59.6	29.8	26.3	54.3	19.2

occurrences in a similar manner, it appears that the extent of influence ("direction") on the general image ("character") when comparing proportional representations of "favor" and "oppose" students supports the direction of data in previous comparisons of student political character and images, although not completely consistently. With respect to student freedom, however, the trend is more uniform. Here (see Table 25), those opposed to McCarthy methods had images characterized by more occurrence of prohibitions on student activities pertinent to the early fifties. This was diagonally consistent.

Creative freedom was viewed by students as being quite restrained in the McCarthy era. When asked whether they thought novelists, playwrights, and poets were investigated by McCarthy for alleged Communist sympathies in their works, 67.7% responded that this most likely did occur, while only 5.4% of the students saw the era as having a relatively high degree of freedom in the

TABLE 25

CONCEPTIONS OF LIMITATIONS ON STUDENT FREEDOM
AND ATTITUDE TOWARD MCCARTHY METHODS

Attitude	Loyalty Oaths				Marxist Stud. Org. Prohibited			
	MSU		DN		MSU		Other Coll.	
	D	M	D	DN	D	M	D	DN
Favor	7.1	32.1	60.7	30.3	48.2	21.4	37.5	46.4
Opposed	15.8	31.2	52.8	40.1	44.9	14.8	41.6	51.3
Indiff.	7.0	31.5	61.4	19.6	37.8	27.2	17.3	48.0
								6.6

TABLE 26
IMAGES OF RESTRAINTS ON CREATIVE FREEDOM

	D	M	DN
Artists investigated by McCarthy	67.7	26.7	5.4

creative arts (Table 26). This large proportion of "did occur" responses, as in previous cases, is most likely related to the fact of association with Communism, McCarthy's most general target.

The foregoing image concerning creative freedom constitutes the third type of response in ideation which was related to social character. Factors which had in previous cases not been significant empirically, and moreover, gave us no reason theoretically to believe that any significance would emerge (in any direction) in relations between images and character were not tested.

One factor that seemed to possibly be significant with respect to college background in student character was academic major. It was thought, as was the case with social science majors and images of censorship of particular political opinion, that persons majoring in the humanities (because of the related nature of "creative freedom") might have different images from either social or physical science majors. However, as was previously so when academic major was tested for significant images, a student's field of specialization made little difference in the formation of particular conceptions. As Table 27 shows, humanities and social science majors do

TABLE 27

ACADEMIC MAJOR AND IMAGES OF
INHIBITIONS ON CREATIVE FREEDOM

Major	D	M	DN
Hum.	70.3	22.2	7.4
Soc. Sci.	72.9	19.3	7.7
Phy. Sci.	58.6	34.4	6.8

not differ much for either occurrence or non-occurrence responses. However, as a group there is a gap with respect to occurrence between them and the physical sciences. This, though, is not significant diagonally.

Other aspects of student social character which had proved to be related in previous instances (e.g., location and other factors constituting political character) were inconsistent in any particular direction with respect to images produced on creative freedom. These inconsistencies were of the nature of, (1) all possibilities of occurrence were high or low for a single social characteristic, or (2) near equal degrees of occurrence or non-occurrence emerged with comparable degrees of several social characteristics.

Statements relating McCarthyism and mass media activity were analyzed for content of response by asking students to react to such possible occurrences as: (1) anti-McCarthy sympathies being investigated in radio and television, (2) negative portrayals of Russians in the media, and (3) media refusal to carry any cultural

TABLE 28
IMAGES OF IMPACT OF McCARTHYISM ON MASS MEDIA

	D	M	DN
Anti-McCarthy sympathies in- vestigated	51.3	41.5	17.2
Neg. portrayal of Russians in media	67.9	25.8	6.2
Radio and TV banned all Russian culture	29.1	48.1	22.6

programming linked to the Soviet Union. Students conceived the former two occurrences as highly possible, while the idea of all subjects somewhat hinged to Russian culture as having been eliminated seemed less likely (see Table 28).

These images of the effect of McCarthy on mass media constitute the fourth type of conception examined socially. Here also, the most significant relationship with student character was with political factors. The trends here were in a direction consistent with previous findings.

Tolerance of minority political groups and images of the impact of McCarthy activities on mass media with respect to subjects associated with Russian culture were related in that the most tolerant individuals tended to see more intolerance as a result of McCarthyism in all the issues at hand. This shows relative diagonal consistency (see Table 29).

TABLE 29
POLITICAL TOLERANCE AND IMAGE OF IMPACT OF MCCARTHY ON MASS MEDIA

Tolerance	No Russ. Culture		Anti-McC. invest.		Neg. Portra. of Russ.				
	D	M	D	M	D	DN			
High	32.0	46.3	21.5	51.8	42.0	6.0	68.9	25.3	5.6
Med.	27.8	53.2	18.8	53.6	38.7	7.6	71.5	22.2	6.2
Low	22.0	39.5	38.3	42.5	48.2	9.1	52.9	38.8	8.2

TABLE 30

POLITICAL SELF-IMAGE AND CONCEPTIONS OF
IMPACT OF McCARTHY ON MASS MEDIA

Self-Image	No. Russ. Culture		Anti-McC. invest.		Neg. Portra. of Russ.	
	D	M	D	M	D	DN
Left	44.8	42.3	55.1	38.4	70.5	20.5 8.9
Right	31.6	43.0	59.4	37.9	69.2	25.6 5.1
Center	28.4	49.4	49.8	43.0	68.1	26.0 5.7

Political self-image produced images consistent with tolerance in the direction of image-character relationship. In most instances, those who defined themselves as being politically left also saw more intolerance of Russian culture in the mass media due to McCarthy activities (see Table 30).

In the last instance, we asked students to respond to statements concerning activities of McCarthy and their possible effect on labor unions. One statement referred to the investigation of unions in general for alleged Communist leadership and the other more directly concerned questioning of leaders before McCarthy's subcommittee. In both instances, as Table 31 illustrates, students conceived of these inquiries as highly possible occurrences.

TABLE 31
STUDENT CONCEPTIONS OF
IMPACT OF McCARTHY ON LABOR UNIONS

	D	M	DN
Leaders questionned	76.5	22.7	0.7
Unions investigated	73.7	25.2	1.0

As with previous images, students who considered themselves to be politically left proportionately contributed more to images of occurrence than persons who conceived themselves as being right (Table 32). This was diagonally uniform. Other factors showed no

TABLE 32

POLITICAL SELF-IMAGE AND CONCEPTIONS OF
IMPACT OF McCARTHY ON LABOR UNIONS

Self-Image	Leaders question.			Unions investig.		
	D	M	DN	D	M	DN
Left	83.3	16.6	00.0	80.7	17.9	1.2
Right	80.7	17.9	1.2	79.4	19.2	1.2
Center	75.3	23.7	0.9	72.1	26.6	1.1

particular relationships between image and background that were consistent in either direction.

IMPLICATIONS

The relationship between our existential base, viz., the social character of undergraduates, and the various images that have emerged in this research has generally supported the hypotheses which we originally posed. The findings with respect to type of existential factor most related to the images of McCarthyism have consistently been the same. Those social characteristics most like the images called for have been most influential in predicting what aspects of character would be most related in some consistent manner to image formation.

Our initial hierarchy of varied degrees of influence that each stated social factor would have has generally held true. However, a more equalized position for both class and location is necessary in their respective influences on the types of image of

concern to this research. Consequently, our third hypothesis, on the basis of our data, would necessitate the placing of location at least next to class in intensity after the various aspects of political character in its consistent relationship to specific images, although all the factors listed in the hypothetical hierarchy were nearly equal in their consistently minor relatedness to images.

The hypothesis formulated in reference to image formation per se has worked itself out in the peculiar types of conceptions that emerged on the effects of McCarthy on varied activities of the period. Although the various statements listed in the questionnaire were all in some way of importance to the early fifties (that is, they were issues widely discussed publicly), images of occurrence are not necessarily, in any specific case, close to what actually occurred. What is a property of image theory is that conceptions of what might have occurred are very much influenced by the prevalent stereotypes and moods of the milieu of those persons imagining. Thus, stereotypes that emerged (such as location in the United States of most prevalent activities) or the "direction" of specific images for the most related character-image ties, seems to be highly influenced by contemporary cultural factors.

The nature of the images that emerge from any group can be influenced by a large number of possibly varying factors. For this research, we have held constant such variables as: historical experience influencing images, and, university structure and

culture. In considering each of these cases, existing theory would tend to make one predict that deviations in the nature (character) of images from those coming out of the research would be evident.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire

Dept. of Sociology

Spring, 1966

Although you may not have direct knowledge and perhaps haven't read much about the McCarthy era, if you had to guess at the answers to the following questions based on your impressions of this period, how would you respond to them? The following questions concern possible occurrences in the United States during the years from approximately 1950 to 1955--the "McCarthy period."

Part I. Mark the following as either:

(a) Most likely did occur,
(b) Might have occurred, or
(c) Most likely did not occur.

	<u>Most likely did occur.</u>	<u>Might have occurred.</u>	<u>Most likely did not occur.</u>
1. Books on Communism were removed from this University's library.	_____	_____	_____
2. Books or other literature on Communism were removed from:			
(a) other university libraries in the Midwest.	_____	_____	_____
(b) private university libraries in the East.	_____	_____	_____
(c) college or university libraries in the South.	_____	_____	_____
(d) major university libraries on the West Coast.	_____	_____	_____
3. Literature critical of the United States was removed from public access in this University's library.	_____	_____	_____
4. Literature critical of the United States was removed from public access in:			
(a) other large university libraries in the Midwest.	_____	_____	_____

	<u>Most likely did occur.</u>	<u>Might have occur- red.</u>	<u>Most likely did not occur.</u>
(b) private university li- braries in the East.	—	—	—
(c) college or university libraries in the South.	—	—	—
(d) major university librar- ies on the West Coast.	—	—	—
5. Books on Communism were removed from public libraries in:			
(a) Chicago	—	—	—
(b) Dearborn, Michigan	—	—	—
(c) Detroit	—	—	—
(d) Escanaba, Michigan	—	—	—
(e) Grand Rapids, Michigan	—	—	—
(f) Grosse Pointe, Michigan	—	—	—
(g) Mansfield, Ohio	—	—	—
(h) New York City	—	—	—
(i) Savannah, Georgia	—	—	—
6. Speakers known to be greatly critical of the United States were not permitted to speak on this University's campus.	—	—	—
7. Speakers known to be critical of the United States were not permitted to speak at:			
(a) other large university campuses in the Midwest.	—	—	—
(b) private university campuses in the East.	—	—	—
(c) college or university campuses in the South.	—	—	—
(d) major university campuses on the West Coast.	—	—	—
8. Persons with political views strongly opposing Senator McCarthy were not permitted to speak on this Univer- sity's campus.	—	—	—

	<u>Most likely did occur.</u>	<u>Might have occur- red.</u>	<u>Most likely did not occur.</u>
9. Persons with political views strongly opposing Senator McCarthy were not permitted to speak at other colleges and universities.	—	—	—
10. Persons identified with the Communist Party were not permitted to speak on this University's campus.	—	—	—
11. Persons identified with the Communist Party were not permitted to speak at:			
(a) Albion College	—	—	—
(b) Alma College	—	—	—
(c) Aquinas College	—	—	—
(d) Central Michigan University	—	—	—
(e) Northern Michigan University	—	—	—
(f) University of Michigan	—	—	—
(g) Wayne State University	—	—	—
(h) Western Michigan University	—	—	—
12. Some college instructors who were critical of many aspects of life in the United States were dismissed from this University because of such charges.	—	—	—
13. . . . from other colleges and universities.	—	—	—
14. Several professors at this University who had at one time visited the Soviet Union were required to appear before the McCarthy subcommittee and explain the circumstances.	—	—	—

	<u>Most likely did occur.</u>	<u>Might have occur- red.</u>	<u>Most likely did not occur.</u>
15. . . . several professors at other universities.	—	—	—
16. At the height of the McCarthy period, music by Russian composers was not played or sung by orchestra or choral groups at this University.	—	—	—
17. . . . by orchestral groups in large American cities.	—	—	—
18. Radio and television stations refrained from carrying pro- grams dealing with Russian culture.	—	—	—
19. The mass media portrayed Russians in a highly negative and stereotypic fashion.	—	—	—
20. Radio and television stations with anti-McCarthy editorial policies were investigated by the McCarthy Senate sub- committee.	—	—	—
21. There were a small number of au- thenticated instances, not revealed until several years later in which classrooms and faculty offices at this University were wired or "bugged" in an effort by McCarthy investigators to secure evidence against college "subversives."	—	—	—
22. . . . at some other colleges and universities.	—	—	—

	<u>Most likely did occur.</u>	<u>Might have occur- red.</u>	<u>Most likely did not occur.</u>
23. McCarthy's chief investigators, Cohn and Schine, visited campuses of colleges and universities, during which time, among other activities, they urged students to act as "stool-pigeons" or informers in reporting evidence of subversion on the part of their professors.	—	—	—
24. In a few instances, higher degrees, such as M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s were withheld from qualified students at this University because of their alleged membership in "unpatriotic" organizations.	—	—	—
25. . . . at some other colleges and universities.	—	—	—
26. Loyalty oaths were required from entering students at many colleges and universities in order to register.	—	—	—
27. Student political organizations espousing any Marxist ideas were not permitted on this University's campus.	—	—	—
28. . . . at other colleges and universities.	—	—	—
29. No organization with Marxist ideas was ever banned from this University's campus.	—	—	—
30. . . . from other college and university campuses.	—	—	—
31. Trade and industrial unions were investigated for alleged Communist leadership.	—	—	—

	Most likely did <u>occur.</u>	Might have occur- <u>red.</u>	Most likely did not <u>occur.</u>
32. Union leaders were questioned before the McCarthy sub-committee.	—	—	—
33. Several novelists, playwrights, and poets, both American and foreign ex-patriot, were investigated by McCarthy because of alleged Communist influence in their works.	—	—	—

Part II. Supply the answers for the following questions in the blanks at the right.

1. Richard J. Daley is currently Mayor of the City of Chicago. True or False? _____
2. Who was Secretary of State of the United States in 1950? _____
3. In which House of the United States Congress must bills for raising revenue originate? _____
4. General George C. Marshall was Supreme Allied Commander during World War I. True or False? _____
5. Name the current junior United States Senator from Michigan. _____
6. The Nebraska legislature is unicameral. True or False? _____
7. Alger Hiss was an official in what branch of the federal government? _____
8. Who was the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee at the close of the 87th Congress? _____
9. In 1962, in a case involving the voter registration of Negroes in Alabama, the Supreme Court ruled that Federal Judges have the right to order specific persons onto the voting rolls. True or False? _____

10. Who was the losing candidate for Governor of California in 1962? _____
11. Who is the present United States Senate minority leader? _____
12. What new Cabinet department was created by legislation signed by President Johnson on September 9, 1965? _____
13. What state was Senator Joe McCarthy from? _____
14. The U.S. Supreme Court in 1965 upheld a section of the 1959 federal Landrum-Griffin Act which made it a crime for a Communist to be an officer of a labor union. True or False? _____
15. Who is the current Secretary of Defense in Johnson's administration? _____
16. Who won the New York City mayoral primary for the Democratic Party on September 14, 1965? _____
17. In 1954, several members of Congress were shot and killed in the Senate chamber by Cuban spectators. True or False? _____
18. What German-born atomic physicist, having at one time worked at Los Alamos, New Mexico, pleaded guilty on March 1, 1950 at Harwell, England to violating the Official Secrets Act and received 14 years in prison? _____

Part III. Answer the following questions at the right in the spaces provided.

- | | Yes
== | Yes,
<u>qualified</u>
== | No
== |
|--|-----------|--------------------------------|----------|
| 1. In peacetime, do you think the Socialist party should be allowed to publish newspapers in this country? | — | — | — |
| 2. Do you think newspapers should be allowed to criticize our form of government? | — | — | — |

- | | Yes | Yes,
<u>qualified</u> | No |
|--|-----|--------------------------|----|
| 3. Do you think members of the Communist party in this country should be allowed to speak on the radio? | — | — | — |
| 4. Do you feel that the Communist party should be given equal time, like other political groups, to express their views on television? | — | — | — |

Mark the following questions
"agree or "disagree"

- | | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> |
|--|--------------|-----------------|
| 5. The way they are run now, labor unions do this country more harm than good. | — | — |
| 6. Big companies control too much of American business. | — | — |

Part IV. Respondent's background
(Please do not write your name on this questionnaire.)

1. Age ____.
2. Sex ____.
3. Are you Negro ____, White ____, Oriental ____, or other (specify) _____?
4. Place of birth: _____, _____, _____.
 city state country
5. Present home residence: _____, _____, _____.
(not school address) city state country
6. Present rank at this university:
Freshman _____
Sophomore _____
Junior _____
Senior _____
Grad. Stud. _____

7. If graduate student, at what college or university did you earn your bachelor's degree?

_____, _____
Name of college or university location

8. Field of specialization at this University (your present academic major):

9. Father's occupation: _____.

10. Is your father self-employed? no ___, yes ___.

11. If not self-employed, for what type of business or industry does your father work?

_____.

12. Does your father belong to a labor union? no ___, yes ___.

13. What is the last grade your father finished in school?

1-8 _____
9-11 _____
High Sch. grad. _____
Some College _____
College grad. _____

14. What would you estimate your father's income to have been for last year?

(circle one) A. Below \$5,000
 B. \$5,000--\$10,000
 C. \$10,000--\$15,000
 D. \$15,000--\$20,000
 E. Above \$20,000

15. What is your religious preference? Catholic _____
 Jewish _____
 Protestant _____
 Other _____

16. Where would you place yourself politically? Left _____
 Right _____
 Center _____

17. Do you usually find yourself supporting Republican ___, Democratic ___, or other ___ candidates?

18. Do you feel that you are sympathetic ____, unsympathetic ____,
or indifferent ____ to the Civil Rights Movement?
19. If you had been (or were) an adult during the McCarthy period,
do you think you would have been in favor ____, opposed ____,
or indifferent ____ to his methods of investigation?

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