THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FRAMEWORK FOR TESTING THE AWARENESS OF THE INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL CHILD OF FOREIGN CULTURES AND POLITICAL ACTORS

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to provide a framework from which a testing instrument may be developed which would test the intermediate school child for awareness of foreign cultures and political actors. As the reader proceeds with the examination of this study, it is of fundamental importance that the following considerations be kept in mind: (1) The questions that are presented are samples of types of questions that may be used in such a testing instrument, not the final set of testing questions. The questions must be examined in this perspective rather than as tested questions. (2) The author is aware of the difficulty of item construction and evaluation. The reader must recognize that within this study no attempt has been made to evaluate each specific item, and the difficulty of constructing items which test what the intermediate child believes rather than what social scientists think he believes is quite evident to the author. (3) This study is not a blueprint for the final construction of a testing instrument, but instead is an attempt to present to the reader an introduction to the investigation of the intermediate school child's awareness of foreign cultures and political actors.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the members of my committee, Mr. Dale M. Garvey, Mr. Earl Rohrbaugh, Mr. Kenneth Howard, and Mr. Douglas Nelson, for their vital assistance in the preparation of this study. I also wish to thank my wife for the typing and for the continual encouragement without which this study could not have been completed.

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CHAPTER I

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND FOREIGN AWARENESS

The world community is in a transitional stage. Because of the tremendous advances of science, technology and their by-products, the old nineteenth century system of world politics has disintegrated. In its place a new world community has developed in which each member has become, willingly or unwillingly, more and more dependent upon the other members of the same world community. Man is now living, at one and the same time, on at least three levels of human organization in international relations: (1) the old nation-state, (2) regional organization, and (3) the international community.[1] Technologically, economically, and politically all mankind is living in an ever-shrinking world. With this drawing together of nations many critical, confusing and paradoxical questions must be faced.

Besides the age-old problems of inadequate food supplies, unhealthful living conditions, unemployment, and the exhaustion of natural resources, man and the nation-state

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[1]Vera Micheles Dean, "International Relations," Political Science in the Social Studies, Thirty-sixth Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies, (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1966), p. 92.

will be forced to examine some very basic questions concerning the future. Most important of these questions is whether the nation-state can learn to work together with other such states in larger and still larger groups that cut across national boundaries and rise above national interests for the common good of a world community.[2]

The United States, because of its position as a world power, occupies a central place in the continuum of world politics. It is clear from past experiences that the United States, whether it likes it or not, will continue to be involved in relations between nations. The United States and its citizens have no real choice but to concern themselves deeply with the forces of change at work within the international community. If the goal of America is world peace, cooperation among nations and understanding of others are fundamental.[3]

Before cooperation among nations and understanding of others can be achieved, the citizens within these nation-states must be taught that these are desirable goals. In order to educate the citizen it is necessary to understand

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Norman J. Padelford and George A. Lincoln, The Dynamics of International Relations, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), p. 21.

how he develops his political beliefs and also the extent of his awareness of foreign cultures and peoples.

The basic concern of this study, therefore, shall be the development of a framework from which a testing instrument may be developed which shall reliably and validly determine the awareness of school children between the ages of nine and thirteen. The test instrument shall be designed to determine the awareness of these children in two fundamental areas. First, when do children become aware of foreign cultures and peoples? Secondly, when do children become aware of the roles of the dominant political actors within these foreign cultures?

The study shall not attempt to develop a testing instrument in its final form, but instead shall focus primarily upon the development of the background and framework for the construction of the testing instrument. This study is only the beginning step in a series.

The necessity of such a study is based upon the importance of the early adolescent years upon the political beliefs of a child and the dramatic changes that have and are occurring in the world community. During the period from ages nine to thirteen, many critical social-psychological changes are taking place within the child. It is during the last three years of elementary school and the first two years of

junior high school that the child moves from a nearly complete ignorance of adult politics to an awareness of the more obvious features of the adult political arena.[4] It is during these age levels that the "social and political learning. . . become a part of the individual's basic psychic equipment."[5] The fourth-grader and ninth-grader are, as a consequence, quite different in their outlooks.

The nine-year-old, in a middle-class family, is in almost all respects, still a small child. He is dependent upon his parents and other adults for his needs and behavioral guidelines. His world is one of games, toys, and make-believe. By thirteen, however, quite noticeable changes are occurring. The pubertal physiological changes have begun for most girls and also for many boys. Heterosexual interests are beginning to become important influencers of behavioral patterns. For the eighth-grader the world is no longer centered around the family, but now extends to such activities as meetings with friends, dating, and discussions about future life goals.[6] David Easton and Robert Hess, therefore,

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[4]Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 1.

[5]Ibid., p. 81.

[6]Ibid., pp. 1-2. It should be noted that the stated description is limited to what may be termed a "normal"

conclude that it is these early years that are "the crucial time for training in citizenship attitudes."[7]

If this age is to be considered as the "crucial time" for citizenship training, it is of fundamental importance to the developing child that he become cognizant of the rapidly changing world of which he is a member. The old nineteenth century system of world politics has disintegrated and the world community is now in what may be called a transitional stage. The new world community which was brought about by the tremendous growth of science and technology and their by-products, is one of interdependence. This drawing together of nations has created many critical, confusing, and paradoxical questions which must be faced by future citizens.

If the population trend continues to spiral upward, tomorrow's citizens will have to deal with a multitude of critical issues. The overcrowded nations will be faced with inadequate food supplies, unhealthful living conditions, unemployment, and the exhaustion of natural resources. These are, of course, not new problems to any age, but they shall

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middle-class existence. Research of the other groupings within American society is at this time lacking.

[7]Robert Hess and David Easton, "Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," in The School Review, CXX (1962), p. 264.

be much more complex questions than they have been heretofore. Because of the mushrooming advances in science and technology, man faces not only a shrinking world, but also the very real possibility that the world could be annihilated through nuclear war. The responses to these critical problems have created a confusing era.

The nation-states have attempted to maximize their position in the world community,[8] and as a result they have and are dividing into politically, ideologically, and often emotionally antagonistic blocs.[9] But at the same time, there is a recognition that the nation-state is becoming less and less effective in providing the standards of welfare and the assurance of security that the citizen demands.[10] As a result, there is an increasing dependence of peoples on some type of a system of world politics and a growing sensitivity to world affairs. There is more emphasis on people and on individual leadership.[11]

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[8]Otto Butz, Of Man and Politics: An Introduction to Political Science, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 263.

[9]Gwendolen M. Carter and John H. Herz, Government and Politics in the Twentieth Century, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 193.

[10]Butz, Of Man and Politics, p. 263.

[11]Padelford and Lincoln, International Politics, p. 21.

World politics cannot be studied apart from American politics and neither can the United States separate itself from international politics. The two are intrinsically linked.[12] According to the President's Commission on National Goals, "We [the United States] should seek to mitigate tensions and search for areas of accomodation." The corollary for such interdependence is cooperation and understanding.[13]

It is important that citizens learn of the difficulties of developing a world in which nations cooperate in a responsible fashion, and of the specific obstacles and threats to peace. It is important that they learn to think clearly about the solutions to world problems.[14] It is also important that citizens learn that they are dealing not with general terms--region, nation; nor national, regional, international organizations; nor political, economic, social, and ideological forces. Instead they are dealing with "people",

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[12] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

[13] President's Commission on National Goals, "Goals for Americans," in Crucial Issues in the Teaching of Social Studies, Byron G. Massialas and Andreas Kazamias, eds., (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 6.

[14] National Council for the Social Studies, Improving the Teaching of World Affairs: The Glens Falls Story, Bulletin Number 35, National Council for the Social Studies, (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1964), p. 15.

with human beings who are born, live, and die; who rejoice and mourn; who triumph and suffer; who create and destroy both ideas and institutions; who respond to persuasion as well as bow to force.[15] And it is of fundamental importance for Americans to understand that world problems would not be solved if only other people would feel, think, and act as Americans.

Consequently, because the period between the years of nine to thirteen is a critical time in the development of the political beliefs of a child and also because of the dramatic changes in the condition of the world community, an understanding of the awareness of foreign cultures and political actors is vital to the education of emerging citizens. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to probe the ages at which the young citizen acquires a heightened awareness of foreign cultures and their principal political actors.

I. POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: ITS ROLE WITHIN SOCIETY

A society, the most inclusive and continuous relationship in terms of which man pursues his fulfillment and survival, if it is to continue to exist must fulfill numerous

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[15]Dean, "International Relations," p. 85.

major conditions.[16] One of the essential conditions is the provision of an extensive process of education and re-education of the new and old members of that society. The citizens must have instilled in them dedication to the ideals that hold that society together and give it direction.[17] The citizen may acquire these ideals by imitating the adult roles in his immediate environment, learning about the world because of a motivation to satisfy emotional needs, or learning through actual instruction in the political ideologies and accepted values of his society.[18] If the individual is aware of the roles in his society, he then may be able to fulfill the role of the good citizen, the one who contributes effectively and responsibly to the management of public business in a society.[19] When the citizen begins to conform to the values of his culture, he has become socialized, and when he begins to adapt to his society's political culture,

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[16]Otto Butz, Of Man and Politics, pp. 4-5. For a discussion of these conditions see Butz, Of Man and Politics, pp. 4-6.

[17]Ibid., p. 5.

[18]Byron G. Massialas and C. Benjamin Cox, Inquiry in Social Studies, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), p. 179.

[19]Education Policies Commission, "The Central Purpose of American Education," in Crucial Issues in the Teaching of Social Studies, Byron G. Massialas and Andreas Kazamias, eds., (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964),p.10.

he has become politically socialized.[20]

Political socialization involves the following component processes which an individual must experience if he is to become a "politicalized" member of the society: (1) learning politically relevant basic behavior disciplines, such as the willingness to postpone or forego immediate personal goals in order to achieve a long-range goal of the society as a whole; (2) learning political aspirations, such as a desire to take part in politics; (3) learning political roles and attitudes that enable the individual to act in a socially sanctioned manner; (4) learning political skills so that an individual may effectively participate in the political activities of his society; and (5) learning information about political behavior, the structure of government, and the political issues that may assist the individual in his political decisions.[21]

The politicization process occurs both formally and

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[20]Byron Massialas and C. Benjamin Cox define political socialization as "the process through which a person acquires his basic political orientation from his environment." Massialas and Cox, Inquiry in Social Studies, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), p. 179.

[21]John Patrick, "Political Socialization of American Youth: A Review of Research With Implications for Secondary School Social Studies," a paper prepared for the High School Curriculum Center in Government, School of Education at Indiana University, March 1967, p. 2.

informally, deliberately and incidentally. The home, the school, and various interaction situations with peers all play important roles. The end toward which this process is aimed is the development of individuals who are integrated into the political society of their culture; who accept the society-sanctioned motives, habits and values; and who transmit these attitudes to the future generations.[22]

The stability and to a great degree the continued existence of political order depends ultimately upon politicization. Political socialization determines what the individual's political world is and whether or not he comes to terms successfully with it or becomes alienated from it, and whether a political system is maintained with gradual alternation, or is subjected to radical reformation. Loyalty and disloyalty, apathy and engagement, conformity and nonconformity are determined to a great extent by the nature of the political socialization process. If a society's political culture is transmitted effectively to each new generation, the possibility of the continued existence of that society is greatly enhanced.[23] Political socialization has been and continues to be a major function of all systems of education,

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., p. 4.

regardless of the prevailing social philosophy or political and economic practices in a given state.[24]

II. APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

The systematic studies of political socialization are of recent origin. During the period 1920-1950 only a few pertinent studies in this area were made. In the late 1920's and early 1930's, the more formal aspects of civic education were examined in a collection of studies sponsored by the American Historical Association. During this same era, Charles E. Merriam edited a nine-volume series on political development. These studies were, however, impressionistic and involved little or no observation of the developmental processes. The emphasis was placed upon the school system and youth groups.[25]

In the ensuing years research continued to be gathered, but more emphasis was placed on the accuracy of children's textbook learning than in terms of their perceptions of politics and their partisan motivations. In 1959, Herbert Hyman assembled certain of these earlier studies and reanalyzed

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[24]Massialas and Cox, Inquiry in Social Studies, p. 179.

[25]Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 6.

them in terms of their political implications.[26] Most research in this field dates from the seminal work by Hyman.

The most significant research in the area of the child's awareness of politics has been done by Fred I. Greenstein, Robert D. Hess and David Easton. In 1960, two investigations were reported; one by Greenstein and the other by Easton and Hess,[27] which led a series of investigations on the impact of early learning upon a child's political attitudes and actions. Greenstein, Easton, and Hess placed great stress upon the strength of early learning. Greenstein in his book Children and Politics states that early learning is quite resistant to change, and that the early learning experiences will shape those experiences that come later.[28] Easton and Hess share Greenstein's viewpoint about the fundamental importance of early learning. Through a series of tests in which a comparative study of high school and grade school pupils was conducted, Easton and Hess found that the

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[26]Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization, A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior, (New York: The Free Press at Glencoe, 1959).

[27]Fred I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," The American Political Science Review, CIV, (1960), pp. 934-43; Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Image of the President," The Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV, (1960), pp. 632-644.

[28]Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 80-82.

fundamental political attitudes and values of high school students concerning the political community were still quite similar to those held at the pre-high school level.[29] These three researchers have dominated the area of research in political socialization since their appearance in 1960.[30]

Although Greenstein, Easton and Hess are acknowledged leaders, much work has been done by other writers. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba suggest in their work, The Civic Culture, that exposure to higher education and opportunities to participate in decision-making at one's place of work may compensate for lack of family and school participatory experiences. Almond and Verba conclude that despite the influence that early childhood learning may have upon political behavior in adult life, numerous other factors may intervene between early childhood and the later adult political behavior. In fact, these other experiences of later learning may interact with family or school experiences, they may dampen or heighten the effects of that early socialization training

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[29]Robert Hess and David Easton, "The Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization, pp. 258-259.

[30]See Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 6-11, for a general bibliography of the major works in this area since 1920.

or they may substitute for it.[31]

Yehudi Cohen has accepted parts of the Greenstein-Hess-and-Easton theory, but has arrived at some conclusions which do not agree with some of the findings of the earlier researchers. Cohen believes that early childhood learning is unlikely to change if the beliefs learned at home are consistently reinforced outside the home. He found this to be true in primitive and/or agricultural societies where the family is still the dominant force in the development of behavioral patterns. Cohen concludes that in a modern, industrialized society where the family is no longer the center of control over behavior, early childhood learning does not play as important a role in shaping political beliefs because the individual is constantly influenced by fresh contacts from outside the home.[32]

These men in no way are all of the people who are involved in research in political socialization. The list

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[31]Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963) pp. 373-374. For a discussion of their concepts on political socialization see The Civic Culture, Chapter 12, pp. 323-374.

[32]Yehudi Cohen, Social Structure and Personality: A Casebook, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), pp. 106-112. For a discussion of these outside influences upon political socialization see the above mentioned work, Chapter 5, pp. 96-147.

could be almost endless because with each passing year new reports are published and new names are added to the growing roster of men and women involved in this area of research. The above mentioned men are, however, exemplary of the work that has been conducted. Their research and conclusions show the relatively new and unrefined nature of this area of study. The conclusions that have been reached are in many cases highly tentative and sometimes conflicting. For example, no exact answer has been found to the question, "How are political beliefs formed?" However, even with all the apparent shortcomings, the area of political socialization research is well recognized as an important, if not critical, part of assisting political scientists and educators to understand the socialization process.

The development of a means for testing awareness of foreign cultures and political actors, which to date has not been done, would be of significant value to the understanding of the political socialization of the individual and also to the field of social studies education. Through the administration of such an instrument and the analysis of the results, a better understanding of the child's awareness of foreign peoples would be gained. The questionnaire would permit an approach to answering the following questions:

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1. At what age does the child become aware of foreign peoples?

2. At what age does the child become aware of the governmental organization of a particular country and of the role or roles of the political actors within these systems?

3. What are the child's attitudes toward the foreign peoples and governments?

4. What changes occur in the child's awareness and attitudes during the intermediate school years?

The analysis of the results of the testing instrument may also be of significant value to the area of social studies education. Curriculum revision and changes in teaching methods may result from the study of the results of the above listed questions. Because the educator would have a better understanding of the child's awareness of, and attitude toward foreign peoples and governments, it would be possible to devise a social study curriculum which would be geared to the child's readiness to understand foreign peoples. Thus the education process would have a greater possibility of being a rewarding experience for the child.

III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FRAMEWORK TO TEST FOR AWARENESS OF FOREIGN PEOPLES AND POLITICAL ACTORS

PREVIEW OF CONTENTS:

The remainder of this study shall be devoted to two primary areas--the discussion of the political awareness of

the selected age group, and the development of a framework from which a questionnaire to test for the awareness of foreign peoples and political actors may be constructed.

Chapter Two of the study is devoted to the discussion of the political awareness of children in the age group nine to thirteen. Within this chapter a general picture shall be drawn concerning the political awareness of children toward government and the political actors of the political system. The material found within this section shall set the stage for the following chapters.

Chapter Three is devoted to the development of the framework from which a testing instrument may be constructed. The elementary school curriculum in the area of international understanding is briefly examined. Also, the various testing instruments that are currently available are reviewed. The major section of Chapter Three is devoted to constructing the framework for the testing instrument. Within this section the purposes of the questionnaire, the justification of these purposes, the types of questions, and a series of exemplary questions are presented. This section states specifically the goals and methodology of the testing instrument.

Chapter Four shall be a summary of the material presented, shall make suggestions for further research, and shall relate the significance of this study to the area of political socialization.

CHAPTER II

A SUMMARY OF THE POLITICAL BELIEFS OF THE INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL CHILD

The complex and imperfectly understood feelings of citizens toward political authority are vital to the equilibrium of society. All citizens have concepts about the political authorities and institutions within their own particular society. These assumptions, depending upon the success or kind of political socialization process, may either continue or disrupt the political stability of that body politic.

Research in political socialization in the past decade has shown that political stability depends upon generally favorable popular attitudes about government, political authority, law, political leaders, and the political system in general. These positive, supportive attitudes appear quite early and are well-developed by the fourth grade of elementary school.[1] Much of this learning is incidental and precisely because it is incidental, it has a

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[1]John Patrick, "Political Socialization of American Youth: A Review of Research With Implications for Secondary School Social Studies," a paper prepared for the High School Curriculum Center in Government, School of Education at Indiana Univeristy, March 1967, p. 7.

more lasting effect on the acquisition of political values and behavior.[2]

In this chapter the political beliefs and attitudes of the intermediate school child will be examined. Discussion will be centered on the over-all political awareness of the intermediate child and those external and internal stimuli that shape and determine his political attitudes and actions. By gaining such an insight into how the intermediate child views politics and political actors within his own society, the construction of a framework for a questionnaire to test for the awareness of foreign people and political actors will be made easier.

I. THE GENERAL POLITICAL AWARENESS

The political world to a child is a strange and bewildering phenomenon. The marks of the world are engraved early upon the child and are refurbished thereafter. The experiences with government are analogous to his early experiences of the family in that they involve an initial

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[2]Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLXI (September, 1965), pp. 4-5.

context of highly acceptable dependency.[3] Through these early years of development, a positive bond is welded between the child and his views toward government. This positive bond is difficult to break, even though by the seventh or eighth grade the child sees government in a much more realistic perspective than he did in the primary grades.[4]

What is most apparent to the child in the realm of politics is the existence of an authority outside the family and school.[5] During the elementary school years, this authority is represented by two separate areas. The first is the well-defined and concrete authority figures of the President and the policeman. The second area which is not understood as clearly as the former, but yet recognized as possessing some authority, is the conglomeration of governmental institutions which make up the structure of government.[6] The child formulates his attitudes toward these two areas of political authority on an emotional rather than a

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[3]David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLXI (September, 1965), p. 43.

[4]Ibid., p. 52.

[5]David Easton and Robert Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, VI, (1962), p. 240.

[6]Easton and Dennis, "Child's Image of Government," p. 42.

rational basis.[7] This first step is initially completed with essentially no information about the political figure except that he is an authority figure, and that his authority exceeds all other authority figures he has known.[8]

The child transfers his sentiments from the social objects of his environment such as parents, home and school to the newer, less-known political ones. As a consequence, these sentiments generally tend to be warm and positive.[9] He tends to transfer the attitudes to the political authorities that have been held toward other authority figures. These beliefs are shaped by the child's contact with other authority figures such as his parents, especially the father, and/or the concept of the king or prince that he meets through books, television or comics.[10] The political figures represent the extension of these parental or king-like figures. The political personality becomes an ideal parental model, which in turn results in: (1) an ease in the development of the attachment to the regime, and (2) a means by

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[7]Easton and Hess, "Child's Political World," p. 236.

[8]Fred Greenstein, "More on Children's Images of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV, (1961), p. 650.

[9]Easton and Hess, "Child's Political World," p. 237.

[10]Robert Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV, (1960), p.634.

which the child gives value to the entire system.[11]

The child idealizes political authority because he sees himself as quite vulnerable in the face of adult power and this creation of a positive feeling is a method which he uses to deal with this insecurity.[12] It is a way to seek a congenial form of accomodation, and by idealizing the child is able to allay fears and anxieties and turn the potentially threatening figure into a benevolent protector. This inner need on the part of the child to create a benevolent image of authority coincides with and is thereby strongly reinforced by the partial, idealized, and idealizing view of political life communicated to him by protective adults. Adults tend to shelter the child from the true nature of the political struggle and as a result the young child views politics through rose-colored glasses.[13] Because of these feelings and other attitudes, the child tends to believe that the political leaders of the nation are generally benevolent, the authority of government is legitimate and just, and that the nation is righteous and virtuous.

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[11]Easton and Hess, "Child's Political World," p. 242.

[12]Robert Hess and David Easton, "The Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," School Review, LXX, (1962), p. 262.

[13]Easton and Hess, "Child's Political World," p. 244.

For the child, the political authority of the government is an image viewed in personal terms. His initial point of contact with government authority and elected officials is through the President. The President is the focal point and he serves as a central orientation point from which the child may explore other areas of government. In fact, the President is the government.[14] To the child, authority flows downward from the President. The elementary child would believe that the "President gives orders to Congress."[15] This belief has been influenced by the family; the home is one possible source of the assumption that individuals and groups relate to each other in terms of one telling the other what to do.[16]

There is, however, a developmental, or age-related change in the level of response to the role of the President. The first response which is held by the seven-to-nine-year-old is the acceptance of the office of the President as one of personal authority. The man is the office and there is very little knowledge as to his specific role or duty. If

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[14]Hess and Easton, "Child's Image of the President," pp. 634-635.

[15]Greenstein, "More on Children's Images of the President," p. 652.

[16]Ibid., p. 653.

there is a concept of the duties of the President it is usually one of benevolence. With this attitude the child describes the political leader as "helping," "taking care of," and/or "protecting" people.[17] It is unlikely that the child has any knowledge about the other aspects of government, and in many cases has difficulty disentangling religion and politics. The child at this level would see the Pledge of Allegiance as a prayer to God.[18] However, even with the basic lack of knowledge concerning the aspects of government, the seven-to-nine-year-old child will feel that he understands the word government.[19]

After the first three grades of elementary school, the child in a sense moves from this very personalized conception of government authority to one better characterized as legal-rational.[20] During the fourth grade and the following years, the child becomes more aware of the group character of government. A greater awareness of government institutions is shown and the child appears to reflect a greater awareness of

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[17]Greenstein, Children and Politics, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 38-42.

[18]Easton and Hess, "Child's Political World," p. 239.

[19]Easton and Dennis, "Child's Image of Government", p. 44.

[20]Ibid., p. 47.

the representative character of these institutions. The emphasis changes from personal identification to one of role identification.[21] During these intermediate years, the child sees the positive evaluation of political authority become differentiated into components of role performance and components of personal merit. The intermediate child is more aware of the difference between the office of the Presidency and the personal characteristics of the incumbent. This enables him to respect the office, but yet criticize the occupant.[22] It is also during this time that the child becomes more aware of some of the international duties of the President.[23] Not only does the child's attitude and knowledge change concerning the executive, but also there are changes in other political attitudes and knowledge.

No longer is the President seen as the dominant symbol of government; to the intermediate school child, Congress now fulfills this position. David Easton and Jack Dennis in a study of school-age children found that between the fourth and fifth grades this shift occurs. Whereas 27.51% of the

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Hess and Easton, "The Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," p. 264.

[23] Greenstein, "More on Children's Images of the President," p. 649.

selected study in the fourth grade felt that Congress was the symbol of government, 57.39% of the selected fifth-graders felt that Congress best represented the government. Thus, with increasing age, law becomes the most visible product of government; but government still retains its benign, helpful, protective and responsive qualities as its major characteristics.[24] However, the child is more able to select between governmental and nongovernmental roles.[25] The post-fifth grade child is capable of disentangling the religious and political aspects of his life. He now would see the Pledge of Allegiance not as a prayer to God, but as an expression of loyalty to his country.[26]

It is also during this period that the child recognizes the other levels of governmental authority. From the early focus upon the role of the President, the modal intermediate child recognizes the national and the local and then finally the state government, the latter occurring during the sixth grade. The recognition of the difference between the executive and legislative functions emerges first at the

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[24]Easton and Dennis, "Child's Image of Government," p. 48.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Easton and Hess, "Child's Political World," p. 239.

national level and then downward to the local and then the state. The executive, however, always tends to overshadow the legislative until about the seventh grade when the understanding of legislative attitudes are equivalent to the comprehension of executive functions.[27] It is during these intermediate grades that the child begins to become more aware of the scope of the authority and role of government within his society.

Not only does the child begin to understand more fully the scope of the authority and role of government, but also begins to be aware of the role of the individual in the political process and possibly of some emergent sense of his own mastery of the political world as well. He begins to carve out for himself a small piece of political authority--one which is at his own level of consciousness. He is still quite some distance away from any actual role that he normally would have in the political process; nevertheless, he begins to feel his political power when it still involves a high degree of projection to those around him and to his future role as an adult member of his particular political system.[28] Between the fourth and fifth grades of elementary

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[27]Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 60-63.

[28]Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of

school, the child becomes more positive about his role within the system.[29] After the fifth grade, the child develops some feeling of political efficacy.[30]

In general, the child in his elementary years moves from the idealization of political leaders to a more realistic understanding of the leadership position; becomes more aware of the different institutions of government; attains the capacity to differentiate the government from the non-government systems; and develops attitudes toward his position in the political system.[31] It is apparent, however, that regardless of his age he approves of government, likes it the way that it is, and does not want it to change a great deal.[32] It is also during this time that the attitudes

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Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," The American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), p. 33.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Political efficacy is used here to mean "the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process, i.e., that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties. It is the feeling that political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change." Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides, (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1954), p. 187.

[31] Easton and Dennis, "Child's Image of Government," p. 51; Easton and Dennis, "Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms," p. 33.

[32] Easton and Dennis, "Child's Image of Government," pp. 52-55.

toward political participation and partisan motivations are being formed.

The elementary school child is disposed favorably to political participation. He feels that it is important to be involved in political activities and that it is quite important to vote. He believes that he will vote when he reaches twenty-one and also that it makes a great deal of difference who wins the election.[33] The pre-adolescent emotionally identifies with a political party at an early age, even though he has little knowledge as to the party's ideology, its leaders, or what makes it different from the other major political parties. By fourth grade the child can give the party of his choice, but more than likely cannot name even one public representative from that party.[34] The source of these early preferences to party may be attributed to the family. It is the rare child who gives allegiance to a different political party than his parents.[35] The party identification is similar to the development of

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[33]Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 36.

[34]Ibid., p. 71. Greenstein found that 60% of the fourth-graders identified with a party, but little more than 30% of this same group could identify a public representative.

[35]Ibid., pp. 72-73. The influence of the family shall be discussed in a later section.

ethnic and religious identifications. It may be said then that party affiliation is established in its most complete form during these pre-adolescent years.[36] Whatever the development, the child identifies with a party and this gives him some sense of identity, as well as establishing a link between himself, his parents, and other significant individuals and groups.[37]

It is not until the seventh or eighth grade that the child becomes aware of any differences between the political parties. Even then these responses are often close to tautological or are vague in reference to the differences among the personnel of the parties. During these years there is also an increase in issue orientation, but again the comprehension is vague. Greenstein points out that it is the rare child who may be so aware of ideological issues as to be able to articulate them.[38]

The child's views of the candidates for political office are still highly influenced by the earlier positive feelings. The child is in no way reluctant to pass judgment

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[36]Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization, A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior, (New York: The Free Press at Glencoe, 1959), p. 46.

[37]Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 74.

[38]Ibid., pp. 67-69.

on the candidate or public officials, and he is able to make some sort of evaluative response to their job. However, his response shows repeatedly that he is quite reluctant to evaluate leaders unfavorably. This suggests what Greenstein calls an immature pattern of candidate orientation: immature being a pattern which is typical of childhood and disappears with increasing age, and evidently also in the sense of indicating an unformed critical capacity.[39]

The general pattern of development in the area of partisan motivation may be seen as the recognition of party preference before issue orientation, and issue orientation before the development of a "mature" candidate orientation.[40]

While still in the elementary school, the child learns to accept or at least tolerate the kind of partisan political conflict associated with campaigns and elections. Through the political conflicts associated with elections, the child learns to accept the rights of other individuals to align themselves into opposing political parties and then to compete for election to public office. It is here that the child learns that political power won according to the "rules

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[39]Ibid., pp. 66-67.

[40]Ibid., p. 75.

of the game" is legitimate.[41] Through these experiences the child learns to accept political conflict as a natural ingredient of the political process and that some change is inevitable.[42]

These attitudes toward authority, institutions of government, political participation, and political parties are shaped by two broad forces. The first set of stimuli that influences the child is the conglomeration of external forces. The most powerful of these are those stemming from the social, economic and political systems of which the child is a part. These factors narrow the alternatives open to the child and legitimize only those existing alternative responses that are reasonably congruent with the prevailing social structure. The second set of factors is the internal stimuli that influence the complex makeup of the child's individual personality. If perceptions are to some extent a reflection or extension of the personality, they are important factors in attitude development. The attitudes that the child holds determine how he will react to the external stimuli of his environment.

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[41]Easton and Hess, "Child's Political World," pp. 229-246.

[42]Sigel, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values," p. 9.

II. EXTERNAL STIMULI

The Family And Political Socialization

The fundamental political attitudes of the young child are initially mediated through the family, and as a consequence the family unit becomes the primary agency of political socialization.[43] It is through this unit that the child acquires philosophical, social, and political values and the social and political skills with which to act upon these values. He acquires these without being aware that he is learning or that there may be other lessons with other morals.[44] The learning or civic instruction goes on incidental to the normal activities of the family. The child overhears parental conversations, or he may sense or be told of his parents' view toward politics, politicians and political parties. The parent in turn may be called upon to answer questions of a political nature and to explain the "why" of a particular act or situation.[45] It is through

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[43]Hess and Easton, "Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," p. 263. This is not a particular theory of Hess and Easton, but is generally shared by most social scientists.

[44]Sigel, "Assumptions About Learning of Political Values," p. 7.

[45]Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 14.

these informal contacts with adult political beliefs that the child becomes aware of the real political attitudes of adults, and as a consequence, a rough conception of politics begins to take shape.[46]

The family's central role in the political socialization process stems from its being the main source and locus for satisfaction of all basic, innate needs.[47] The growing child is faced with four primary needs: physical (food, clothing, shelter, health and safety); love and affection; self-identity; and self-actualization.[48] The need for fulfillment of one or all of these basic drives creates an organic tension that in turn fosters discomfort. The child is then motivated to act in an attempt to mitigate or relieve the tension and discomfort. His actions are directed to the agency which he understands best and which he feels may satisfy his desires. This agency is the family.[49]

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[46]For a discussion of the importance of these contacts see: Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press), 1963, pp. 325-326, 498-499 and Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions About Learning of Political Values," Annals, pp. 4-7.

[47]James C. Davies, "The Family's Role in Political Socialization," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLXI, (September, 1965), p. 10.

[48]Ibid., p. 11.

[49]Patrick, "Political Socialization of American Youth," p. 26.

During the long period of physical dependence upon adults, the child tends to become more and more emotionally attached to those who provide for him. He tends to identify with his parents and to use them as models in the development of his outlook toward political authority. The child comes to think and act like members of the family more than he thinks or acts like anyone outside this unit.[50] The family, therefore, becomes the model for the development of the child's attitudes toward political authority, political party identification and political participation.

The child first becomes aware of authority and its relationship to his life through the family unit. The family authority patterns will determine the outlook toward political authority that the child shall hold. Consequently, the relationships between the child and the authority figures in the family, his mother and especially his father, are of fundamental importance, because he, as previously noted, will transfer to the unknown political authorities of his society those attitudes he has developed toward the family.

Emphasis is placed upon the role of the father in the development of attitudes toward authority because the father

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[50]Davies, "The Family's Role in Political Socialization," pp. 10-11.

is usually the major authority figure in the family, but not necessarily the sole and over-bearing authority figure. How the child views his father tends to influence greatly the image of the executive of the political system and the role of that executive within the system.[51]

The father may influence the child in three ways. He may first do so through indoctrination, both overt and covert as a model for imitation. By doing so, the child picks up the loyalties, beliefs, and values of the father. Second, the father places the child in a social context in which the child is given an ethnicity, class position, and community environment. Lastly, the father helps to shape political beliefs by his personal relations with his child and by the way he molds the personality that must sustain and develop a social orientation.[52] The combination of these three processes produces the "Mendelian Law" of politics: the inheritance of political loyalties and beliefs.[53]

Not only is the father's position of importance, but

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[51]Hess and Easton, "Child's Image of the President," pp. 641-642. Their study showed a great overlap of the images of the father and the President.

[52]Robert Lane, Political Ideology, (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 268.

[53]Ibid., pp. 268-269.

the over-all authority pattern within the family is a major determinant of political outlook. Authority patterns which are permissive and equalitarian and which give ample opportunity for the child to share in the decision-making process produce political attitudes which are quite different from those family units in which authority is not permissive and equalitarian and does not allow for the child to share in the decisions of the family. In a society in which the family authority patterns are permissive, equalitarian and supportive, the child tends to develop a more positive attitude toward authority and there is less likelihood that there will be rebellion against parental authority. Rebellion, when it does occur, will not involve politics, but will be directed against some other aspect of the child's life.[54] If the authority figures represent security, support, friendship and trust, the relationship tends to foster a political idealism based upon a positive and optimistic view of man's nature and his future.[55]

The relatively permissive and equalitarian patterns of authority also develop rather widespread potential effectiveness in political participation. In such a family unit,

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[54] Ibid., pp. 270-272.

[55] Ibid., pp. 281-282.

the child may have an extensive opportunity to speak out about his problems, to criticize his elders, to participate in the decision-making, to develop poise in articulating an argument and to gain skills in compromise. If this is the case, the child gains more confidence in himself and his political efficacy; therefore he will have a more positive feeling about taking part in the political system, and that it is quite important to be actively engaged.[56]

In contrast to the permissive-equalitarian family relationship, the strict-authoritarian family develops attitudes quite different from those just described. In homes where the relationship between the parent and child is not a supportive one, the child's attitude may be shaped accordingly. Lane found in his intensive small-scale study on father-son relationships that damaged relationships may lead to one or all of the following attitudes: (1) a low interest and knowledge of political information; (2) an authoritarian orientation; (3) a fear of authority figures, but a reverance for power over values; (4) a belief that it is useless to rebel or petition authority; (5) a pessimistic view of man's nature and the future of society; and (6) a cynical view of

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[56]Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 36.

politics--corrupt men seeking their own ends.[57]

In families in which the parents usually over-protect and over-direct the child, the youngster develops a fear of the outside world and tends to distrust the political process.[58] The transition from the over-protected home which is seen by the child as warm and quite secure, to becoming an independent member of society is viewed with fear and apprehension. The child views the outside world as a threatening arena and is in constant fear of an open conflict.[59] Within this type of situation, the child sees little hope of being able to cope with the outside political world. If the child is discouraged from expressing his opinion and from entering into family decisions on a somewhat equal basis, he is less likely to develop the attitudes which foster a desire to participate in the political system than a child who is allowed to share some authority.[60]

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[57]Lane, "Fathers and Sons: Foundations of Political Belief," American Sociological Review, XXIV, (August, 1959), pp. 510-511.

[58]Frank Pinner, "Parental Overprotection and Political Distrust," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLXI, (September, 1965), p. 58.

[59]Rhodea Métraux and Margaret Mead, Themes in French Culture, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1954), pp. 27-35.

[60]For a discussion of this concept see: Almond and Verba, Civic Culture, pp. 346-363.

Authority patterns also transmit other political attitudes of important consequence to the child. One such attitude is the child's identification with a political party. As noted earlier, the child by the third grade of elementary school has already formed some identification with a political party even though he has little specific knowledge about the party and its beliefs.[61] The family is the major determinant of this party identification. It may be said, "A man is born into his political party just as he is born into probable future membership in the church of his parents."[62] It is during childhood that not so much the direct party affiliation is formed, but more specifically, the direction of party affiliation. The intensity of party identification is not as strong as it will be at an older age, but some loyalty does exist.[63] There is consequently a striking correspondence in the party choice between the child and the parent.[64] This general loyalty to the "family polit-

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[61]See supra, p. 30.

[62]J. West, Plainville, U.S.A., (New York: Columbia Press, 1945), p. 85.

[63]Angus Campbell, P. E. Converse, W. E. Miller, and D. E. Stokes, The American Voter, (New York: Wiley, 1960), pp. 161-167.

[64]See Hyman, Political Socialization, pp. 75-82; Campbell, et al, American Voter, p. 99.

ical party" is so strong that very seldom will an adult voter change. Crucial social events, a devastating war or an economic depression may cause one to turn from the family party tradition.[65] Usually, however, the elementary school child follows the political party of the family, and if the family is split politically, the child will tend to follow the father rather than the mother.[66]

Another important consequence of the child's reaction to authority patterns is his political awareness and activity. The desire of the child to become actively engaged in the political process may be fostered by a highly politicized family in which he is given ample opportunity to gain political confidence and where he is stimulated to emulate the political behavior of a parent.[67] It is also within the highly politicized family that the political campaign worker and party functionary is spawned.[68] Where the family is not

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[65]Greenstein, The American Party System and the American People, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 33.

[66]Hyman, Political Socialization, p. 78.

[67]Patrick, "Political Socialization of American Youth," p. 24.

[68]Dwaine Marvick and Charles R. Nixon, "Recruitment Contrasts in Rural Campaign Groups," in Political Decision-Makers, Dwaine Marvick, ed., (New York: The Free Press, 1961), p. 209.

politicized, the child as he becomes an adult, would tend to avoid political activity and be less informed about politics.[69]

Political ideological orientation is a marginal aspect of family influence. The development of ideological orientation and complex issue resolutions call for more political knowledge and awareness than is possessed by the elementary school child. It is quite common, however, for the child merely to make ad hoc responses regarding judgments about specific issues. But even this ability is lacking in the early elementary years. These concepts are removed from the concerns of the child, and are left to the later years of adolescence and adulthood. It is the rare elementary child who has some understanding of ideological differences in politics.[70]

The conclusion, therefore, is that, "The first years of life in the family, the experience of authority and discipline, and of the family 'political process' and the 'public policy' constitute the most rapid and binding stage of socialization."[71] The impact of the family may be greater

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[69]Hyman, Political Socialization, pp. 86-87.

[70]Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 67-69; Hyman, Political Socialization, pp. 47-48.

[71]Gabriel Almond and James Coleman, eds., The Politics of the Developing Areas, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 28.

than any other influence in the political socialization process.

Not all political scientists share in the above mentioned belief in the overwhelming importance in the family in the political socialization process. Recently, the role of the family has been challenged by some new studies into the politicization process. Robert Hess and Judith Torney, while acknowledging the importance of the family, found in a study of elementary school children that in the United States the public elementary school is the most vital instrument of political socialization.[72] Harold Lasswell's Psychopathology and Politics offers the inadequately met needs of the personality as important factors in man's politicization. He too acknowledges the family, but tends to de-emphasize its role.[73] Research completed by M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi have also shown that the impact of the family is not as great as expected, and that in an urbanized, industrialized society the extra-family activities are of significant impor-

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[72]Robert Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship During the Elementary School Years, (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[73]Harold Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, (New York: The Viking Press, 1930).

tance to the development of a political attitude.[74]

The recent controversy over the importance of the family in the politicization process is not denying the impact of the family, but is questioning the degree and impact of the family beliefs upon the child. This research has caused social scientists to investigate other aspects of the child's environment which may shape or guide his political beliefs. One such agency which many feel is as important as the family, if not more so, is the school.

The Elementary School and Political Socialization

The training of citizens has long been a classical concern and each society, regardless of its time or place in the history of man, has attempted to educate its members to become useful citizens of that society. Over the centuries, societies have used numerous methods of citizenship training; in today's world the most important formal agent of the political socialization process is the educational system.

The educational system has as one of its fundamental goals, the indoctrination of the oncoming generation with the

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[74]M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values From Parent to Child," The American Political Science Review, LXII, (March, 1968), pp. 169-184.

basic outlooks and values of that political order.[75] The school attempts to carry on this politicization process by teaching approved political aspirations and roles, by stressing love of country and its institutions, by teaching specific political information and skills--the structures of government and their functions and how to participate in group activities--and by attempting to mold a "model" citizen who will be able to take his place in that society.[76] The school system attempts to teach these concepts both formally and informally, both directly and consciously through planned instruction and activities and indirectly and unconciously through casual observation and chance happening.

Through formal instruction it is hoped that the child will learn to be a good citizen. Courses in history, civics, government and international relations are taught in an attempt to inculcate the learner with some of the basic beliefs of the political system. All schools observe national holidays such as the birthdays of national heroes, independence day, if there happens to be one, and other such occa-

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[75] V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, (New York: Knopf, 1961), p. 316.

[76] Patrick, "Political Socialization of American Youth," p. 29. There is little general agreement as to what a "model" citizen actually is. For a discussion of Patrick's concepts of the "democratic man" see page 18 of the above source.

sions. Various rituals such as a flag salute are used to teach the child love for his country, and in some cases these rituals are given a religious emphasis which also adds solemnity to the ceremony. By establishing rules and regulations for classroom participation, the school may also formally attempt to teach basic political attitudes.

The school also informally passes on political beliefs to the students. The school child learns a great deal from observing the teachers and administrators of his school. The manner in which the teacher conducts her class, her personal behavior, and the attitudes that she has toward her students convey definite ideas to the child. The same may also be true of the school principal and his staff. Their behavior and the manner in which they operate the school have an impact upon the child if in no other manner than how the child views authority and his relationship to it. It is, of course, difficult to determine how these experiences affect political beliefs and later behavior, but it is reasonable to assume that they do have some impact upon the child.

During the primary school years, there is little emphasis placed on formal citizenship training.[77] During these

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[77]Hess and Easton, "Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," p. 257.

years, usually considered to be the first through third grade school years, the social studies are centered around those activities which help the child to get along with other people.[78] In the first grade the child learns about the interdependence of one group on another. He may study units on the family, the home, and the community. During the second year these same units may be expanded to include groups outside the community and possibly world neighbors. Also the child may study man's attempts to control nature. The third-grader learns about man's ability to adapt to his physical environment and to meet some of the changes brought about in a changing world community. It is not until the intermediate years that the elementary school curriculum turns to the actual instruction in the concepts of political education. Starting in the fourth grade many American schools begin to teach the concepts of democracy as a way of living, thinking and governing. Variations of this theme are used from that point onward until the end of elementary school.[79] Little stress is placed upon the attainment of specific political information or the understanding of the

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[78]John Norton and Margaret Norton, Foundations of Curriculum Building, (New York: Ginn and Co., 1936), p. 172.

[79]Ibid., pp. 195-199.

structure of government; these are left to the secondary school.[80]

What is stressed during the elementary school years is the re-shaping or the developing of a set of political beliefs. Some of the attitudes have been shaped by the family, but some will be determined by the elementary school experience. The child's contact with the formal and informal aspects of the school will be such that by the time he reaches the secondary school level the politicization process will be nearing completion.[81] During the elementary school experience the child continues to add to the foundation of his political attitudes. This educational experience, as well as the later years in the secondary school and/or college, may be a potent force for the alteration of or development of political values. It is through the education process that information is transmitted that may cause deviation from family influences or which may provide the groundwork for opinion formation about matters which have not been previously confronted. The elementary school, as a result, may

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[80]Easton and Hess, "Child's Political World," p. 236; Hess and Easton, "Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," p. 258.

[81]Hess and Easton, "Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," pp. 258-259.

play a major role in determining the political values of the child.

The school and the family are potent influencers of a child's attitudes, but they are not the only ones. It is necessary, therefore, to conclude this discussion of the external stimuli to the general political awareness of the elementary school child with a discussion of two other determinants of political attitudes, the socio-economic position of the child and his sex identity.

Socio-economic Standing, Sex Identity, And Political Socialization

By birth the child is placed into a particular social context in which he is given an ethnicity, class position and neighborhood environment. Because he has no choice in his selection, he is in many ways during his lifetime a captive of his socio-economic standing. By the use of such factors as wealth, occupation, place of residence, educational attainment and membership in various organizations, the child sees himself and his family, and is seen by others, to have a certain status or social rank within the society in which he lives. The way in which the child pictures his position and the position of his family greatly affects the political attitudes and values that he will hold. The pressures, strivings, and goals which the parents found to be

the most immediate and demanding in their sphere of the social order are transmitted to the child. Therefore, the child is constantly confronted by the advantages or disadvantages of his special socio-economic situation.

Child-rearing practices vary considerably according to socio-economic standing, and these practices have a definite impact upon the child and how he sees himself in relation to the political world. There are especially marked differences in the practices of the middle- and upper-classes and the lower-class. Middle-class and upper-class parents tend to be more equalitarian and more receptive to the child's desires and wishes. They rely more on reasoning, isolation, appeals to guilt, and other methods involving the threat of loss of love as means of discipline.[82] The middle- or upper-class parent places value on curiosity, happiness, consideration and most importantly, self-control.[83] The middle-class and upper-class parent places more emphasis on the child governing himself. They expect him to take care of himself

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[82]Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space," in Social Structure and Personality: A Casebook, Yehudi A. Cohen, ed., (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 54.

[83]Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships: An Interpretation," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII, (1963), p. 475.

earlier, to accept responsibility about the home, and above all to progress at school. The child's opinions are taken more seriously and an attempt is made to explain the reasons for parental requirements and to discuss family problems. These parents are more concerned about the child's motives and feelings; therefore, more emphasis is placed on techniques that are more likely to bring about the development of internalized values and controls.[84]

As a result of the practices within the home, the middle- and upper-class child tends to have ample opportunity to assert himself constructively, to express his feelings and ideas more openly, to acquire the intellectual and social skills necessary for leadership, and to gain the confidence and poise essential to effective political action. The upper-class child plans more for the future and is willing to defer short-range satisfaction for a long-range goal. The middle- and upper-class child has a more positive attitude about political participation and his personal political efficacy.[85] The lower-class child does not exhibit these same traits, and one of the basic causes is the parental child-rearing practices.

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[84]Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class," p. 54.

[85]Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 88-94.

Lower-class parents tend to be more authoritarian and more closed to the child's attempts at communications. The child finds that there may be few, if any, channels of communication open to him. Working-class parents value obedience, neatness and cleanliness more highly than do their middle-class counterparts. Parental values center on conformity to external prescriptions.[86] Typical parent-child relationships revolve around parental efforts to enforce obedience and order. In matters of discipline, working-class parents are consistently more likely to employ physical punishments than any other means of enforcing family rules.[87] Hostility, aggressiveness, tension, and severity tend to prevail in this type of situation. The political attitude of the child is so developed.

The child from the lower-class home situation is often inhibited by these practices which in turn provide a less adequate personality basis for appropriately self-assertive social participation.[88] The lower-class child lacks the

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[86]Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships," p. 475.

[87]Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class," p. 54.

[88]Robert Lane, Political Life, (New York: The Free Press, 1959), p. 234.

self-direction and self-confidence and the ability and willingness to express his personal feelings and ideas. This child tends to have very little faith that his judgments are worth acting upon. Consequently, the lower-class child lacks the political efficacy of the middle- and upper-class child and more than likely tends to be poorly informed politically and less inclined toward political activity. He tends to believe that he cannot successfully influence political decision, to feel incapable of dealing with the complexities of society, to feel incompetent to assume leadership, to be dependent on some other authority rather than his own, and to adopt a pessimistic, fatalistic view toward life.[89]

The political attitudes of both the upper-status child and lower-status child are more than likely to be reenforced by the schools that he attends. Recent research has shown that political education differs in schools of different socio-economic background. In working-class communities where political participation is low, the school child is offered training in the basic democratic procedures without stressing political participation. Within this framework, politics is conducted by formal government institutions working in harmony for the good of the citizens.

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[89]Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 94-106.

Curriculum is geared for simple and direct indoctrination; there is little encouragement for expression of opinion and the emphasis is on order.[90]

In the school composed of children from the upper-class level, there is a different climate. Not only are the democratic procedures stressed, but there is an emphasis upon understanding the political process and the functions of politics. Within these schools the child is given an opportunity to develop those abilities which will make him more politically effective.[91]

The political socialization process not only varies greatly due to the socio-economic status of the child but also varies significantly according to sex identity. The elementary school male is more politically oriented than his female counterpart. Through the socialization process boys and girls begin to identify with a specific role either masculine or feminine which they are to take. This identification begins quite early, and is evident by age three or four. One of the results of this role identification by the child is the emergence of a more politically aware male than

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[90]Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review, XXVIII, (1963), p. 74.

[91]Ibid., pp. 74-75.

a female. Greenstein's study of New Haven school children shows that in grades four through eight, boys when questioned give more responses of a political nature, and males are seen as the political authority in the home.[92]

A girl tends not only to accept the political authority of the male, but also is more likely than a boy to remain dependent upon that authority.[93] Only in the area of political efficacy is there little difference between the male and the female. Data indicate that the sense of political efficacy in females does not begin to drop below that of the male before the eighth grade. The female elementary child, although less politically oriented than the male, shows only a little less confidence than a boy, that adults are able to handle the complexities of political life and that her involvement in the political process has some significance.[94] The attitudes developed by the elementary school child, like most others, will tend to remain the same through adulthood.

It is realized that the home, the school, the socio-

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[92]Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 116-120.

[93]Davies, "Family's Role in Political Socialization," p. 14.

[94]Easton and Dennis, "Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms," p. 36.

economic position and the sex identity are not the only external determinants of a child's political beliefs. To make the list more complete, peer group relations and the mass media would both be necessary additions. With increasing age the child becomes more and more influenced by friendships and youth organizations. As the child matures, he places more emphasis upon his peer group relations and as a result contact with his friends and the discussions among his peers become quite important in shaping or re-shaping political attitudes. It may be during this time that the conflicting intra- and extra-familial influences interact most vigorously on the growing individual, and he may be forced to examine some of his political beliefs.[95] The impact of peer group relations upon the elementary child is not, however, as great as it is during adolescence and adulthood.

The mass media also are influencers of the political socialization process. Increased political interest and participation of the individual tends to be in direct proportion to the child's exposure to the mass media. The elementary school child today has more contact with the mass media than ever before in history. Television has brought

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[95]Davies, "Family's Role in Political Socialization," p. 17.

about many changes. More political information and concepts may now be communicated than ever before. However, in some ways the mass media may discourage political action through such features as comics, sports pages, and cartoons thus diverting attention from the transmission of political attitudes and information. Research concerning the effect of the mass media upon the elementary school child, however, is lacking and its impact upon the child is speculative.[96]

III. INTERNAL STIMULI

Personality and Political Socialization

The elementary school child, like the adult, is faced with a fundamental human dilemma: how to be an individual in his own right, following his impulses and purposes, creating his own ways of dealing with the external world, and at the same time, maintaining satisfying and acceptable relationships with other humans equally bent upon realizing their own potentialities. The child's responses to such situations are determined not only by the external stimuli of his environment, but also by the internal stimuli of his personality. In reference to politics, the child as he grows develops in

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[96]Patrick, "Political Socialization of American Youth," pp. 57-58.

two general areas: learning which is tied specifically to government and politics, and nonpolitical personal development which affects his political behavior.[97] It is of vital importance to examine not only the external stimuli, but also the internal stimuli for they both shape the political attitudes of the elementary school child.

The child is not simply a sponge who soaks up responses from his environment. His own personality is also an important stimulus. When considering the political attitudes of the child, one cannot overlook the role of reason and imagination, and equally, the ways in which the child's intellectual operations are influenced by the nonrational and irrational processes. Imitation and conditioning should be taken into account; however, there are also motivational, cognitive and conative characteristics which influence the child's modes of political behavior.[98]

The personality is an important determinant of both internal attitudes and external actions. The external per-

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[97]Greenstein, "Personality and Political Socialization: The Theories of Authoritarian and Democratic Character," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLXI, (September, 1965), p. 82.

[98]Daniel J. Levinson, "The Relevance of Personality for Political Participation," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX, (1958), pp. 5-7.

sonality functions structure the child's social reality, define his place within it, and guide his search for meaning and gratification. Internal functions of the personality determine the child's individual unconscious fantasies, his unconscious moral conceptions and the wishes against which they are directed, the characteristic ways in which these tendencies are transformed or deflected in his more conscious thought, feeling and behavioral striving, his conception of self and his ways of maintaining or changing that conception in the face of changing pressure from within and from the external world. Through these functions, the child develops a receptivity to those available political forms that have the greatest functional value in meeting the requirements of the personality as a system. The child as a result will prefer those ways of dealing with external political issues that best coincide with his preferred ways of dealing with internal issues of impulse control, maintenance of self-esteem, fulfillment of esthetic urges and the like. These personality characteristics influence political participation; hinder the acceptance of "unappealing" options, and facilitate the acceptance or creation of others that are personally meaningful.[99]

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[99] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Political choices are affected from within, but not by the "total personality". Choices are affected primarily by the particular facets of personality that are engaged at a given time. Every individual has multiple political potentials and is capable of some measure of political change. Such change may come about not only through new knowledge and external circumstances, but also as a result of inner changes in ideology-relevant aspects of personality. The individual's modes of political participation are not simple reflections of his personality structure, any more than they are products of environing social pressures.

One's political preferences will be most stable and most satisfying when they are congruent with both inner and external requirements. Personality factors may have a major influence on certain political decisions and a minor one on others. However, the impact of the personality would tend to increase when (1) there is a wide range of available (socially provided) alternatives; and (2) there is a high degree of personal involvement in the political issue. Under these conditions, the greater the number of options for participation, the more the child can choose on the basis of personal congeniality and the more the issue "matters", the more likely it is that political behavior will express en-

during inner values and dispositions.[100]

It is necessary to examine both the external environmental stimuli and the personality in any given situation in order to understand the political behavior. Just as different environmental situations affect political attitudes, the different personality structures also affect attitudes. Children with different personality structures simply perceive the political world differently, their perceptions are to some extent reflections or extensions of their personality. This accounts for the variation in beliefs.[101]

By the primary grades of elementary school, the personality of the school child is well developed. However, while acknowledging the importance and durability of personality structure by this age, there must also be a recognition that important new developments and partial restructurings will occur throughout life.[102] Just as changes in external stimuli may change the attitude of the maturing child, so may maturation change the inner stimuli which in turn may affect the concept of politics and political behavior.

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[100]Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[101]Sigel, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values," p. 7.

[102]Levinson, "The Relevance of Personality," p. 8.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Never again in his life will the child have such respect and positive feelings about his government as he does during his elementary school years. During these years, the child reveres the role of the President, feels that political leaders generally are benevolent, accepts the authority of government as legitimate and just, venerates patriotic symbols, and perceives the President, the government, laws, and the nation as righteous and virtuous. His attitudes toward political authority are initially mediated through the family. He transfers the image of ideal authority to the distant and relatively unknown political figures.

The child transfers his concept of the family as a unit subject to parental authority to that of a nation as a unit subject to Presidential authority. As the child matures this positive evaluation of political authority becomes differentiated into components of role performance and components of personal merit. The intermediate child sees the difference between the office and the personal characteristics of the incumbent. In general, the child in his elementary years attains the capacity to differentiate the government from the nongovernment systems, but he does not have any concept of the wider political process. The child's attach-

ment to the government and a political party is based upon emotional rather than rational processes. He has little specific knowledge concerning the formal or informal aspects of the government. This lack does not, however, hinder him from making judgments concerning the government; these judgments are, however, seldom negative.

Although the family is the initial mediator of attitudes concerning political authority, as the child advances in elementary school extra-familial influences begin to play a more important role in the shaping of his political attitudes. The curriculum, the teachers, the administrators and peers become vital determinants in the continuing development of the child's political beliefs. Research has indicated that this stimuli may have definite effects upon the child's attitudes.

Research in political socialization has also indicated that most elementary school children approve of government, like it the way that it is, and have a high regard for government which changes little.[103] The elementary school child exhibits an attitude that is strikingly opposite that of an adult.

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[103]Easton and Dennis, "Child's Image of Government," p. 53.

CHAPTER III

A FRAMEWORK FOR TESTING THE AWARENESS OF FOREIGN CULTURES AND POLITICAL ACTORS

The period from age nine to age thirteen has been shown to be a critical time in the development of the political beliefs of the child.[1] It is also evident that this same child is living in a world that is witnessing many significant changes, and that it is of great importance that the child not only be aware of these changes, but also have some understanding of them. If the child is to gain some understanding of international problems and affairs, education must be one of the fundamental building blocks. Through education, provincial attitudes may become less firmly rooted and a more sympathetic understanding of the world's diverse races and nationalities may be achieved. By learning the origins of other customs, literature, history, science, and art many of the superficial judgments that foreigners are "odd" may be dispelled. The study of other geographical conditions may make the life of others seem plausible and reasonable. In order to make this educational experience more meaningful for the child, an understanding of his aware-

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[1]See Chapter Two.

ness of foreign cultures and political actors is a necessity. The emphasis, therefore, of this chapter shall be the development of a frame of reference from which a testing instrument may be developed to test the awareness of the intermediate school child of foreign cultures and political actors.

I. INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

During the early years of elementary school, the young child lacks the experience and intellectual grasp to assimilate meaningfully, except in a very limited measure. The conceptual world of the child expands quite gradually and mostly associatively during this time.[2] By the time the child reaches the intermediate grades of the elementary school there has been, however, a sharp expansion of his awareness of the world around him. At the age of eight years to ten years the child is able to conceive abstractly and draw some of the distinctions between his country and some other nation.[3] Although one child may not appear to have racial and national antagonisms, another child may reveal a

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[2]Ralph C. Preston, "World Understanding in the Curriculum," Teaching World Understanding, Ralph Preston, ed., (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), p. 199.

[3]Ibid.

bias at a very early age. Even where bias is not present, the child's attitudes expose culture-imposed stereotypes.[4]

The child may develop these attitudes from several sources. To some extent, his attitudes are governed by his total mental and emotional make-up, the personality, which controls his responses to any situation in which foreign peoples or nations are involved. His attitudes may reflect the beliefs expressed by parents, relatives, friends and/or society in general. The child's attitudes may also reflect his direct experiences with foreigners, and his vicarious experiences afforded by reading, television, movies and the other elements of the mass media.[5]

By the time the child reaches the intermediate grades of elementary school he is capable of beginning to understand the interrelationships among the various nations of the world and to understand that there are nations quite unlike his in the world community, some of which have a completely different form of government than his own nation. It is at this point that substantial materials on the international scene may be introduced into the social studies curriculum. At

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[4]Preston, Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary School, (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1953), p. 158.

[5]Preston, "World Understanding," pp. 197-199.

this point the child's mind has become capable of determining the necessary distinctions. An understanding of foreign cultures and foreign political actors is in the developmental stage.[6]

In response to the child's ability to conceive his own nation and its relationship to others, the intermediate elementary school curriculum in the social studies is geared to teaching the child some of the basic elements of international understanding. Social studies programs have been developed with many objectives in mind. Most curricula attempt to teach the following list of concepts for a program of international understanding:

1. There is an interdependence of peoples in the world community.
2. There is a need for peaceful relations among nations.
3. There are basic similarities among all men and that differences in people are due to geographical, cultural, and historical considerations.
4. There should be by all people the philosophy of, and practice respect for, the dignity of the in-

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[6]A foreign culture is the sum total of characteristics of a foreign people. This includes their habits, their institutions, their tastes, and their outlook on life and the world. Among the host of characteristics embodied in the term "culture" are patterns of work, adjustment to geographical conditions, forms of recreation, and laws and religion.

> dividual irrespective of race or other factors over which he has no control.[7]

From these general goal concepts, Leonard Kenworthy, who has written numerous books and articles on international relations and study, has set down what he believes are the basic ideas that should be taught to the elementary school child. These ideas, as presented in his book, Introducing the Child to the World, are: (1) Groups of people everywhere organize themselves into governments. People do this today and have always done so. (2) These governments are very important. They are organized to help people in many ways with some governments more concerned about their citizens than others. (3) We live in a democracy where people decide things for themselves or through elected representatives. (4) Many of our ideas of government were obtained from people in other countries and several nations have adopted aspects of our government in their countries. (5) There are many forms of government in the world today including monarchies, constitutional monarchies, socialist democracies, capitalist democracies, and Communist governments. (6) The form of government in any country is deter-

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[7]John Jarolimek, Social Studies in Elementary Education, second edition, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), p. 254.

mined by many factors, among which are its economic status, its religion or religions, and its history. (7) There is a great deal of competition around the world today between the various forms of government. This competition has caused "cold wars" and actual warfare. (8) All governments have problems to solve and will continue to have problems in the future. Governments, however, do find solutions to some problems that face their society. (9) Over the centuries, governments have been organized for larger and larger groups of people, ranging in size from clans and tribes to nation-states. (10) There are some regional governmental organizations in the world today, plus the United Nations and its agencies.[8] Kenworthy concludes this section of what should be taught to the elementary school child with:

> The over-all aims of introducing children to governments here and abroad are to help boys and girls to see the necessity of some kind of government, to see the variety of governments in the world and some of the reasons for them, and to begin to understand why Americans feel that the democratic way of life is the most desirable pattern. . .[9]

The elementary school curriculum, as a consequence,

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[8]Leonard S. Kenworthy, Introducing Children to the World, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), pp. 160-161.

[9]Ibid., p. 161.

has been so organized as to assist the child in becoming more aware of the other political communities in the world. In the third and fourth grades the references to the world community are on broad topics. Within these grades a cross-country approach is used largely to give the child a view of transportation, communication, food, family life, and related ideas around the world. This approach is necessary because the child is not capable, in most cases, of dealing with the world community in any other manner.[10] However, during the intermediate grades that follow, more complex material is introduced. It is within these years that the study of the major characteristics of the nation-state is begun.[11]

Most major textbook series in the social sciences are so oriented. A good example of such organization is the Macmillan Social Studies Series. In the fourth-grade text entitled Living in Our Country and Other Lands, the child is introduced to the various land areas of the world through such chapters as: "Hot, Wet Lands and Cold Lands," "Dry Lands, High Lands and Islands," and "Your Community and State."[12]

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[10]Ibid., p. 138.

[11]Ibid., pp. 140-141.

[12]Prudence Cutright, John Jarolimek and Mae Knight Clark, Living in Our Country and Other Lands, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1966), p. v.

The emphasis in this volume is on man's adaptation to his physical environment and it is illustrated by showing the life of a young child in each particular section of the world. Little emphasis is placed upon the type of government.

The fifth-grade text, Living in the United States, is a study of the various states of the United States with a concluding chapter entitled, "The United States in the World Today," in which a small section is devoted to American relations with other nations.[13] It is not until the sixth grade that the intermediate child is introduced to the world of the nation-state. The text, Living in the Old World, covers the major countries of the world plus several sections on the earth, early man, the Middle Ages, and a final chapter entitled "Working for Peace."

Within this text the concept of government in foreign nations is dealt with more specifically than ever before. The discussion is very basic--"when people in a large group live together in an orderly way, they are living under a government."[14] The child is introduced to the type of govern-

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[13]Prudence Cutright, John Jarolimek, Allen Y. King, Ida Dennis, and Florence Potter, Living in the United States, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1966), pp. 408-421.

[14]Prudence Cutright, John Jarolimek, Walter Lefferts, and Isreal Soifer, Living in the Old World, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1966), p. 39.

mental organization of that particular country, and some of the elementary characteristics of that government are indicated.

From this plan of study during the intermediate grades, curriculum planners hope that the child will acquire some very basic, but vital understanding. The child should be aware that there are many countries and cultures in the world community. The child should be aware that countries and cultures are constantly changing and that some are more adaptable than others. He should recognize that members of specific groups, just as he, are proud of their background and country because all have been socialized, just as he, into the culture of that particular area. Countries are affected by many factors such as climate, location, resources, people, economic activity, and others; the child should be aware of this. Most important of all, the child should be aware that people everywhere are basically more alike than they are different, and that people everywhere today live in an interdependent world.

Here, however, is the basic problem in determining the awareness of the elementary school child; how can one discover if such an awareness is present in the attitudes of the child? Is it possible? If so, can it be gauged?

II. METHODS OF TESTING AWARENESS OF FOREIGN CULTURES

The problem of testing knowledge is a long-standing concern of educators. No completely satisfactory testing technique or instrument has yet been devised which satisfies all purposes, and it is safe to assume that the possibility of such an occurance is not too great. This is not to say that a staggering number of testing instruments have not been developed in an attempt to gauge the knowledge and understanding of the student. Surprising as it may seem, there has not been a great deal of investigation done in the area of testing the awareness of foreign cultures and political actors among elementary school children, or for that matter, among school children in general. The tests and investigations that have been done in related areas may be classified in two broad categories. They are: (1) the current events tests, and (2) the achievement tests.

Of the first category, the current events test, many instruments are available. There are numerous weekly publications such as the Weekly Reader and the Junior Scholastic which are made available to the schools at a nominal charge. Each of these weekly magazines has quizzes designed to test knowledge of current affairs. Also in the area of current

events tests there are two standardized tests, the Nationwide Current Events Examination for grades four to twelve, and the Contemporary Affairs: Every Pupil Test.[15] Both tests are made available at low costs and the Nationwide Current Events Examination includes norms.

The major weaknesses of the standardized tests in testing awareness of foreign cultures and political actors are that they test only the amount of specific political information and do not test in depth any awareness or attitudes, and that they must continually be revised so that they are current. This testing of awareness is, of course, not the specific purpose of such a test and therefore cannot legitimately be criticized. It must be noted, however, that these tests could be used in conjunction with an instrument such as the one proposed by this study and prove of significant value.

The second area of testing is that of the standardized achievement tests in the social sciences or social studies. There are three such tests that may have some use in the testing of the awareness of foreign cultures and political

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[15]Oscar K. Buros, (ed.), The Sixth Mental Measurements Yearbook, (Highland Park, New Jersey: The Gryphon Press, (1965), p. 1230; Oscar K. Buros, (ed.), Tests in Print: A Comprehensive Bibliography of Tests for Use in Education, Psychology, and Industry, (Highland Park, New Jersey: The Gryphon Press, 1961), p. 238.

actors. The first series is the Minnesota High School Achievement Examinations for Social Studies, Grade Eight which is a general test over the major cultural areas of the world. Although this test deals basically with facts about these areas, it is possible from the examination to gauge the understanding of the student in each specific area. This test could be used in conjunction with an awareness instrument and be of great value. One major drawback is that it is geared for only the eighth grade and consequently loses some of its utility if it is desired to test the awareness of other age groups.[16]

The second series of tests in this area is the National Achievement Tests in Social Studies and Geography. The Social Studies Series is made available for grades four to six in one set and for grades seven to nine in another. These are general examinations and of little specific value in determining student attitudes. What is of more value in determining student attitudes and awareness are the sets of geography tests. One is for grades three to six and another for grades six to eight. These are of more value because they test for an understanding of the values of products, the knowledge of

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[16]V. L. Lohman, (ed.), Minnesota High School Achievement Examinations: Social Studies Grade 8, (n.p.: American Guidance Service, Inc., 1967).

important locations, the knowledge of geographic comparisons, and the appreciation of economic and human relationships.[17] These tests could also serve as a supplementary instrument to the test that is proposed by this study.

The Stanford Achievement Test: Social Studies Test, both the intermediate and advanced tests, comprises the third series of tests. Both of these instruments are for the middle grades; the intermediate test for the middle of grade five to the end of grade six, and the advanced test for grades seven to nine. Both test batteries are general in nature in which basic social studies concepts, as well as factual knowledge in the areas of economics, geography, history, civics and intergroup relations are tested.[18] The Stanford test, just as the other two, does not really fulfill the requirements for an instrument to test the awareness of foreign cultures and political actors.

Because of this lack of an instrument to test the awareness of foreign cultures and political actors by the intermediate school child, and because this age level is such

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[17]Robert K. Speer, (ed.), National Achievement Tests: Geography, (Rockville Centre, New York: Acorn Publishing Company, 1949).

[18]Truman Kelley, Richard Madden, Eric Gardner and Herbert C. Rudman, Stanford Achievement Test: Social Studies Test, (New York: Test Division of Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964).

an important time in the development of political attitudes and beliefs, several projects have been started in the United States in an attempt to understand better the child's attitudes. The Foreign Policy Association has long been interested in the child's awareness of foreign cultures and is sponsoring a project headed by Dr. Lee Anderson of Northwestern University and Judith Torney in which they are studying the child's attitude formation. Dr. Fannie Shaftel of the School of Education of Stanford University is another who is working in the investigation of the development of the child's awareness of foreign peoples. To date, these projects are still in the research stage and have not been made available.[19]

The development of a testing instrument to determine the intermediate child's awareness of foreign cultures and political actors is also an important part of research in this area. It would give insight into what the child knows and feels about other peoples and political systems. Such an instrument would make a contribution to both political socialization research and to the area of social studies education.

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[19]Personal letter from James M. Becker, National Director of School Services, Foreign Policy Association, April 22, 1968.

III. A FRAMEWORK FOR TESTING AWARENESS

Does the intermediate school child think that other children in foreign lands grow up into different adults, or does the child believe that other children are like himself in mores and sense of values and that only the environments differ? This is the fundamental question upon which any testing instrument which seeks to determine awareness of the intermediate school child must be built. For if the child believes that all children are just alike but live in different parts of the world, he is not aware of the impact of culture upon the individual. If he is aware that children differ, he may have some understanding as to why they do. The testing instrument, therefore, must attempt to probe and gauge the intermediate school child's perceptions of foreign cultures and political roles.

If the awareness of the intermediate child is to be measured with any depth, the testing instrument must go beyond a descriptive awareness of cultural variations to a more functional, operative concept of culture differences. The testing instrument must go beyond the measuring of just specific factual information and instead attempt to measure the intermediate child's awareness of variables within any specific culture. The test should gauge not only the inter-

mediate child's awareness that homes differ, clothes differ, and meals differ, but also attempt to discover if he is aware that children from other areas grow up to be different adults because of the multitude of differing conditions under which they live.

If any adequate measurement of awareness is to be achieved with a questionnaire, two approaches may be used. First, questions may be organized to test for specific cultural variations. This study proposes that the following aspects of culture be tested:

1. Is the intermediate school child aware of the impact of environment upon the people who live in a particular area of the world?
2. Is the intermediate school child aware of the variations among governments and their purposes?
3. Is the intermediate school child aware of the different economic systems and the effect that these systems have upon life within that society?
4. Is the intermediate school child aware of the different historical development of nations?
5. Is the intermediate school child aware of the existence of various subcultures within all nation-states?
6. Is the intermediate school child aware of the various alignments of power in the world--the so-called power structure of the world community?

These areas, although not covering all aspects of culture, would allow the investigator to gain insight into the inter-

mediate child's awareness of specific factual information concerning the differing variables of culture, and also allow opportunity to gauge the attitude of the testee toward the various aspects of culture.

Second, questions may be organized in reference to a functional process. Questions of this nature would be so constructed as to test the intermediate school child of the varying inputs and outputs of the culture. Questions may be constructed around general topics--political, historical, economic, or some other related concept--but instead of testing awareness of a specific discipline, these questions will test for awareness of the broader cross-disciplinary functions. This second approach to testing the intermediate school child would provide some measurement of awareness or perception of difference.

Within each of these areas, the testing instrument should attempt to test the intermediate child's awareness of, and attitude toward specific conditions. Each area should seek the answers to questions that, when answered, would give an indication of the testee's awareness and attitudes.

Approaches to Testing

A variety of approaches may be used in testing for the awareness of foreign cultures and political roles. The

questions, however, may be of two general kinds. The first is an information question which is used to determine what the intermediate child knows and how much he knows about any specific area.

The second kind of question is the opinion or attitude question. Although closely related to the above questions, this type of question is actually the more important of the two in determining awareness and attitudes because it deals with feelings, ideals, misconceptions, and presuppositions of the selected study group. By the use of the opinion and attitude question, it may be possible to determine what the intermediate child thinks or feels at a given time about the particular subject.[20] It should also be possible to structure the response so as to indicate varying levels of sophistication in the child's awareness.

These two kinds of questioning techniques should encompass two forms of questions. One is the "open-end" or unstructured question. In this form, the intermediate child should be encouraged to write down his thoughts about the question. The obvious reason for this type of question is to try to discover why the child believes as he does. This form,

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[20]Charles Backstrom and Gerald D. Hursh, Survey Research, (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press: 1963), pp. 71-72.

however, takes up a great deal of space and for the child in the early intermediate grades, it may be most difficult for him to express his opinions in written form. This problem may be eliminated by conducting an interview.

The second form is the structured question. Within this form there are dichotomous questions (yes-no, good-bad, true-false, and right-wrong) and the multiple-choice item. The multiple-choice question has more advantages because of the various techniques that may be used. Variations of the multiple-choice question are the scaled-response, rated-response, and the ranked-response.[21]

Through the use of these kinds of questions, the investigator should be able to test the intermediate school child regarding his awareness of foreign cultures, peoples and political roles.

Six Aspects of Culture Variation

The impact of geography upon the people who live in a particular area of the world is profound. Questions in the first grouping should be centered around two fundamental

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[21] Ibid., pp. 72-74; Katherine G. Capt, "The Questionnaire and Other Reporting Forms as Aids in Field Exploration," Scientific Social Surveys and Research, Third Edition, Pauline Young, ed., (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), pp. 177-180.

areas. First, does the child recognize that man's patterns of life are to a large degree determined by the environment in which he lives? Consequently, man must adapt to the resources and conditions of the land. The purpose of such questions would be to measure the awareness of this factor. For if the child is aware of this condition, he may have some understanding as to why people in other areas differ.

The second area that should be tested is that of the other ramifications that geographic location has upon a particular country. An example of this concept would be the influence of China upon the past, present, and future of India. All nations of the world are tied to other nations through a variety of means. Some are joined through cultural backgrounds, economic ties, military alliances, and in some cases being unwillingly subjugated. Geographic location plays an important role in these ties. External and internal policies are made with this factor in mind. An awareness of this geographic factor by the intermediate child may show that he is aware of its implications and of the ties of an interdependent world.

As discussed in Chapter Two of this study, the intermediate school child reveres the role of the President, feels that political leaders generally are benevolent, accepts the

authority of government as legitimate and just, venerates patriotic symbols, and perceives the President, the government, laws, and the nation as righteous and virtuous. The second set of questions concerning the intermediate child's awareness of foreign governments and their purposes should attempt to see if the child holds the same attitude toward all governments, or does he have different views of them? If so, what are those views? Also, the instrument should attempt to answer the following: (1) Is the intermediate school child aware that peoples have long organized themselves into governments? (2) Is he aware that these units have undergone great changes over the centuries? (3) Is he aware that governments are not all of the same organizational form? (4) Is he aware of the role of some of the political actors within these governments? The purpose of these questions would be to determine the child's awareness of the general nature of government, the recognition that governments differ, and that all governments, regardless of their organization, have leaders who give direction to the activities of governing.

Economics plays a vital role in the life of any nation; questions concerning this third area should attempt to determine the intermediate child's awareness of the differing economic systems in the world community and the effect that these systems have upon the life within that society. In a

world community of the very rich and the very poor, economics is a crucial problem. Does the intermediate child know that some societies are still organized on a very primitive economic system of trade and that others operate on a very complex economic structure? If he is aware of this, does he have an understanding as to why this occurs? Industrialization is the desire of all nations, but not all nations have reached this point; is the intermediate child aware of this?

The fourth grouping of questions should attempt to test the intermediate child's awareness of the historical development of a nation. Not all nations have had long histories of independence. Many new countries have been "born" since the close of World War II and these countries have had a different historical background than the older nation-states. Many problems in the world community have centered around the struggles of nations to break the bonds of domination by other nations. In many ways, the world community is divided into two blocs--the old nation-states and the new. Is the child aware of these historical differences? If so, is he aware of some of the problems that these new nations face such as modernization, unity, and becoming a respected nation in the world community?

The fifth area concerns the intermediate child's awareness of the existence of various subcultures within all

nation-states. Living within all nations of the world are groups of people who have not been assimilated into the national culture or who have been assimilated satisfactorily but remain distinct subcultures. Examples of types of subcultures would be the American Indian, American Negro, and the Australian bushman. These questions should attempt to determine if the intermediate child is aware that within all societies there are many differing people who not only may look different, but also may have a different way of life.

The sixth and final grouping that should be tested concerns the so-called power structure of the world community. Since the beginning of time there have been some political groupings that have been more powerful than others. The world has always been divided into various power blocs with each attempting not only to secure its position, but also in many cases to expand its position. The modern world community is no different. Is the child aware of the various alignments and the causes and effects of these relationships?

The fundamental purpose of this set of questions concerning the variations in or among cultures is to measure the awareness of the intermediate school child of foreign cultures and political actors. These six areas were selected because a variety of aspects of culture are covered. These are not, of course, all those variations that may be tested.

However, knowledge of these, if tested, could give a great deal of insight as to how the intermediate school child views the world and at what age level he becomes more aware of the cultural differences between societies.

Exemplary Questions

In order to demonstrate the testing of these six aspects of culture, it is necessary that a set of exemplary questions be presented. This group is not a final set of questions, but instead is a model from which other questions may be developed. The questions are arranged according to the following six aspects of culture which were outlined as the major topics of the questionnaire. These are: (1) geography, (2) government, (3) economics, (4) history, (5) subcultures, and (6) world power structure. Following each type of question is a brief explanation as to the purpose of the question and its relationship to the aspect of culture that is being tested.

Geography. The questions over geography have two specific aims--to test awareness that man adapts to his physical environment and to test the awareness that geographic location has an impact upon peoples and nations other than just physical adaptation.

1. Unstructured

What special problems would a farmer in the Netherlands (Holland) have that farmers in other lands might not have?

What has he done to meet these problems?

These two questions seek to test the intermediate child's awareness of man's adaptation to his environment. By asking the intermediate child about the problems of the farmer in the Netherlands, two facts may be checked. First, is the child aware of where the Netherlands is located and that it faces a constant struggle against the sea? Second, is the child aware that the Dutch farmer has adapted to this condition? This type of question can be rephrased to check for these factors in other areas of the world.

2. Dichotomous

The Sahara region of Northern Africa has a climate that is best suited for growing rice.
1. True
2. False
3. Don't know

This question may give some indication of an awareness of geographic conditions and means of livelihood within an area. The question, because of its structure which does not allow much variation in its reply, is not as valuable as the unstructured or multiple-choice item.

3. Multiple-choice

Boys and girls living in Vietnam look more like boys and girls living in
1. France
2. United States
3. China
4. Nigeria

This question seeks to test the awareness of the other impacts of geographic conditions other than physical. This specific item tests the intermediate child's awareness of ethnic ties. It would, of course, check awareness of the location of Vietnam in the world community. This type of question could be re-worded to test for recognition of religious, political, social, and economic influences of one nation upon another.

Government. The purpose of these questions is to determine the intermediate child's awareness of the general nature of government, the recognition that governments differ, and that all governments, regardless of their organization, have leaders who guide and give direction to the activities of governing. Also, these questions may give insight into the intermediate child's attitudes toward other governments.

1. Unstructured

What is a government?

Is it necessary?

These very general questions over the definition and the necessity of government will enable the investigator to test the intermediate child's knowledge of what he understands government to be, and also what the testee's attitude toward government may be. Any instrument that attempts to measure the awareness of government must include a question of this nature. For if the intermediate child has no concept as to what the term government means, it would be most difficult to test his awareness of foreign governments.

2. Dichotomous

There are many governments in the world. These governments are all organized in the same way.
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

By selecting an answer to this question, the intermediate child may indicate his awareness that there are many different governmental organizations in the world community. However, this question because it is of such a general nature could not be the only such question used to test this concept.

3. Multiple-choice

What is a nation called in which the citizens elect the leaders of government?
1. Republic
2. Dictatorship
3. Monarchy
4. Don't know

Which country has a parliament?
1. United States
2. China
3. Mexico
4. France

These questions test knowledge of specific factual material. They test the intermediate child's knowledge first of political terms, republic and parliament, and second, his awareness as to which nation-state has a particular system. His awareness of terminology and of a specific type of government for a nation, would indicate his general awareness of the world community.

People in which of these countries have the most to say about what their government does?
1. Spain
2. Yugoslavia
3. Norway
4. Ethiopia

This question tests for specific knowledge concerning a particular governmental arrangement, but at the same time may indicate the intermediate child's awareness of government organization and the amount of freedom citizens are allowed within that system.

In the United States, the President is the head of the government; in Great Britain (England) who is the head of the government?
1. President
2. Queen
3. Premier
4. Prime Minister

The identification of role performance and knowledge

of specific title may be checked by the use of this question. By the selection of the correct response, the intermediate child would give indication that he not only knows the correct title of the head of government, but also that there is a difference in role performance between the Queen and Prime Minister.

4. Ranked

How important is it that there be a government for each country?
1. Very important
2. Important
3. Unimportant
4. Very unimportant

This ranked response question may be used to indicate the attitude toward the necessity of a government.

Economics. All nations within the world community are attempting to improve the economic conditions within their particular nation. Questions within this grouping should test for awareness of the differing economic conditions within the world community, and the intermediate child's awareness of the impact of these economic conditions upon the people.

1. Unstructured

What is an industrial nation?

Industrialization has become the goal of almost all of

the nations of the world community. It is impossible to speak of national economic conditions without some reference to industrialization being made. Although there is no precise definition, the response to such a question would indicate the intermediate child's understanding of the term. The following multiple-choice question would also have a similar result:

Some nations are called industrial nations. What does that mean?
1. Most of the people are farmers.
2. Most of the people work in factories.
3. **Most of the people are not free.**
4. Most of the people are not working.

2. Dichotomous

Most of the countries in Africa are industrial nations.
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

This question, as those above, seeks to test the awareness of the term industrial and would also indicate some awareness of the economic conditions within a specific area.

3. Multiple-choice

A high standard of living usually means
1. Living at a high altitude
2. High wages
3. More comforts for most people
4. Low wages and high prices

Which of the following countries would have the highest standard of living?

1. India
2. Sweden
3. Spain
4. Korea

These two questions, as did the above questions concerning industrialization, test definition of terminology and the application of this terminology to the world community.

4. Ranked

Many things help a country become a prosperous nation. Of the following, place in the order of importance those factors which help a country become prosperous.

____1. Many natural resources
____2. A stable government
____3. Many rivers and harbors
____4. Trade with other countries

The above question would allow the intermediate child an opportunity to rank what he feels is the most important element in the building of a prosperous nation. His responses may indicate the criteria that he looks for in a prosperous nation, thus revealing in part how he looks at the world community.

Historical development. Questions within this area should attempt to test the intermediate child's awareness of the different historical backgrounds of the nations in the world community. Two specific areas should be tested. They are: (1) the recognition that there are nations which have

had long histories of independence and others that have not; and (2) these "new" nations face many problems.

1. Unstructured

What is a colony?

Name a country that was once a colony.

These two open-end questions will allow the investigator to test the intermediate child's knowledge as to definition of terminology and knowledge of a specific example. Through this question, insight may be gained into not only the knowledge of the testee, but also his attitudes. The latter aspect may be further explored by the inclusion of the following type of question.

2. Dichotomous

Colonies helped many countries.
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

If you answered "yes" to the above question, in what way or ways did it help a country to be a colony or to have colonies?

If you answered "no" to the above question, in what way or ways did it not help a country to be a colony or to have colonies?

By responding to these questions, the intermediate child may give some indication of his attitude toward the concept of colonialism.

3. Multiple-choice

There are many new countries in the world community. Which of the following may be called a "new" country?
1. Spain
2. Argentina
3. China
4. Malaysia

Much of Africa before World War II was controlled by:
1. Europeans
2. Asians
3. Americans
4. None of these

The countries which had most of the colonies before World War II came from:
1. Asia
2. Africa
3. Europe
4. North America

These exemplary questions focus upon the awareness that there are new nations within the world community, and the awareness that some parts of the world controlled others. The answers to the first question may be changed so as to test for awareness of other nations, or could be used as a ranked response question and allow the testee to place in order of age specific nations. This type of question would also test the intermediate child's awareness of differing national development.

The last two questions seek a response that will indicate the intermediate child's awareness of the history of colonialism. If the intermediate child has an awareness of

this background, he may be able to understand better some of the tensions that existed and exist between colonial master and colonial subject.

4. Ranked

"New" nations in the world community face many problems as they attempt to become strong nations. Place in order of importance, the following problems:

____1. Establishment of a stable government
____2. Education of the people
____3. Establishment of trade with other countries
____4. Construction of new factories

Many factors help bring about unity within a nation. Place in order of importance the following items which help bring about unity.

____1. A strong army
____2. A common religion
____3. A common language
____4. A stable government

Through these questions an understanding of what the intermediate child sees as problems of nations that have just gained their independence may be tested. If he is aware of problems of unity, he may have a more understanding attitude toward the new nations of the world community.

Subcultures. This group of questions should test the intermediate school child's awareness of the existence of subcultures within a specific culture.

1. Unstructured

Who are the Laplanders?

Where do they live?

Through the responses to these questions, the intermediate child may reveal an awareness of the existence of a subculture within a specific area. By answering these correctly, he demonstrates the awareness of a specific group of people living within a nation by methods which are quite different than other members of that state.

2. Dichotomous

People in different parts of the same country may be quite different.
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

People living in the Soviet Union do not all speak the same language.
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

These questions may reveal an elementary understanding of cultural diversity within the same nation-state. By responding to such questions, the intermediate child may indicate first, that he is aware that in some nation-states there is a variety of ways of living; second, that there may be linguistic differences within the same nation-state.

3. Multiple-choice

Most people are likely to speak the same

language and have the same customs in a country that is:
1. Mountainous
2. Hot and wet
3. In the Far North
4. Small and flat

This type of question may indicate the awareness of geographic conditions upon the living patterns of a particular people. A similar question is:

People in which of the following countries would be most alike in the way they live:
1. China
2. Switzerland
3. India
4. England

Or the same result may be achieved with a ranked question.

4. Ranked

In which of the following countries would the people be most alike in the way they live? Place in order from the most likely to the least likely.
1. Switzerland
2. Brazil
3. France
4. Japan

Power structure in the world community. The nation-state world community has long been divided into politically, ideologically, and oftentimes emotionally antagonistic blocs. Questions in this final grouping seek to determine the intermediate child's awareness of this division and his attitude toward the various nation-states.

1. Unstructured.

Why are there wars?

This very complex question allows the intermediate child to express his opinion on a common characteristic of the world community. Through his response, the investigator may gain an understanding of the child's concept of war, why war is brought about, and his attitude toward war.

Why cannot all nations be friends?

The response to this question may demonstrate the intermediate child's awareness of the political, economic, and social conflicts that create tension in the world community. It may also indicate his awareness of the international scene and his attitude toward these tensions and conflicts.

2. Dichotomous

The United States and the Soviet Union agree on the answers to most of the world's problems.
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

By responding to this type of question, the intermediate school child may demonstrate the awareness of the ideological differences that separate nation-states.

3. Multiple-choice

In 1967 two countries most friendly with each other were:
1. England-Soviet Union (Russia)

2. France-Yugoslavia
3. Italy-West Germany
4. Soviet Union (Russia)-China

Although this type of question is quite specific and requires an understanding of current events, it would be of value in determining the awareness of the intermediate child of the international relations of various nations.

Which of the following nations would you NOT trust to keep a promise?
1. France
2. Switzerland
3. India
4. Japan

This question requires the intermediate child to make a selection which reveals his attitude toward a particular nation-state. This attitude may be further explored by the use of an unstructured question asking the testee why he chose that particular country.

4. Ranked

List the countries that you would most like to live in besides the United States. Put your first choice on the first line, your second on the second line and your third choice on the third line.

By listing his choices, the intermediate child may be revealing several aspects of his awareness. First, his indication may reveal those countries of which he has the most knowledge. Second, his responses may reveal the child's feelings as to what countries are, in his mind, more nearly

like his own nation.

Besides the arrangement of questions in a simple order, several may be grouped together as a bloc. By such an arrangement it is possible to gain a better understanding of specific information, role, and the role performance of a political actor in a specific culture. Because the questions are asked in a unit, the intermediate child is able to keep one level of thought; therefore, he is more likely to give a better and more clear response. Three examples of such an arrangement are:

Who is the Prime Minister of Great Britain?
1. His name is. . .
2. Don't remember his name
3. Never heard of him

What kind of things does the Prime Minister do?

What kind of a job is the Prime Minister doing?
1. Don't know
2. Very good
3. Good
4. Not very good
5. Bad

This question deals specifically with awareness of a definite political actor, his role within the system, and an evaluation of his performance. By the use of this type of question, the investigator may learn whether or not the intermediate child knows a particular political actor, has some concept of his role and the opinion of the intermediate child of that political performance. This question requires recog-

nition, some understanding and evaluation.

If you lived in the Saraha region of North Africa, the weather would be
1. Hot
2. Mild
3. Cold

The chief type of occupation of the people in the Saraha region is
1. Herding
2. Oil mining
3. Oasis farming
4. Fruit farming

These people live in
1. Farm villages
2. Large cities
3. Towns
4. Nomadic villages

The leader of these various groups of people is called
1. President
2. Chief
3. King
4. Prime Minister

This multiple-choice bloc may test several aspects of the intermediate child's awareness of a particular foreign culture. The first question tests the awareness of geographic conditions. The second and third test the awareness of means of livelihood and type of community living. The fourth question tests the awareness of the political role. Through a bloc of questions such as these the investigator could gain a better understanding of the intermediate child's awareness of a specific culture.

If you had to move from the United States, what country in the world would be your first choice? Why?

Most of the countries that you know about are on what continent?

1. North America
2. South America
3. Europe
4. Asia
5. Africa

Match the following countries with the correct continent. (Answers may be used more than once.)

1. Chile	A. Asia
2. The Netherlands	B. Africa
3. Ghana	C. Europe
4. Canada	D. North America
5. China	E. South America

Place the number one (1) beside the country you know the most about. Place a two (2) beside your second choice, a three (3) beside your third choice, etc.

_____The Soviet Union
_____Great Britain
_____China
_____Mexico
_____Japan

Circle the country in each grouping that you know the most about. If you know nothing about either country, do not draw a circle.

1. Great Britain.....India
2. Kenya.....Brazil
3. China.....Yugoslavia
4. France.....Vietnam
5. Soviet Union.....Sweden

Place an X by those names that are names of countries.

_____Norway
_____Moscow
_____Burma
_____Spain
_____Czechoslovakia
_____Africa

_____Egypt
_____Argentina
_____Europe
_____Malaysia

This bloc of questions may give an indication as to what areas of the world community are more salient in the intermediate school child's mind than others, and permit the determination as to when the intermediate child becomes aware of specific areas of the world. A response to the first question may indicate what country in the world community the testee knows best. However, not a great deal of significance may be attached to this response without evaluating the answer as to why that country was chosen. If the testee is asked to explain his choice, his answer may be more selective.

The second and third questions attempt to test awareness of location in the world community. The answers to these questions may reveal what areas of the world the intermediate child is most aware and his awareness of particular countries within these areas. By evaluating the second question, it may be possible to determine the different levels of awareness between the third-grader and the eighth-grader.

Questions four, five, and six are of a specific nature. They seek to probe the intermediate child's awareness of particular countries of the world community. Number four asks the testee to rank in order of his knowledge about a particu-

lar country. His responses may give an indication as to what countries are most known to him. The fifth question requires the intermediate child to select between two countries. The same result may be achieved as with the fourth question. The last question seeks to test awareness of names of countries. By having names which are not countries, the testee may be discouraged from guessing and simply marking all the names.

Testing The Functional Process

Various aspects of culture serve important functions within any specific culture. If a more complete measurement of awareness is to be achieved, some testing of the awareness of these functions needs to be done. In order to test for this awareness, questions should be developed around one concept and be presented in a bloc. This approach would allow the intermediate child to remain on one level of thought; therefore, he is more likely to give a better and more clear response. Besides this factor, it would be possible to develop questions that increase in difficulty and thereby make it possible to test different levels of awareness. The following example is used to demonstrate this approach:

> Man throughout history has always tended to live in groups. As he did so, he had to solve many important questions. The following set of questions deal with man's relationships with other men. Choose the reply that BEST completes the sentence.

As people live in groups, it is necessary for
1. them all to have some means of making a living.
2. them to have some method of regulating their relationships.
3. them all to take part in the governing of the group.

All people who live in groups
1. have a common way of making a living.
2. have the same ideas about the way to regulate their relationships.
3. have some type of a government.

The purpose of establishing a ruling body within a society is
1. to manage the affairs of that society.
2. to create a strong army for defense.
3. to select the leaders who shall rule.

People living in a society
1. may directly or indirectly influence the governing body.
2. cannot bring about changes.
3. can only influence the governing body by changing leaders.

The governing body of a society
1. makes only the laws that they want to.
2. is influenced by many factors from both within and without a society.
3. is free of influence by any group.

As a society becomes more highly industrialized and complex, it must provide
1. fewer rules and regulations to manage society.
2. greater oversight and management of society.
3. more opportunity for the people to decide upon the means of regulating society.

This exemplary question bloc attempts to test the intermediate school child's awareness of the functions of government and the demands that are placed upon it. The first question tests for the awareness that there must be some

regulation of man's relationships with other men. The second question tests for the awareness that man forms a government, and the third for the purpose of this formation. The fourth, fifth, and sixth questions become increasingly difficult and require awareness of the demands that are placed upon a governing body. Question four inquires about the demands placed upon a government by the people, whereas, the next question seeks an awareness that governments are not only influenced in their actions by internal situations, but also influenced by events that occur outside the state. The last question may indicate the intermediate child's awareness that primitive societies and industrialized societies differ and that as a society becomes more and more complex, government oversight tends to increase.

By responding to a bloc of questions of this nature, the intermediate school child may reveal his awareness of basic functions of, in this case, government. It may be speculated that the third-grader would not have the awareness of all of these functions as would possibly the eighth-grader. If this be valid, this type of questioning would be of significant value in determining the different levels of awareness during the intermediate school years.

These two approaches to testing for the awareness of foreign cultures and political roles by the intermediate

school child and the exemplary questions serve several important functions. They provide:

1. the various types of questions that may be used in the construction of a questionnaire.
2. the means by which specific items may be tested--i.e. awareness of geographic location.
3. the means by which functions may be tested.
4. models from which new questions may be developed.
5. a method which would make possible the testing of the intermediate school child of his awareness of foreign cultures and political roles.

The exemplary questions and explanatory material provide the background from which a more detailed program of questionnaire development and testing may be begun. A framework is thus provided.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis has been to construct the framework from which a questionnaire may be developed. The purpose of this questionnaire would be to test the intermediate school child's awareness of foreign cultures and political actors.

In the pursuance of this objective, it has been necessary to look at two broad areas of study in the field of political socialization. First it was necessary to investigate those studies of the elementary school child which dealt with the development of political attitudes and beliefs. Studies in this area are not yet available in great quantities. The systematic studies of politicization are of recent origin and most research in this field dates from the seminal work by Herbert Hyman in 1959. Since that date, the work which has been done in the study of the elementary school child has been done primarily by Fred Greenstein, Robert Hess, David Easton, Jack Dennis, Judith Torney, and M. Kent Jennings. According to these studies, it is during the elementary school years that the child develops his basic political attitudes and beliefs that will influence his thinking for the remainder of his life. It is during these years that the awareness of government, governmental authority, and his

relationship to government are formulated.

During these years, the child reveres the role of the President, feels that political leaders generally are benevolent, accepts the authority of government as legitimate and just, venerates patriotic symbols and perceives the President, the government, laws, and nation as righteous and virtuous. As the child grows older he feels more and more capable of dealing with the political world.

The child's attitudes toward political authority are initially mediated through the family. He transfers the image of this ideal authority to the distant and relatively unknown political figures. The child, consequently, transfers his concept of the family, as a unit subject to parental authority, to that of a nation, subject to Presidential authority. As he matures this positive evaluation of political authority becomes differentiated into components of role performance and components of personal merit. The intermediate child sees the difference between the office and the personal characteristics of the incumbent. In general, the child in his elementary years attains the capacity to differentiate the government from the nongovernment systems, but he does not have any concept of the wider political process. The child's attachment to the government and a political party, which is also formed quite early, is based upon emo-

tional rather than rational processes. He has little specific knowledge concerning the formal or informal aspects of government, but this lack of knowledge does not hinder him from making judgments concerning the government. These judgments are, however, seldom negative.

As the child advances in elementary school, the extra-familial influences begin to play a more important role in the shaping of his political attitudes. The school curriculum, the teachers, the administrators, and peers become influential determinants in the continuing development of the child's political beliefs. Regardless of the stimuli, however, the child in the intermediate grades still approves of government, likes it the way it is, and does not want it to change a great deal.

The intermediate school child, as characterized above, has a positive, supportive attitude toward governmental authority and the government in general. Would these attitudes toward foreign cultures and governments be similar?

Although little or no testing has been done in this area, several conclusions may be speculatively made. It may be concluded that the intermediate child's attitudes toward foreign culture and political actors and roles are shaped during this period. For if his basic attitudes toward domestic politics are formed during this same period, so may

those toward foreign peoples and politics. Those external stimuli (the school, the family, the peer group, the mass media, and his socio-economic standing) which help shape his beliefs may well be vital determinants of how he views other nations in the world community. It may also be concluded that because the intermediate child first becomes aware of the head of government in his awareness of domestic politics, the first political figure that he becomes aware of in all foreign cultures may be the leader of the government. His attitude toward this figure may or may not be the same supportive, positive one that he holds toward his domestic leader. The most valid conclusion that seems possible from the discussion of the political socialization of the intermediate school child is that because it is possible to determine the awareness of the child's understanding and attitude toward politics and political roles within his own society, it is also possible to test the same child for his awareness of foreign cultures and political actors and roles. However, in order to do so a testing instrument needs to be constructed.

For the development of a framework for a questionnaire, it was necessary to investigate the work that has been done in the area of testing for the awareness of foreign cultures and political actors. Once again the investigator is confronted with a lack of available information. There have

been no specific works in the area of testing the child for an awareness of foreign cultures and political actors. At this date there are many projects in the planning and executing stages, but none has yet been made available for study. Some other studies have touched this area indirectly. An example would be David Easton and Robert Hess' studies of the child's awareness of the roles of the President. These studies have shown that the child is, by the sixth grade in the elementary school, aware of some of the President's foreign policy roles, but they do not supply the needed information to accurately judge the child's awareness.

There are some measurements available to test for knowledge of current affairs. These range from the weekly quizzes published by the various magazines such as Weekly Reader and Junior Scholastic to the more comprehensive achievement tests such as the Stanford Achievement Tests for the Social Studies. These testing measurements are not designed specifically to test for awareness of foreign cultures and political actors; therefore, they do not satisfactorily do so. They may, however, be used in conjunction with a questionnaire to test for such an awareness. Because awareness and attitudes are to some degree based upon knowledge of specific information, a current events test might prove of use as a pre-test instrument to check the child's knowledge

as to what is occurring in the world community.

The questionnaire to test for awareness of foreign peoples and political actors is based upon one fundamental question. Does the intermediate school child think that other children in foreign lands grow up into different adults, or does the intermediate child believe that other children are like himself in mores and sense of values and that only the environments differ? For if the intermediate child believes that all children are just alike, but live in different areas of the world, he is not aware of the impact of cultural variation upon the individual. But if he realizes differences, he may have an awareness of the reasons for these differences.

If the questionnaire is going to measure the awareness of the intermediate child with any depth, it must go beyond the testing of just specific factual information and instead attempt to measure his awareness of the varying aspects and functions within any given culture.

The important variables may be listed in the following questions:

1. Does the child understand the impact of geography upon the people and upon the government?
2. Does the child understand that there is a variety of governments in the world and that each one has its own specific purposes?

3. Does the child have an elementary understanding of the economic development of the various nations?

4. Does the child have an awareness of the historical development of the nation-state?

5. Does the intermediate child realize that sub-cultures exist within all nations?

6. Does the intermediate child have an awareness of the so-called power structure in the world community, and if so, how does he view this structure?

These six variables are not, of course, all those aspects of culture that could be tested. However, they are sufficiently specific, yet of adequate breadth, to ensure that a better understanding of the child's awareness may be gained.

Besides the testing of the varying aspects of culture, another approach is suggested by this study. The testing of an awareness of the function of these aspects is also important. In order to have a better understanding of a particular culture, it is not only necessary to understand specific information, but also necessary to have some understanding of some of the functions that these aspects serve within a society. For instance, does the intermediate child have an understanding of the functions that the political system and the demands that are placed upon it. This aspect of awareness should also be tested.

In testing for awareness, a variety of techniques may be used. This study proposes that both the unstructured and

3. Does the child have an elementary understanding of the economic development of the various nations?

4. Does the child have an awareness of the historical development of the nation-state?

5. Does the intermediate child realize that sub-cultures exist within all nations?

6. Does the intermediate child have an awareness of the so-called power structure in the world community, and if so, how does he view this structure?

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Besides the testing of the varying aspects of culture, another approach is suggested by this study. The testing of an awareness of the function of these aspects is also important. In order to have a better understanding of a particular culture, it is not only necessary to understand specific information, but also necessary to have some understanding of some of the functions that these aspects serve within a society. For instance, does the intermediate child have an understanding of the functions that the political system and the demands that are placed upon it. This aspect of awareness should also be tested.

In testing for awareness, a variety of techniques may be used. This study proposes that both the unstructured and

structured kinds of questions be used. Major emphasis should be placed on the structured question and its variations. Scaled, rated, and ranked multiple-choice questions are of more value than the dichotomous. Besides the arrangement of these questions in simple order, this study has suggested that a series of questions be arranged in a bloc form in an attempt to gain a more complete understanding of the intermediate child's awareness of a specific area.

The sample questions that are presented in this study must be examined in that perspective. They are questions from which other questions may be developed. Their significance lies in the fact that they demonstrate a means of testing, and that a series of questions may be developed that would make it possible to test the intermediate school child's awareness of foreign cultures and political actors.

It is important that the reader understand that this study is just the beginning step in the construction of a testing instrument. In no way can or should the conclusions concerning the construction of the questionnaire be final. What may be concluded from this study is that:

1. Research concerning the awareness of the school child of foreign cultures and political actors is in the beginning stages.
2. No specific tests in this area are now available.

3. Some standardized tests, achievement and current events, could be used as supplements to an awareness test.

4. A questionnaire to test for an awareness of foreign cultures and political actors should seek to test a variety of cultural differences.

5. It is possible to construct questions in a variety of forms which may test a specific area of awareness.

6. It would be possible to construct a questionnaire that would test the intermediate school child for an awareness of foreign cultures and political actors.

It must be noted, however, that much research and testing are needed before the final questionnaire may be completed. The most evident research problem that confronts the continuing of this study is the problem of evaluating the questions. Because the study suggests a variety of questions, it will be necessary to devise a variety of means of evaluating these questions. Those which require the knowledge of specific factual information will not be a special problem because the information is either correct or incorrect. However, many of the questions are not of such simplistic design. Those which attempt to measure attitude will involve detailed research. The reader must keep this in mind as he reviews the exemplary questions.

Besides the evaluating of the questions, pre-testing, refinement, and testing for validity and reliability need to

be completed. Also, if the test is to be administered in mass to large groups of intermediate school children, problems of administration must be considered. Lastly, the layout of the questionnaire has yet to be developed.

Such a testing instrument would make a definite contribution to understanding of the political socialization process of the intermediate school child. The questionnaire would permit insight into the answering of the following questions:

1. At what age does the child become aware of foreign peoples?
2. At what age does the child become aware of the governmental organization of a particular country and of the role or roles of the political actors within these systems?
3. What are the child's attitudes toward the foreign peoples and governments?
4. What changes occur in the child's awareness and attitudes during the intermediate school years?

Also important questions concerning the differences in attitudes and awareness of children of differing socio-economic standing, of rural and urban areas, and of differing geographic locations--mid-west as compared to eastern seaboard--could at least be partially answered.

Not only would such an instrument be of special significance in the field of political socialization research,

but also would be of importance in the field of social studies education. The analysis of the answers to the questionnaire could foster many changes in curriculum, teaching methods, and teaching materials. Because the questionnaire would enable the educator to have a better understanding of the child's awareness of, and attitude toward foreign peoples and governments, a social studies curriculum could be devised that would be geared to the child's readiness to study other peoples and other political systems.

These problems and questions are, however, beyond the scope and purpose of this study. The reader is again reminded that this study has been primarily concerned with the construction of a framework from which a questionnaire may be developed and that to make any attempt to state final conclusions as to the results of this questionnaire and the general awareness of the intermediate school child of foreign cultures and political actors would be impossible. To do so it would be necessary to place this study in a much broader context. This would entail the construction of a questionnaire, administration of it, and drawing conclusions as to its results.

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